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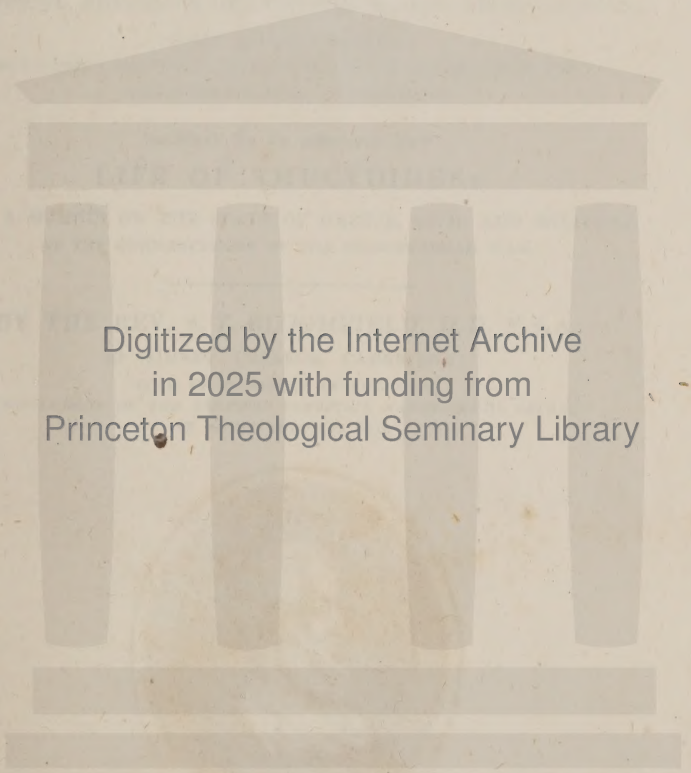
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THE

HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

NEWLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

AND

ILLUSTRATED WITH VERY COPIOUS

ANNOTATIONS,

EXEGETICAL, PHILOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL;

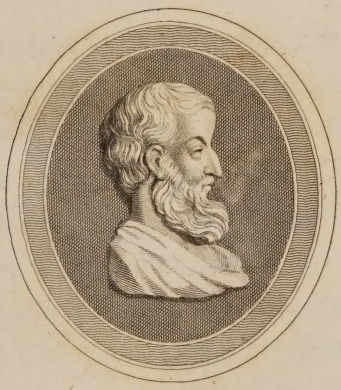
ALMOST ENTIRELY ORIGINAL,
BUT PARTLY SELECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ARRANGED, FROM THE
BEST COMMENTATORS, HISTORIANS, &c.

PREFIXED, IS AN ENTIRELY NEW

LIFE OF THUCYDIDES:

WITH A MEMOIR ON THE STATE OF GREECE, CIVIL AND MILITARY,
AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

BY THE REV. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. F.S.A.
OF SIDNEY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
VICAR OF BISBROOKE IN RUTLAND;
AND AUTHOR OF THE RECENSIO SYNOPTICA ANNOTATIONIS SACRÆ,
IN EIGHT VOLUMES 8VO.



IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.
MDCCCXXIX.

TO

HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

FIELD MARSHAL,

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY,

&c. &c. &c. &c.

My Lord Duke,

When my Readers consider that the immortal work which I have here translated, interpreted, and illustrated, has been, in all ages, the study and admiration of the greatest captains, and most eminent statesmen the world has ever produced, they cannot fail to see the perfect propriety with which it is inscribed to *Your Grace*. I may be permitted, My Lord, to say, that I was chiefly induced to render this homage of profound respect from my *private* sense of those *weighty obligations* under which Your Grace laid my countrymen at large, and the lovers of sober freedom and constitutional government every where,

by delivering them from the most ruthless oppression which ever enthralled Europe, and the most imminent peril which ever environed this country.

The *political* lessons to be learned from this immortal History (suited alike to every age) are well known to be of the profoundest kind; the chief purpose of it being, practically to illustrate the evils of *unbalanced democracy*, and to show the necessity of that *happily-attempered admixture* of *aristocracy and democracy*, which, however it might float in the imaginations of antient theorists, was never actually embodied but in the *British Constitution*, whose preservation we owe to Your Grace's military successes.

In this "*everlasting possession*," as it is termed by the Historian, are depicted in glowing colours — on the one hand, the manifold evils of rash innovation, and reckless precipitancy in legislation and government, — and, on the other, the scarcely less formidable perils of suffering political institutions, however originally perfect, and fitted to the then circumstances of a country, *to wear and rust out*, without gradually adopting such necessary and well-weighed repairs and improvements as the times and seasons may require.

I feel, however, My Lord Duke, that the decision of such questions is foreign from my profession,

which hath called me to study the lessons of *ecclesiastical polity* rather than of *worldly policy;* yet, from my assiduous attention to *antient history and political institutions*, I may be enabled to offer some suggestions; and, at least, the opinions of some distinguished writers, antient and modern, on these topics, will occasionally be found in the annotations to this History.

Of *military affairs* (of which there are numerous and interesting details in this work) Your Grace will, of course, imagine that I am even less qualified to judge; yet to the systems of antient warfare I have devoted much attention, for the purpose of illustration, and Your Grace will, I trust, on that topic, find some new information.

May I be pardoned for adverting to a trait in Your Grace's military character which I am enabled fully to appreciate, and which, as a clergyman, I feel bound to commend? I am especially induced to mention this from its having an exact parallel in the conduct of one of the greatest generals and statesmen of antient times, and, as it were, the hero of this History, — PERICLES.

We learn, My Lord, from the highest authority, that when in his last sickness, being asked what gave him most comfort? he replied, "*The consciousness*

that no Athenian has ever put on mourning through my fault !" And certain it is that that truly great man was constantly actuated by the same conscientious feeling which ever guided Your Grace's conduct, — not, for private ambition, to waste the lives of men, nor to purchase personal fame by the sacrifice of an implicitly-confiding soldiery ! — How different this from the conduct of Your Grace's *mighty*, but unprincipled rival ! May Your Grace, in like manner with the hero of this history, experience the comfort of such forbearance !

To the Divine blessing on this, and on a righteous cause, I cannot but partly attribute a success without parallel in the history of the world.

That Your Grace's political course may be as successful and beneficial to your country as your military one, is the earnest wish and prayer of,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's

Most attached humble servant,

S. T. BLOOMFIELD.

Vicarage, Tugby, near Leicester,
May, 1829.

PREFACE.

THE sensations which an Author feels on penning the preface to any work of great extent and extreme difficulty, which has occupied a very considerable portion of the effective period of human existence, are not of the most enviable kind. Of errors and deficiencies *, if he has at all cultivated the γνῶθι σεαυτὸν, he cannot but be sensible. And if he possesses any knowledge of the world, he cannot be unaware of the keenness with which the one will be detected, and the other magnified, by the greater part of those who are either invested with, or take on themselves, the office of critics. The Author, however, hopes he shall not be accused of presumption, when he avows that he places too much dependence on the precious advantages imparted by nearly a quarter of a century's perpetual study of the great writer here translated, interpreted, and illustrated, to feel any serious apprehensions on thus appearing before the public. Besides, were he inclined to entertain such, they would be repressed by the very favourable reception which his late most exten-

* "Every writer (says Samuel Johnson) of a long work commits errors, when there appears neither ambiguity to mislead, nor obscurity to confound him; and in his phraseology many felicities of expression will be casually overlooked, and convenient parallels will be forgotten, and many particulars which admit of improvement from a mind utterly unequal to the whole performance. That which is obvious is not always known, and what is known is not always present; sudden fits of inadvertency will surprise vigilance; slight avocations will seduce attention, and casual eclipses of the mind will darken learning; and the writer shall often in vain trace his memory at the moment of need, for that which yesterday he knew with intuitive readiness, and which will come uncalled into his thoughts to-morrow."

sive and, he trusts, not unimportant theological work (the Recensio Synoptica, in 8 vols. 8vo.) has experienced from the public. Whether, indeed, *any* antient classical writer can merit such long-continued assiduity of labour as that which the Author has bestowed on Thucydides, is more than he would venture to say. Upon the whole, however, he feels that, in this enlightened age, it is scarcely necessary for him to apologise, as a clergyman, for having devoted so much of his attention to the study of the Greek and Latin classics, nor is he ashamed of having, in this and other respects, trodden (though most assuredly *haud passibus æquis*) in the steps of those great Worthies of our Church who, as they were its main supports during their lives, so must they (whatever may be its fate as to worldly advantages) ever continue to be its ornaments and boasts. Yet the Author can, with truth, say, that he should never have persevered in his long-continued classical labours, had he not foreseen that in their results they would be indispensably necessary in order to give a proper weight to his interpretations of numerous controverted passages of Holy Writ in that work which, as it was the earliest and most seriously formed, so must it ever be that in whose success he shall feel most deeply interested. The Author, too, can with truth say, that, immense and unsparing as have been the sacrifices of fortune, time, health, comfort, and whatever makes life valuable, which he has devoted to the promotion of sound learning and sober but enlightened religion, yet even should his reward be no greater than it at present is (*and less it cannot be*), he shall not lament that he has bestowed them, nay, rather, in the words of the Apostle, he will say, "in this I do rejoice, yea, and *will* rejoice!"

But to advert to the plan and nature of the present work: that a vernacular translation of the *Princeps Historicorum* (as he is called by Valcknaer), literal, but not servile, faithful, but not idiomatical or uncouth, has long been regarded, both by scholars and general readers, as a great desideratum in the literature of our country, few can need to be informed. As

to the version, or rather paraphrase, of *Smith* (the most recent, though formed nearly eighty years ago), it is unnecessary to advert to those numerous defects of matter and style which have long stamped it, in the eyes of *scholars*, as a complete failure, and have at length deprived it of all *public* attention: insomuch that it has become necessary to reprint the quaint and antiquated, often inaccurate, and always rugged version of Hobbes. No reason, surely, can be imagined why this country should not produce some such accurate, learned, and critical versions of the most difficult and important Greek Classics as have long been sent forth by Germany, Italy, and France; versions which are adapted to the use both of the student, and the general reader. Under these circumstances, no apology can be necessary for offering the present Translation; which is, the Author trusts, so exact and perspicuous as often to supply the place of an *interpretation*, and yet not so servile or trammelled as to violate the propriety of the English language, or disgust the general reader; adapted also to the use of students, by being accompanied with such annotations as the most difficult of all writers must require, and the most important of historians demand.

The present version, it is hoped, will be found such as the Translator has already described: and in forming it he has (to use the words of Mr. Mitford) "preferred occasionally running the risk of some uncouthness of phrase to those wide deviations from the original for which French criticism (and he might have added *English* for the last half century) allows large indulgence." It has, indeed, ever been the opinion of our greatest critics, that what are called *free translations* of antient prose writers, whose matter is of high authority, and, therefore, whose sense requires to be ascertained with precision, ought not to be tolerated. Indeed, how instruction or gratification can be obtained from a translation of an antient writer, which does not faithfully represent the original, it is not easy to see. But besides *fidelity*, good taste requires

that the Translator should preserve the *manner* and *characteristics* of his author, without which the utmost verbal accuracy will but inadequately represent the original. As to the *style* and *phraseology* of *prose* versions of antient writers, few will fail to see that they should not be *neoteric*, otherwise the effect thereby produced will be such as cannot but shock a correct taste. And yet into this fault almost every English translator of prose Classical writers has, more or less, fallen for nearly the last century, especially Smith and Beloe. As respects *himself*, the Translator may, with truth, say that he has occasionally *sought*, rather than *avoided*, the rich, nervous, and idiomatical phraseology of the seventeenth, and part of the eighteenth, centuries, and has endeavoured to draw from "the wells of English undefiled," having long been persuaded that idioms are the nerves of a language, and feeling how necessary it was to have recourse to all the native strength of our language in rendering the sense of a writer of such gigantic vigour as Thucydides.

Such are the principles on which the Translator proceeded in forming his *version*: — with what success he has fulfilled his intentions, he cheerfully leaves it to competent judges to determine. Such as the present version is, the Translator readily abides by it; though, should the opportunity be given him, he does not deny that some improvements may be effected in the *phraseology*, but, he conceives, *exceedingly few indeed* as to the *sense*.

With respect to the *annotations*, the Author can speak with greater confidence, since he has there better satisfied himself. They are chiefly *exegetical*, but partly *philological*, and especially *historical*, *geographical*, and *miscellaneous*; forming a *perpetual commentary of things*, and partly of *words*, as far as regards the establishment and illustration of the *true interpretation*, and, in some cases, *construction* of the text; generally original, but, in some instances, selected (with due acknowledgment) from the best commentators, historians, travellers, and all other writers, from whom even incidental illustrations

could be derived. The *historical* notes will, the Author trusts, be found such as not only materially to instruct the student, but, in some measure, assist the labours of the future historian of Greece; and the *geographical ones* such as somewhat to enlarge the knowledge of antient geography; for as there are few parts of Greece which are not mentioned in this History, so are there very few of which the geography has not been, more or less, illustrated in these annotations.

The essay of Professor Poppo on the state of Greece at the time of the Peloponnesian war will, the Author trusts, be found very instructive to his younger readers, and especially those who are about to study the original; and he begs to say that though placed at the close of the third volume (in order better to size the volumes), it should be read first.

With respect to the *maps*, and the excellent Plan of Syracuse by Göller, their *execution* is such as might be expected from the practised skill of the very eminent artist who engraved them. In *drawing* them, every exertion has been used to insure accuracy; and it is trusted that they will at least be found more correct than any which have hitherto been brought within the purchase of students in general. Though with an increase of labour, the Author thought it an advantage to make them include not only the places mentioned in Thucydides (*as far as they could be with certainty fixed*), but also many others which existed in that and the next two or three centuries, in order that they might thus be more useful for *general* purposes.

On the *nature* and *character* of this immortal History, the Author has sufficiently treated in the life of the historian. He may here be permitted to offer a word or two on the *uses* of this κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. To these the historian has adverted in his preface, l. 1, 22. "As to those who shall desire to have a clear view of past events, and indeed of *future* ones (such and similar ones being, according to the natural course of human affairs, again to occur), for *those*, I say, to esteem them useful, will be sufficient to answer every purpose I have in view; and

I have composed them, not for an ambitious subject of temporary display, and gratification for the ear, but for an EVERLASTING POSSESSION." Indeed, the true use of history is (in the words of Sophocles Œd. Tyr. 916.) τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς πάλαι τεκμαίρεσθαι, or (in the words of Isocrates) τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγενημένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι.

The numerous *orations*, scattered up and down the work, have also a most important use to those who are studying oratory; having been, in all ages, allowed to be the purest models of the chaste, simple, and what is called severe, style of *antient* Greek oratory; and, as such, materially tended to form the two greatest orators of any age, DEMOSTHENES and CICERO, who made them their perpetual study.

To conclude, having brought to the close a most arduous work, not formed in the shades of Academic bowers, but in an obscure situation, *quæ* (in the words of Cæsar) *a cultu atque humanitate longissime abest*, the Author delivers it to the world with the confidence of one who has endeavoured to deserve well of the public; and, moreover, as having attained that maturity of life which enables him to know the ground he occupies, — to scan his merits and defects; — and when the consciousness of having, in his past and present labours, zealously exerted himself to serve the cause of sound learning and sober, yet enlightened, religion, far outweighs all that the world may bestow, or withhold.

Vicarage, Tugby, May, 1829.

LIFE OF THUCYDIDES.

In the comparison of antient with modern customs, few things are more remarkable than the difference which subsists in the methods of writing the lives of eminent persons. In *modern* times, and especially in our own age, the minutest circumstances of even the domestic life of great men are chronicled with a sedulity which gratifies curiosity to the utmost, though often with a blind zeal which even private partiality cannot sufficiently excuse, and with a want of judgment which degrades those whom it seeks to exalt. Into this fault the antients never fell; and the modern, who sits down to write the life of an eminent character of antiquity, is *precluded* from so doing, not only by the failure of such kind of materials, but also from the extreme paucity of intelligence as to important circumstances in the lives of several eminent characters of antiquity. Thus it has happened that, from a want of regular accounts, or satisfactory materials, modern biographers have often sought to eke out the deficiency by collecting every trivial particular to be picked up in the rummage of antient writers, supplying the rest by vague and dubious conjecture. Of this there are no stronger proofs than in the two great luminaries of antient history, *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*; of the latter of whom we have no antient biography that deserves the name, except one by Marcellinus, of uncertain age, and pronounced by Smith, with some reason, "a crude, incoherent morsel." He might have added, too, that

it is full of contradictions.* Much is it to be lamented that, in the case of the two great historians, we have not the lamp of a Plutarch to light us, but are fain to content ourselves with the feeble and dubious glimmer of Marcellinus. Thus the circumstances have had to be collected by such vague hints as could be gathered from antient authors, or by incidental information in the History itself: and this has been done with indefatigable diligence by Dodwell, in his "Apparatus ad Annales Thucyd." But the *judgment* of that scholar was greatly inferior to his learning and diligence. Had the consummate acumen of a Bayle been employed in eliciting the truth from this undigested, incoherent mass, little more could have been wished for. This, however, as well as some other of the greatest difficulties in biography, the philosopher chose to decline, though not from want of admiration of *Thucydides*, as his whole work shows. To the task which he advisedly declined, it were presumptuous in me to suppose my powers adequate. Neither will the limits to which I am necessarily restricted in a work of this nature permit me to do more than attempt a brief statement of those circumstances in the life of this greatest of historians which are most interesting and best authenticated; accompanied with some notices respecting his qualifications as an historian, and a few critical remarks on his style and manner of treating his subject.

The historian, whose life occupies the present pages, was an Athenian, born in the village of Halimusia, in the tribe of Leontium. His surname was Olorus, or, as some write, *Orolus*, which is approved by Marcellinus, (See Thucyd. § 17.) who endeavours to establish this orthography on an inscription at Athens. But whether it was actually *seen* by Marcellinus, or taken from *hearsay*, is doubtful. Certain, however, it is, that inscriptions are sometimes inaccurate, and such permutations as this not unfrequently occur in pronunciation, and possibly in writing. Besides, the name Olorus is

* I would, however, suggest, as some extenuation of its faults, that probably the life, as we now have it, was *made up* out of *two* others (and those varying in their accounts) by some egregious blunderer of the middle ages, who merely *compounded both together*, without attempting to reconcile the inconsistencies, or digest the crude and incoherent materials.

not unfrequent among the Thracian kings, from whom Thucydides derived his origin; for he was of very noble extraction, being on the mother's side descended from Cimon, son of Miltiades, the conqueror of Marathon, who, on the same side, was sprung from Olorus, king of Thrace. And as Miltiades was, on the father's side, descended from Ajax and Æacus, so Thucydides was doubly of royal descent. Our historian is to be distinguished from others of the same name; of which there were three, — one the rival of Pericles, another a son of Memnon, the third a poet, mentioned by Marcellinus, though he was sometimes wrongly confounded with the *first*: on which see Poppo Proleg. 1. p. 27., Goeller Vit. Thucyd., and Dahlman, by him referred to. The name *Thucydides* is, Goeller observes, often confounded with that of other writers. He instances Thugenides, a poet; Pherycides, an historian; and Andocides, the orator. Others I shall be enabled to add in my edition; as, for instance, *Phocylides*. Goeller thinks that *Thugenides* was the author of the celebrated epigram on Euripides, Μνᾶμα μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου, &c.

A most important, but, at the same time, difficult point is, to fix the year of the historian's birth. Our best, nay, only authority is Pamphila ap. Aul. Gell. N. A. 15, 13., where, speaking of the three great historians who flourished together at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, she says that Hellanicus was then sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three and Thucydides forty. Now that war began in the summer of 431 B.C. Hence it follows that the year of the birth of Thucydides was 471, or, as some say, 470 B.C.

Of the *boyhood* and *education* of the historian we have little information. The first remarkable circumstance of his early youth is one which the biographers of Thucydides never fail to relate. It is related on the authority of Lucian de Conscrib. Hist. c. 16., Suidas, and Photius, that Thucydides, when a youth of fifteen, stood with his father near Herodotus, when reciting his history at the Olympic festival; and was so much interested with the work, and affected at the applause with which it was received, that he shed tears. On observing which, Herodotus exclaimed to his father, Ὀργᾷ

ἡ φύσις τοῦ υἱοῦ σου πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα, "Your son burns with ardour for science." This recitation is proved by Dodwell to have taken place at the eighty-first Olymp., 456 B. C. Another recitation, too, is recorded to have been made at Athens in 443 B. C., when Herodotus read his history before the senate, and received a public mark of honour, and, as some say, a present of *ten talents*, at the great festival of the Panathenaica. This rests on the authority of Dio Chrysostom Or. Corinth. p. 456. and St. Jerome. Now if what is said by Pamphila be true, the age of Thucydides, at the period of the first recitation, was *fifteen*, and that of the historian above mentioned *twenty-eight*. The grounds on which the whole account rests have been carefully scrutinised by one of the most learned and acute scholars of modern times, Wesseling; and he acquiesces in its correctness. And, indeed, no other opinion had been heard of, until lately some sceptical German critics have not hesitated to pronounce that the whole is fabulous. Such, too, is strenuously maintained by Poppo, Proleg. t. 1. p. 24. His arguments, however, are manifestly inconclusive. He urges that the story is incredible, "because Thucydides ever *contemned* the judgment of the vulgar, nor has evinced any admiration of the history of Herodotus, very different in plan from his own." But surely we are not to expect that the boy of fifteen should have the feelings of the man of mature age, such as was Thucydides when he began to write his history; not to say that the majority of persons collected from various parts of Greece at the Olympic assembly were *not* of *the vulgar*. As to the history of Herodotus being different in plan and manner from his own, that is no reason why Thucydides should not have held it in estimation, especially at the immature age of fifteen, when the beauties of that matchless work of *its kind** would be especially interesting. Some other arguments are adduced by Dahlman Herod. p. 22., referred to by Goeller, and

* So Wyttenbach, Præf. ad Select. Pr. Hist. p. 11. says, "Secundus est Thucydides, et ipse palmarius, sed diversâ ratione:" and again, "Profectus e diversis atque Herodotus disciplinæ initiis." Indeed, the genius of Thucydides was totally different; but that was no reason why he should not acknowledge the merit of the other historian.

considered by him more conclusive than Poppo's. "It is improbable (he argues) that Herodotus could, at so early an age (not thirty), have taken so many long and distant peregrinations, have collected materials, and accomplished a work which bears the marks of maturity of intellect, and somewhat of the garrulity of advanced years." This, however, is as weak an argument as either of the former, since we have no correct information as to the *extent* of these travels; and as the space to be traversed was not considerable, no *very* long period would be requisite. As to the marks of maturity of intellect observable in the work, it may be replied, that some minds ripen much sooner than others; and that he should have accomplished it before his thirtieth year may be paralleled by instances on record even more extraordinary. It is, indeed, impossible to fix a limit to what a mighty mind can effect in a given time, when wholly absorbed in a great work.

It is further urged by Dahlman, that "he could not have been heard by so great a multitude; nor could he have secured the attention of the multitude by his prose narrations, when even the vehement harangues of Demosthenes could not universally command attention. Besides, how could there have been *time* for so long a recitation? what human lungs and strength could have been equal to it? or who would choose to be so long exposed to the burning heats and pelting rains?" He contends, "that the multitude would have been weary of any recitation, even of a few hours, without some relief from music, and support from action and gesture. Finally (he adds), we hear of no other example of such kind of recitation."

But neither, I conceive, are these last arguments convincing. We are by no means obliged to suppose that the whole history, as we now have it, was finished at the period in question; but only that the *plan* had been fully formed, and a considerable part of the work executed. Still less are we compelled to suppose that the whole was read at the Olympic assembly. The recitation, doubtless, embraced only such parts as would be most interesting to the congregated multitude, forming a considerable proportion of the enlightened population of Greece. And as the festival was of several days' duration, we need not suppose so long a recitation at once as

to weary the auditors, or exhaust the speaker. To suppose that so enlightened an audience (not the mere rabble of an Athenian assembly) could not keep up their attention at the recitation from a work, the whole of it the most attractive of its kind, and of which the parts selected would be the most interesting and flattering to the Grecians at large, seems to take for granted an extreme improbability, and to judge of antient by modern feelings, and conceive of the enlightened assemblage at Olympia as if it were the pit and gallery audience of a London or Paris theatre. At the *second* recitation at Athens, which, as we are told, was thirteen years afterwards, the work was probably finished, and might then, at the suggestion of the admiring audience, have its books named after the nine Muses. This will also suggest a satisfactory answer to the objection of Dahlman, that at l. 2, 156. Herodotus speaks of Æschylus as "the poet of a past age," whereas he died a short time *afterwards*. The passage in question was probably not written at the time of the first recitation, but was added between that time and the period of the publication of the history. Though, indeed, if we consider that the poet died in advanced years, and that his most celebrated dramas were written thirty or forty years before the period in question, the expression may very well be justified.

From the *boyhood* of the historian, proceed we to consider his course of instruction when a *youth*. Marcellinus informs us that his preceptor in oratory and rhetoric in general was *Antipho*, on whom he has passed a short but significant encomium at l. 8, 68. In philosophy, and the art of thinking and reasoning, he was instructed by Anaxagoras, the preceptor and friend of Pericles, on whom see Wyttenbach, ubi supra.

Of the manner in which he spent his *early manhood* we have no certain information. That he served the usual time in the περίπολοι, or militia, we cannot doubt. Dr. Lempriere, however, has no authority for saying that "his youth was distinguished by an eager desire to excel in vigorous exercises and gymnastic amusements;" a thing, indeed, somewhat improbable.

How he spent the period from his militia-service to that of his appointment to command the fleet in Thrace, we have no

certain information. An antient anonymous biographer of the historian says, that he participated in the Athenian colony sent to Thurium. But if he had, by inheritance, any considerable property in Thrace, which is highly probable, no reason can be imagined why he should have taken part in this colony. If, however, that statement be *correct*, Dodwell seems to have proved that the circumstance must have taken place in his twenty-seventh year. Why he went, or how long he stayed, we are not informed. If he went at all, he probably did not remain very long; and there is no doubt that he had returned to his country long before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, otherwise it would make his marriage with the Thracian lady of Scaptesyle (by whom he obtained rich property in gold mines, &c.) an improbably late one. Whether he was employed in military service in the first seven years of the war, is uncertain; it is probable, however, that he *was*. In the eighth year of the war, and the forty-seventh of his age, B. C. 424, he was appointed to the command of the Athenian fleet off the coast of Thrace, which included the direction of affairs in the various Athenian colonies there, with much the same power as governor-general in our colonies. He occupied with his fleet a station at Thasus, and being suddenly summoned to the defence of Amphipolis, he hastened thither; but, owing to unavoidable circumstances, was too late, by only half a day. He, however, succeeded in saving Eion, though, had he not arrived at the time he did, the place would have been occupied by Brasidas the very next morning. It is plain that to save Amphipolis was a physical impossibility, and great activity was used in saving Eion. He, therefore, merited praise rather than censure. And yet the Athenian people, out of humour with the turn which things were taking in Thrace, condemned him to banishment: though, with a magnanimity scarcely paralleled, he makes no mention of it in his history *of that period*, and only touches upon it incidentally afterwards, in order to show his advantages for arriving at the truth, and then without a word of complaint. Thus, to use the words of Smith, "we have lost Thucydides the *commander*, to secure fast Thucydides the *historian*." Discharged of all duties, and free from all public

avocations, he was left without any attachments but to simple truth, and proceeded to qualify himself for commemorating exploits in which he could have no share.

> " Sweet are the uses of adversity;
> Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
> Bears yet a precious jewel in his head."

On his banishment he retired to Scaptesyle, the property of his wife*, and thus dedicated his leisure to the formation of his great work, and (as Marcellinus, the antient biographer, says) employed his wealth liberally in procuring the best information of the events of the war, both from Athens and Lacedæmon. How he passed the period of his exile may, then, very well be imagined; nor is it necessary to fill up that space, as Dodwell does, with such events as " the death of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia; the accession of Archelaus, his successor; the end of the ἡλικία στρατεύσιμος of Thucydides;" for his military life had virtually been defunct eighteen years before.

As to the period of his exile, it was (as he himself tells us at l. 5, 26.) twenty years; and his return is, by some, fixed to 403 B. C., at the time when an amnesty was passed for all offences against the state; by others, to the year before, when Athens was taken by Lysander, and the exiles mostly returned. See Xen. Hist. l. 2, 2, 23. The *former* opinion has been shown by Krueger to be alone the correct one. " For (argues he) since Thucydides says that he was banished for twenty years in the eighth year of the war, which also, he affirms, lasted twenty-one years, it follows that his recall must have been in *the year after* Athens was taken." To which it may be added, that the high-minded historian would have disdained to avail himself of such an unauthorised way of

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* " This (says his biographers) he did not inherit from his *mother;* for Scaptesyle was not in Thrace, but in *Thasus;* but from his *wife:*" which is highly probable (and is asserted by Marcellinus), but not for the reason above mentioned; for his mother might have property in Thasus, though a Thracian. Scaptesyle, however, was, as one may say, in Thrace; being situated, not in Thasus, but in a small strip of Thracian territory, subject to Thasus, and opposite to that island.

returning to his country as that eagerly snatched at by the bulk of the exiles, but would wait until the public amnesty should give him a full right so to do. Perhaps, however, that the real truth of the matter is what Pausanias relates, who mentions among the antiquities a statue to the memory of one Œnobius for being the mover of a separate decree of the assembly for the recall of Thucydides. It is probable, that, besides the general amnesty by which the former exiles were permitted to return, a *particular decree* was made for Thucydides; and, considering the gross injustice of his banishment, this was no more than he had a right to expect.

It is not necessary to advert to all those many improbable, and sometimes contradictory, accounts concerning the life of Thucydides which are found in some of the later Greek writers; as, for instance, Pausanias, who, besides making Thucydides descended from Pisistratus (which is inconsistent with plain facts, for the genealogies of Miltiades and Pisistratus show no sort of affinity), relates that Thucydides was assassinated immediately on his return. And Zopyrus, referred to by Marcellinus, relates that such took place, but some years afterwards. Had, however, that really been the case, it would have been perfectly known, and could scarcely but have been alluded to by Cicero, or some other great writer of antiquity. Poppo, indeed, maintains that he lived *many* years after his return; but his reason (namely, that after his return he digested his history into order) is not convincing. For it surely would not require *many* years to do that, especially as the last book was, after all, left in a rough and indigested state. Besides, the *probability* is rather, that a man of sixty-seven should *not* live *many* years. The strongest proof adduced is, that the historian, at l. 3, 116., makes mention of the *third* eruption of Ætna, which took place in 395. B. C. See Dodwell Synops. Chron. § 27. But this argument depends upon the interpretation of the words of that passage, which probably gave a countenance to the above opinion. See the note in loc. It seems, therefore, to be uncertain how many years he lived after his recall from banishment. The *manner* in which he speaks of the conclusion of the war, and his having lived throughout the whole of it in the full enjoyment of his

faculties, strongly confirms the statement of Pamphila, from which it follows that he was sixty-seven years old at its conclusion. And as it seems probable that he would not arrange the work before the conclusion of the war, so the moulding of the whole into its present form might consume some years of the life of an aged man. Yet its being at last *left incomplete* is unfavourable to the opinion of Dodwell, that Thucydides lived *beyond his eightieth year*. The proof which he adduces that the historian lived to that age is weak. Marcellinus (he says) tells us that Thucydides died ὑπὲρ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη. Now certainly Marcellinus could not write thus. Hence Dodwell conjectures ὑπὲρ τὰ π′ ἔτη, i. e. eighty years. Which is, as far as regards the *literarum vestigia*, a probable conjecture; but it is much discountenanced by the *fact* that the historian left his work imperfect. I am inclined, therefore, to suspect that Marcellinus wrote ΔΛΛ i. e. ἑβδομήκοντα, and that the ΔΔ was confounded with the ΤΑ the article, and then the second Δ with Π. Certainly it is not easy to see what the article can here have to do. Thus all will be right; for it is very probable that the historian lived *somewhat beyond the age of seventy*. Upon this disputed point the reader may, however, consult Krueger and Goeller.

The non-completion of the work has, moreover, given occasion for no little speculation among the critics. That any difference of opinion should have arisen is strange; since it is difficult to imagine any other reason for the non-completion of a plan, deliberately formed, according to some, *forty*, certainly between thirty and forty years before, except that of sudden death, or continued deprivation of health. It is probable that the health of the historian sunk gradually throughout the latter part of the work. The state of the eighth book may best be accounted for on this supposition. And, indeed, there is a gradual declension of vigour and finished execution after the first five books.

The above question is naturally connected with another before adverted to, that of *the time at which the history was formed*. The antients generally relate that it was written during his exile: but that is very consistent with the hypothesis that he formed his collections and disposed his

materials in something of order during that period. Poppo adduces some reasons why he cannot be supposed to have regularly moulded the work until the sixty-seventh year of his age. And that is probable. The argument, however, which he urges from the mention of the death of Archilaus, king of Macedonia, at l. 2,100., is not very cogent, since the mention might be a later insertion. It will only prove that he was *alive* at the death of that monarch.

Of the place of his residence, after his recall from exile, we have no certain information, any more than of the place of his death and burial. As to the former, we can scarcely doubt that though it might occasionally be Athens, yet it would usually be Scaptesyle. The superintendence of his large property would render his occasional residence there necessary, and long habit must have attached him to a spot for so many years his peaceful and studious retreat. The place and the manner of his death and burial are matters of great doubt. Not to notice the improbable story of his death at Thurium, or by assassination, some antient authorities inform us that he died and was interred at Athens in the Cœle, in the burial inclosure appropriated to the family of Cimon. Yet Marcellinus acknowledges that the inscription had not the usual ἐνθάδε κεῖται. Hence Dodwell argues that it was only a cenotaph. The truth may probably be that he died at Scaptesyle; and possibly he was there interred; at least, his bones might afterwards be brought to Athens, and deposited in the sepulchre of the Cimonian family.

With respect to the temper and disposition of Thucydides, it was grave, cool, and candid. "He seems (Smith observes) to have been all judgment, and no passion." He evidently had nothing choleric or resentful in his constitution. His notions in philosophy and religion being above the conceptions of the vulgar, procured him, as in the case of Anaxagoras, Socrates, Pericles, and others, the name of an atheist, "which (says Hobbes) they bestowed upon all men that thought not as they did of their ridiculous religion. For though (adds Hobbes) he were no atheist, yet it is not improbable but, by the light of natural reason, he might see enough in the religion of these heathens to make him such in the opi-

nion of the people." It is, indeed, manifest from his history, that Thucydides was, on the one hand, no atheist; and, on the other, far removed from the superstition of his countrymen.

So much for the *man*. Let us now proceed briefly to consider the *historian*, "in whom (as Hobbes well observes) two things are to be considered, truth and elocution. For in truth consists the soul, and in elocution the body of history. The latter, without the former, is but a picture of history; and the former, without the latter, unapt to instruct." The rest of what is proper to be said on this subject cannot be better expressed than in the words of the same writer, p. 35. "For the faith of this history I shall have the less to say, in respect that no man hath ever yet called it into question. Nor, indeed, could any man justly doubt of the truth of that writer, in whom they had nothing at all to suspect of those things that could have caused him either voluntarily to lie or ignorantly to deliver an untruth. He overtasked not himself by undertaking a history of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to inform himself. He was a man that had as much means, in regard both of his dignity and wealth, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needful for a man to have. He used as much diligence in search of the truth (noting every thing whilst it was fresh in his memory, and laying out his wealth upon intelligence) as was possible for a man to use. He affected, least of any man, the acclamations of popular authorities, and wrote not his history to win applause, as was the use of that age, but for a monument to instruct the ages to come. Which he professeth himself, and entitleth his book Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεῖ, *a possession for everlasting*. He was far from the necessity of servile writers, either to fear or flatter. In sum, if the truth of a history did ever appear by the manner of relating, it doth so in this history; so coherent, perspicuous, and persuasive is the whole narration, and every part thereof. In the elocution also, two things are considerable: disposition, or method and style. Of the disposition here used by Thucydides, it will be sufficient, in this place, briefly to observe only this; that, in his first book, first he hath, by way of exordium, derived the state of Greece

from the cradle to the vigorous stature it then was at when he began to write; and next declared the causes, both *real* and *pretended*, of the war he was to write of; in the rest, in which he handleth the war itself, he followeth, distinctly and purely, the order of time throughout; relating what came to pass from year to year, and subdividing each year into a summer and winter. The grounds and motives of every action he setteth down before the action itself, either narratively, or else contriveth them in the form of deliberative orations, in the persons of such as, from time to time, bare sway in the commonwealth. After the actions, when there is just occasion, he giveth his judgment of them, showing by what means the success came either to be furthered or hindered. Digressions for instruction's cause, and other such open conveyances of precepts (which is the philosopher's part), he never useth, as having so clearly set before men's eyes the ways and the events of good and evil counsels, that the narration itself doth secretly instruct the reader, and more effectually than possibly can be done by precept."

On the qualifications of Thucydides as an historian, Smith has a discourse which merits perusal. He there shows him to have had *all* the qualifications that can be thought necessary; namely, "to be abstracted from every kind of *connection* with persons or things that are the subject-matter; to be of no *country*, no *party*; clear of all *passions*, *independent* in every light; entirely *unconcerned* who is pleased or displeased with what he writes; the servant only of *reason* and truth." He bears no ill-will to the people who basely injured him, so that in his history (as says Hobbes), "no word of his, but their own actions, do sometimes reproach them." He was wholly unconcerned about the opinion of the generation in which he lived. "He (says Smith) wrote for posterity. He appealed to the future world for the value of the present he had made them. The judgment of succeeding ages has approved the compliment he thus made to their understandings. So long as there are truly great princes, able statesmen, sound politicians, politicians that do not rend asunder politics from good order and the general happiness, he will meet with candid and grateful acknowledgments of his merit."

On the superiority of our historian as compared with his predecessors, in the communication of new and original stores of knowledge, there is much valuable information in Creuzer's Ant. Hist. and Dahlman Herod.*

As to the *style* and *diction* of Thucydides, the limits prescribed to this work forbid any lengthened discussion. That it is worthy of the matter and the subject was the almost unanimous opinion of the great antient critics, by whom it was admitted to be the canon, or purest model, of *old* Attic. There

* "The historical art (say they) commencing with poetry, was at length brought nearer to truth by regular poets, who began to narrate myths with more attention to chronology and regular order. These were followed by writers in prose, called *logographi*, who flourished from the 20th to the 70th Olympiad, and who, while they retained much of the nature of poetry, yet were *less* studious of the truth of facts, and supplied little more than myths, and those often anile enough; nor did they evince judgment in distinguishing matters of great moment from those of small importance. Order and regular composition were wanting; they neglected accurate chronology, narrated events disjointly, without any plan or connection, whereby each might be deduced from its cause; and most of their narrations respected cities and peoples *separately*, and thus formed no connected history.

"These *logographi* were followed by *Herodotus*, who paid, indeed, much more regard to truth than they, and took long journeys for the purpose of discovering it: so that he could make great additions to geographical science. Yet he also too much indulged in fabulous stories; and his wish to relate the truth was not aided by the turn of mind, or the opportunities, which could alone have enabled him to accomplish his purpose. The whole complexion, too, of his history bears a great affinity to poetry. Hence those many *digressions*, which, in Thucydides, are only introduced when necessary, and suitable to the illustration of the matter in hand. Those who lived in the time of Herodotus, or between the Persian and Peloponnesian war (as Hellenicus and Xanthus Lydius) are to be supposed much like the logographi. On the contrary, Thucydides displays an anxiety for truth, seconded by extraordinary acumen in discovering, and great diligence in working it out. He was, moreover, far nearer the times he treats of, and was, indeed, concerned in the events, and was enabled to settle his chronology far more exactly than Herodotus; and as his great predecessor was influenced by a sort of pious feeling, and had implicit faith in what was established in religion and confirmed by the authority of its ministers and the interpreters of the gods: hence he has frequent mention of oracles and prophecies, and whatever is extraordinary, he (neglecting the proximate causes) refers to supernatural and celestial aid; so the mind of *Thucydides*, illumined by the light of philosophy, and far removed from superstition, chose to investigate what was true in any matter, rather than follow the bruit of empty report, or be deceived by the wrong notions of his contemporaries. He most diligently marks the time of the events, distinguishing them by the time of year, summer and winter, the *years* by the archons, ephori, bœotarchs, and victors in the Olympic games. When the occurrences of times more antient than his own are related, he forms a computation of years either from the Trojan war, or *backward*, from the Peloponnesian or any other memorable event."

was, indeed, among the antient critics scarcely more than one exception to this opinion, namely, he who was called the *Thucydideo-mastix*, Dionysius Halicarnassus. But his objections to the matter and disposition of the history have been shown to be utterly groundless; and his attacks on the *style* are scarcely better founded. In truth, he is a close imitator of the very phraseology which he carps at. The only well-founded censure to be seen in Dionysius's criticism is on the score of harshness and contortion in the construction of the sentences, their immoderate length, and their great and needless difficulty. Marcellinus and Smith say that he was obscure on purpose that the common people might not understand him. And this Hobbes thinks both probable and justifiable: "for (adds he) a wise man should so write that wise men only should be able to commend him." This, however, is a mere sophism of the philosopher of Malmsbury. It is surely more worthy of a wise man, as Lord Bacon says, "to think with the wise, and speak with the foolish." At the same time, it is most acutely remarked by Mr. Hobbes, that "the obscurity which exists, proceeds from the profoundness of the sentences, containing contemplations of those human passions, which either dissembled, or not commonly discoursed of, do yet carry the greatest sway with men in their public conversation. If, then, one cannot penetrate into them without much meditation, we are not to expect a man should understand them at the first speaking." And again: "in the character of men's humours and manners, and applying them to affairs of consequence, it is impossible not to be obscure to ordinary capacities, in what words soever a man deliver his mind." After all, however, this is no sufficient justification; for though no care on the part of the author could have made the history *easy*, or on a level with ordinary capacities, yet more attention to perspicuity might have greatly lessened the difficulty.* As to

* For that the difficulty of Thucydides is extreme no one will deny. This Cicero considered so great as to make his meaning occasionally impossible to be understood. The cause of the obscurity and difficulty (which could not be *intentional*, though *facility* would never be his object) is well pointed out by Smith (p. 21.): — "He wrote, as he thought, far beyond an ordinary person. He thinks faster than he can utter; his sentences are full stored with meaning, and his very words are sentences. Where pure

the excessive length of sentences, though a fault in style, yet when many reasonings are thus brought together in a small compass, there will, with proper attention, be less trouble occasioned to the reader.

With respect to the numerous *orations* inserted in the history, and which are so great an ornament, they have been considered too much with a reference to modern customs, tastes, and feelings. That they are not necessary, nor even proper to be adopted in *modern* history, is no reason why they should not have been so in antient times, when so much, both in the council and the field, depended upon oratory, and in a state of society by which all affairs, both of war and peace, were debated and transacted publicly. Hence orations are by Thucydides ranked with *facts*, and, if carefully reported, must give the most accurate conception of the state of politics. Now our historian in his preface professes to have used all possible diligence in attaining to the truth, as to what was said, and, as far as was practicable, ascertaining the very words. See l. 1, 22 & 23. and the notes. On the consummate *eloquence* of the orations there is but one opinion. Though it was observed by Cicero that they were "not adapted to the *bar*, and were fitter to be read than heard." And with truth; "for (as Hobbes says) words that pass away (as in public orations they must) without pause, ought to be understood with ease, and are lost else; though words that remain in writing, for the reader to meditate on, ought rather to be pithy and full." In short, the nature and character of the whole work is such as has occasioned it to be, in every age, the study of *the few*, rather * than of *the many*. Thus the epigram subjoined to the

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thought is the object, he connects too fast, nor is enough dilated for common apprehension;" a remark which is nearly as applicable to the writings of *St. Paul*, whose chief difficulty does not arise from his Hebraisms, nor even from his want of power over the Greek language, but from his mind being cast in the same mould as that of Thucydides.

* Upon the whole, the antients were scarcely less sensible of the difficulty of the author than the moderns. Hence, at an early age, there were numerous commentators; as Evagoras, Antyllus, Sabinus, Phœbammon, Hermippus, Didymus, Orus, Zopyrus, and others; on whom see Harle's Fabricius, Duker's Præf. 10., and Goeller's Præf. p. 17. & 18. Out of selections made from these commentators, arose what is called the *Scholia;* some of which, however, found their way into the *Lexicons*, though never, as far as we know, accompanied the author.

editions: εἰμι γὰρ οὐ πάντεσσι βατός, παῦροι δ' ἀγάσαντο Θουκ., &c. It has ever been the especial favourite of the most eminent orators, statesmen, and generals. It is sufficient to say that it was copied eight times by the hand of Demosthenes, and was the perpetual study and admiration of Cicero.

I cannot conclude without briefly adverting to the opinion of many eminent German critics of the day, that "when Thucydides wrote his history he had not seen that of Herodotus, it not having been published, for otherwise Thucydides would have taken care to have the earliest sight of it." But this is as much as saying that the history of Herodotus was not published until very many years after his death (see Dahlman ap. Goeller 1, 20.), which is highly improbable. Besides, I conceive that the notes to this work contain such strong testimony to the truth of the hitherto universally received opinion, by induction of verbal coincidences, as should set the question for ever at rest.

It is remarkable that Goeller makes no mention that the History of Thucydides was prepared for publication by Xenophon, into whose hands it had been committed by the son (Timotheus) or sons of Thucydides. It should seem that the learned biographer considers *this* also unworthy of credit. But it rests on very respectable authority (that of Dionysius Halicarnassus), and as it is far from involving any improbability, it is surely deserving of credit. We have thus a good reason supplied why Xenophon should have continued the history. As Thucydides was in constant communication with the most eminent of his countrymen, it is very probable that he should have had correspondence, and, perhaps, personal communication, with Xenophon, who might probably visit him at Scaptesyle. Dodwell has given good reasons for supposing, that at the time when the MSS. of Thucydides were put into the hands of Xenophon, he was an exile at his retreat of Scillus.

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

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6. l. 28. *for* had *read* have.
12. last line, *for* that *r.* that which.
16. l. 9. from bottom, *for* Tegæa *r.* Tegea.
20. l. 29. *for* OFTMEN *r.* OFTΛΑΕΝ.
38. l. 4. from bottom, *for* Anat *r.* Amat.
49. l. 28. *for* such *r.* somewhat.
53. l. 22. *for* meaning *r.* reading.
123. l. 19. *dele* rightly.
143. l. 18, 19. *for* καδίσταται *r.* καθίσταται.
150. last line, *for* χρόνον *r.* χρόνου.
169. l. 8. from bottom, *for* Ed. *r.* MS.
187. l. 6. *for* Epidamnians *r.* Epidaurians.
234. l. 24. *for* τασαυτῆ *r.* τοσαυτῆ.
243. l. 20. *for* ἀτως. *r.* ἀπως.
256. l. 8. from bottom, *for* δεῖεἶναι *r.* δεῖ εἶναι.
266. l. 10. from bottom, *for* stated *r.* staked.
281. l. 5. from bottom, *for* forced *r.* formed.
294. l. 18. *for* διεσμάντεἶς *r.* διεομαντεῖς.

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315. l. 5. from bottom, *for* 2000 *read* 20,000.
329. l. 18. from bottom, *for* ἀρητούρου *r.* ἀρκτούρου.
405. l. 20. *for* μένους *r.* μένουν.
407. l. 7. *for* ἵλκεσιν *r.* ἕλκεσι.
432. l. 27. *for* observe *r.* compare.
470. l. 15. *for* Poliorectes *r.* Poliorcetes.
470. l. 19. *for* χάματα *r.* χώματα.
473. l. 28. from bottom, *for* εἴλγειν *r.* εἴλλειν.
483. l. 6. from bottom, *for* erected *r.* created.
494. l. 8. from bottom, *for* ἐξώογοησαν *r.* ἐξώγρησαν.
496. l. 10, 11. from bottom, *for* ἐξείργασθέ *r.* ἐξείργασθέ.
499. l. 11. from bottom, *for* thus *r.* this.
507. l. 8 *for* from *r.* on.
513. l. 27. *for* strip *r.* strap,
531. l. 13. *for* Cedremis *r.* Cedrenus.

VOL. II.

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2. l. 22. *for* Macaresu *read* Macareus.
32. l. 5. from bottom, *for* χώριαν *r.* χώριον.
78. l. 1, 2. from bottom, *for* ἀφοφθοραὶ and χαγέντες *r.* ἀποφθοραὶ and ταγέντες.
95. l. 14. *for* and *r.* who.
129. l. 18. *for* of *r.* off.
130. l. 3. from bottom, *for* national *r.* international.
134. l. 15. from bottom, *for* διέσωθε *r.* διεσώθη.
147. l. 7. from bottom, *for* ὑποτυτεῖσθαι *r.* ὑποτοτεῖσθαι.
152. last line, *add* (*D'Israeli.*)
218. l. 24. *for* loci *r.* locutiones.
245. l. 10. from bottom, *for* who *r.* and.

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246. l. 15. from bottom, *for* authorise to *read* authorise us to.
250. l. 4. from bottom, *for* Meiton *r.* Meibom.
255. l. 9, 10, 11. *for* πυχνώσαντες and πυχνωθέντες *r.* πυκνώσαντες and πυκνωθέντες.
272. l. 13. from bottom, *for* Λιμηράτ. *r.* Λιμηρά.
294. last line, *dele* point after ἔθνος.
302. l. 11. from bottom, *f.* διαγαγὼς *r.* διαγαγών.
348. l. 9. from bottom, *for* hemmed *r.* hemmed in.
371. l. 11. from bottom, *for* Τοξωνος *r.* Τορόνος.
400. l. 16. from bottom, *for* καδ' *r.* καθ'.
447. l. 16. *for* designates *r.* designate.
499. l. 33. *for* Dodwell *r.* Dorville.

VOL. III.

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4. l. 8. from bottom, *for* τριγωνος *read* τρίγωνος.
1. l. 21. *for* διαπάντιος *r.* διαπόντιος.
2. l. 18. *for* Davand *r.* Dav. and.
47. l. 27. *for* μισθον *r.* μίσθου.
62. l. 11. from bottom, *for* Ἰμέθη *r.* Ἰμέρθη.
80. l. 24. *for* ἠλήφθη *r.* ἐλήφθη.
118. l. 1 & 2. from bottom, *for* ηλυς and αλυς *r.* ἅλος and αλος.
133. l. 21. from bottom, *for* Carter *r.* Canter.
145. l. 13. from bottom, *for* Lincolnshire *r.* Lincoln.

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183. l. 11. from bottom *for* Epizaphyrii *read* Epizephyrii.
220. l. 13. from bottom. *for* μυρίασαι *r.* μυρίασι.
221. l. 5. from bottom, *for* προσκινδυνεῦσαι *r.* προκινδυνεῦσαι.
246. l. 27. *for* καθιδρομένη *r.* καθιδρυμένη.
248. l. 16. from bottom, *for* tossed out *r.* tossed about.
250. last line, *for* ἐτοίμαζῶ *r.* ἑτοίμαζέ.
251. l. 18. *for* ἀνδρῶ *r.* ἀνδρῶν.
263. l. 10 & 15 *for* Latomia *r.* Latomiæ.

EXPLANATION OF REFERENCES.

1, 1. Triremes, &c., with which the Syracusans blocked up the mouth of the great port. Book vii. chap. 59.

2. Mouth of the great port.

3. Islet before Plemmyrium. vii. 23.

4, 7, 8. Dascon? See iii. 66. n.

5, 5. Stockade constructed before their ships, by the Athenians, to serve the purpose of a shut up port. vii. 38.

6. Transports moored before the stockade to secure a retreat. vii. 38.

7. Bottom and inmost recess of the port? vii. 52.

8. The jetty. vii. 53.

9. Palisade constructed by the Athenians beside their ships. vi. 66.

10, 10. Road to Helorum. vi. 66.

11. Palisade and ditch carried across the marsh by the Syracusans, to obstruct the wall of circumvallation. vi. 101.

12. Place at which the market for the fleet was held, by the advice of Aristo. vii. 39.

13. Piles driven down in front of the old docks, to defend the Syracusan shipping. vii. 25.

14. Dock. See vii. 22. n.

15. Cross wall. See vii.

16. Transverse wall of the Syracusans. vi. 99.

17, 17. Single wall of the Syracusans. vii. 4—6.

18. Postern gate. vi. 100.

19, 19, 19. Double wall of the Athenians.

20, 20. Athenian approaches. vi. 99.

21, 21, 21. Wall of the Athenians, carried by the rocky ground beyond the marsh down to the port. vi. 101. vii. 4.

22. Galeagra, or Scala Græca. See Livy 25, 23.

23. Hexapylum. }
24. Pentapylum. } See Goeller de Situ Syr., p. 67.

SOUTHERN GREECE.

THE

HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK I.

I. THUCYDIDES, an Athenian[1], hath composed[2] this history of the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, as they

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1 "The '*an Athenian*' is added for distinction (says the Scholiast) from others of the same name, or the same age," or, of other countries. Some, moreover, suspect, that τοῦ Ὀλόρου was originally written, as l. 4, 104. and elsewhere. But it would be difficult to account for the omission of the words by the *scribes*, though not by the *author*, and there would be less of minute formality, and consequently more of dignity, in omitting it *here*, especially as there could be little danger of his being confounded with others of the same name in future ages, since few are there of *any* age who can be supposed competent to write a history of their country.

2 *Hath composed*, ξυνέγραψε.] Some prefer ξυνέγραψα; as in Livy's "Annibal peto pacem," and the exordium of Sallust (an imitator of Thucydides), "Res populi Romani militiæ ac domi gestas *composui*." But the former passage is of a different character; and the latter is not decisive, since, if Sallust had this in view, he might prefer the first person, which would require the omission of the *name*. Besides, the third person is defended not only by all the MSS. and some parallel passages of our author, but also by several citations of the present passage in Dion. Hal., Dion Chrys., and Eustath. To which may be added the following imitations of it by other historians, in commencing their histories:— Procop.: Προκόπιος Καισαρεὺς τοὺς πολέμους ξυνέγραψεν, &c. Ocell. Lucan. τάδε συνέγραψε Ο. Λ. Timæus Locrensis: Τίμαιος ὁ Λοκρὸς τάδε ἔφα. Alcmæon Crotonensis: Ἀλκμαίων ὁ Κροτονιήτης τάδε ἔλεξεν. Sometimes, however, I have observed the *first* person; as in Palæph. de Incred.: τάδε περὶ ἀπίστων συγγέγραφα. And in the exordium of Thucydides's predecessor, Hecatæus, (as preserved in Demetrius Phaler.) we have both the first and third persons: Ἑκάταιος ὁ Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται, τάδε γράφω.

From this term ξυνέγραψε (often elsewhere used by our author), Thucydides has been κατ' ἐξοχὴν called ὁ συγγραφεύς. It is of more consequence,

waged it[3] against each other. He commenced the work immediately on the breaking out of the war, persuaded that it would be an important one, and the most[4] memorable of those that had preceded it; founding his judgment on the circumstance, that both the belligerent parties were at the highest point of preparation for it[5]; and seeing the rest of the Grecian nation, partly already ranged on either side, and partly preparing so to do. For this was by far the greatest commotion that had ever arisen among the Greeks, or the Bar-

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however, to advert to the *sense* of *συγγράφω*, in which some, as the Scholiast, seek the force of *accurate* and *diligent* narration. (See Gottleber.) But the dignified modesty every where preserved by our author, will not permit us to suppose this. It should rather seem that the *συν* has reference to the *narrations* and other *documents* on which authentic history is founded, and out of which it must partly be formed; and perhaps it has some reference to the *order* in which such narrations are arranged. This, however, is very inadequately expressed by the term *compile* employed by Smith. I have adopted *composed*, as formed from *componere*, by which the Roman writers expressed the Greek term in this sense. Sometimes, however, though rarely, it simply signifies *to narrate*, as in Herod. 3, 103, 2. *τὸ εἶδος — ἐπισταμένοισι οὐ συγγράφω*. On *ξυγγραφεὺς*, and its distinction from *λογόγραφος*, see Sallier on T. Magistr. in voc.

[3] *As they waged it.*] The *πόλεμον — ὡς επολέμησαν* has a character very unlike the neat precision of modern composition; and indeed some would read *ὅν*, which, however, besides being destitute of critical support, would be less significant. Gottleber compares 5, 26. *τὰ ἔπειτα, ὡς ἐπολεμήθη ἐξηγήσομαι*. The following, which are a few of the imitations which I have noted of the passage, will be found more apposite. Themist. p. 261 D. *ἄν τις ὑμῖν διηγῆται περὶ τῶν Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους*: and 264, C. *ἄν τις ὑμῖν διηγῆται περὶ τῶν Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. Polyb.: *ἐξηγησαμένοι τὸν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Φιλίππου πόλεμον ὡς ἐπράχθη*. See also 1 Kings, 14, 19. and 22, 45. where, however, the Heb. אֲשֶׁר is rendered by the LXX in the *relative*; and perhaps rightly; for this kind of pleonasm is not only a relique of the simplicity of ancient Greek diction, but is of Oriental character.

[4] *The most memorable of those that had preceded it.*] On this use of the superlative for the comparative, which frequently occurs in Thucydides and his imitators, see Herman on Viger. p. 718. and Goeller in loc. That editor might have added, that the whole passage is referred to by Themist. 184. D.

[5] *Preparation for it, ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν.*] It is strange that several critcs, both ancient and modern, would read *ἦσαν* or *ἦισαν*. For such a reading has no support from MSS., and yields a sense far less apt than the vlg. That is indeed required by the position of *ἀκμάζοντες*, which, according to the other reading, would be placed with *παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ*, either immediately before or after those words. *Ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν* is, as the Scholiast observes, for *ἤκμαζον*. The metaphor in *ακμ.* is usual; and the phrase is equivalent to the plainer one at 2, 8. *ἐῤῥωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*, with which we may compare Psal. 144, 13. "that our oxen may be strong *to* labour."

barians [6]; for to a portion of *them* also it extended, nay, I might say, to the greater part of the human race. For as to those which preceded it[7], and such as are yet more remote, to clearly ascertain their nature and exact importance, were, by reason of their remote antiquity, impossible. But from the marks or evidences [8] which, on the most extensive researches I could make, have chanced to approve themselves to my belief, I do not imagine that they [9] were considerable, either in respect of military or civil affairs.

II. Certain it is, that what is now called *Greece*[1], was of old not *fixedly* inhabited, but that there were at first frequent

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[6] *Or the Barbarians — race.*] Such I conceive to be the sense of the passage, which is darkly worded, and of which the obscurity has, as often, arisen from extreme brevity, two sentences being blended into one. In such a case a judicious translator will remember that he is not to *introduce* the obscurity, unless indeed the difficulty be insuperable; but that it is his duty to express what seems to be the true sense, though it may require to be unfolded in more words than are employed in the original. Thus a good version may serve the place of a perpetual commentary. The sense assigned by the modern translators, as Smith, is not permitted by the construction, and cannot be considered as the sense, because it would be frigid and unworthy of the author. The construction (as the Latin translator saw) demands that the predicate of the first member of the sentence should also be that of the other members; but the assertion, as predicated of the Barbarians, is only to be extended to that portion of them which participated with the Greeks in the Peloponnesian war, i. e. the Persians, Thracians, Siculi, &c. At ἐπὶ πλεῖστον I supply μέρος.

[7] *Preceded it.*] By *those* are meant those *events* which, in some measure, immediately preceded the Persian war. In the τὰ and αὐτῶν there is an ellipsis of πράγματα. The plural also is put for the singular, which denotes the κίνησις or πόλεμος in question.

[8] *But from the marks or evidence, &c.*] Or thus: "Yet as far as any evidence which, looking back into remote times, I have met with to persuade me," &c.

[9] *They.*] i. e. the affairs of the early ages. In this, as well as many other passages, one may clearly see the general meaning intended by our historian, but not so easily determine the exact sense. Goeller renders: unde mihi licet ad remotissima usque tempora investiganti fidem habere. i. e. Bewiese, denen ich so weit als möglich in der forschung zurückgehend trauen darf. See also Gottleber. Poppo thinks that no sense of *fortuity* is inherent in ξυμβ. And certainly it is very faint, and rather adds to the elegance, than contributes to the sense, of the passage.

[1] *What is now called Greece.*] i. e. What has now the general appellation of Hellas or Greece. For the scholiast observes that before that period κατὰ μέρους καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη ἐκαλεῖτο, where I am surprised Bekker should not have seen that for μέρους we should read μέρος, i. e. there was as yet no general appellation given to the country, which had merely the private appellation pertaining to particular districts or tribes, as, I believe, was the case with Scotland in the middle ages.

transmigrations[2] and changes of settlement; each readily abandoning his own situation as he was compelled so to do, by

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[2] *Transmigrations.*] Such seems to be the true force of *μεταναστάσεις*; though Goeller takes it to denote *voluntary migration*, which he thinks is included in the passage. But though that be the case, I cannot but regard *μεταν.* as referring to both voluntary and compulsory emigration, and also that *transmigration* which results from it.

Some critics adopt the reading of Cod. Reg. *μετανάστης τε οὖσα.* But this, though elegant, is too poetical: and I wonder they did not perceive that the vulg. is defended by a similar passage in 2, 16. *οὐ ῥαδίως τὰς μεταναστάσεις ποιοῦνται*: also by Xen. Mem. 3, 43, 6. (of the Athenians) *πολλῶν μὲν μεταναστάσεων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γεγονυιῶν, διέμειναν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν*: also by Diodor. Sic. 3, 433, 6. *πολλῶν μεταναστάσεων ἐν αὐτῇ γενομένων.* Diodorus seems to have had this passage in view; as undoubtedly had Greg. Corinth. ad Hermog. p. 892. Reisk. and perhaps Strabo. l. 12. p. 572. ed. Amst. *Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, γενέσθαι τὰς ἐφόδους καὶ τὰς μεταναστάσεις συνέβη, τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅμα καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρμῇ τινι χρησαμένων πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατάσασιν.* Vide Etym. Mag. p. 160, 5. et seq. The whole passage is had in view by Lesbonax, p. 173, 15. *οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες, ἐκ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν μετάσταντες οἰκοῦσιν ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν, ἐξελάσαντες ἑτέρους, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐξελαθέντες ὑφ' ἑτέρων. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο δύο φερεσθε καυχήματα ἀρετῆς. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξηλήθητε τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ἐξελάσαντες ἑτέρους, αὐτοὶ οἰκεῖτε.* The word *μετανάστασις* is somewhat rare, and it would not be easy to add to the above example (except Philo Jud. ap. Steph. Thes.), for though I have noted the word as occurring in Dion. Hal. t. 1, 703. Sylb., yet there the context requires *μεταστάσει*, which is supported by Thucydides and the best writers. Also in Ocellus Luc. c. 3. p. 37. ed. Rudolph. *πόλλακις γὰρ ἤδη καὶ γέγονε καὶ ἐσεῖται βάρβαρος ἃ Ἕλλας· οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον γιγνόμενα μετανάστασις.* But there is there a manifest corruption in the common reading, for which Gale would read *μετάστατος*, Hecren *μετανάστατος*, both terms of slender authority, and receding too far from the *literarum vestigia.* I confidently propose *μετανάστις*, the feminine form of *μετανάστης*, which *possibly* Ocellus here read, and *probably* Joseph. p. 1242, 20. *μετανάστης ὢν ὁ λάος.*

But to turn from words to things, on these transmigrations, Mr. Burke (Works, vol. 10. p. 182.) thus writes: "Such migrations, sometimes by choice, more frequently from necessity, were common in the ancient world. Frequent necessities introduced fashion, which subsisted after the original causes." And a little before, p. 180.: "Many writers imagine that these migrations, so common in the primitive times, were caused by the prodigious increase of people beyond what their territories could maintain. But this opinion, far from being supported, is rather contradicted by the general appearance of things in that early time; when, in every country, vast tracts of land were suffered to lie almost useless in morasses and forests. Nor is it indeed more countenanced by the ancient modes of life, no way favourable to population. I apprehend that these *first settled* countries, so far from being overstocked with inhabitants, were rather thinly peopled; and that the same causes which occasioned that thinness, occasioned also those frequent migrations which make so large a part of the first history of almost all nations." Mankind even from the earliest ages, (as we learn from Gen. x. and xi.) even when possessed of some civilisation, was generally inspired with the spirit of migration. This did not soon subside. Many tribes either dissatisfied with their settlements, or (like the Arabs and Tartars to this day), without any desire to settle,

the successive and overwhelming masses of immigrants. For as there was no commerce[3], nor indeed any confiding mutual intercourse[4], either by sea or land; as men were content with such possessions as supplied them with the bare necessaries of life[5], and aimed not at superabundance of goods[6];

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quitted the spots they had first chosen, and wandered in quest of others; and when a favourable situation was overstocked with inhabitants, (which in the then state of society might soon happen,) it was usual to send out colonies, often to parts very distant."

Thus the Mosaic writings then, the general tenor of tradition preserved by heathen authors, and the most authentic testimonies, of every kind, of the state of things in the early ages; vestiges, of art and monuments of barbarism, the unknown origin of the most abstruse sciences, and their known transmission from nation to nation; all combine to indicate the preservation of civility and knowledge, under favour of particular circumstances, among a small part of mankind; while the rest, amid innumerable migrations, degenerated in barbarians and savages. (Mitford's History of Greece.) I would observe that the foregoing remarks are applicable to the *new* world as well as the old. The early history of Mexico and Peru being filled with such accounts. See Humboldt's Works, or the Modern Traveller, in *Mexico*. It appears that the tribe which afterwards settled at Mexico, and founded the Mexican empire, had been for eight centuries constantly migrating from one spot to another. The history, too, of Asia, bears equal testimony to the above.

[3] *Commerce.*] By this the Scholiast understands *maritime* commerce; for as to that by *land*, (as we find from what follows,) not a little was enjoyed by cities which, like Corinth, occupied isthmuses. Why commerce by sea did not subsist, arose from the extreme prevalence of piracy.

[4] *Mutual intercourse.*] This is a rare, but elegant, sense of the ἐπιμιγνύντες, which, like our word *mix*, admits of being taken in a neutral or middle sense. Goeller refers to Long. Past. 3, 1. I add L. 1, 13. παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπιμισγόντων. Philostr. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 5, 24. πολλῶν ἐπιμιγνύντων δεῦρο. Hence, in Joseph. p. 583, 9. διὰ τὴν ἀμιξίαν οὐκ ἐφικνούμενοι πρὸς ἄλλους, I would read, with all the MSS., ἐπιμιγνύμενοι.

[5] *Bare necessaries of life, νεμόμενοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν.*] Such is the sense attributed to the word by the Scholiast, the commentators and critics: though it has lately been called in question by Schœfer on Bos p. 607., with the approbation, it seems, of Goeller. He would explain "ut ex iis victum haberent." The cause of the error arose, he thinks, from such a sense being found in the later writers, as Lucian.

I have indeed noted down not only many examples of this use from later writers, but imitations of this passage by the historians; so that I cannot abandon the antient interpretation; especially as that sense seems implied by the ellipsis of μόνον, which is frequent in such a phrase, and is *supplied* by Plato Protag. p. 135.

[6] *Goods, χρημάτων, moveable property.*] Such the context and the nature of the subject show to be the sense, and not *money*, assigned to the word by the interpreters. This sense is not unfrequent in Thucydides; as 3, 74. where see the note. And so Xen. Anab. 6, 6, 15. where χρήματα signifies *sheep*, and Herodot. 2, 134. The meaning is, that "they had not a superabundance of the necessaries of life," i.e. nothing but what was necessary for a bare and frugal subsistence.

nor did they venture on planting[7] the soil, it being uncertain whether an invader might not come and deprive them, defenceless[8] as they were, of the fruit; and moreover, as they thought they should every where readily obtain their necessary daily sustenance, they made little difficulty in emigrating. And hence it was that they attained unto no strength, either in magnitude of cities, or in any other apparatus of civilisation.[9] But, especially, the richest districts were ever most subject to this change of inhabitants; such as what is now called Thessaly[10] and Bœotia, and most parts of Peloponnesus, except Arcadia, and such other tracts as were the most fertile. For, on account of this fertility of soil, some attaining to power, and increasing in consequence, stirred up factions among the people, by which they were eventually brought to ruin; and,

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[7] *Planting.*] i. e. they merely cultivated the soil according to the ordinary modes of agriculture, ploughing, sowing, &c. The *φυτ.* has a reference to the culture of the vine, and olive, and other *fruit trees.*

The reason for this is obvious. They were uncertain of enjoying the fruits of that labour so necessary to raise young plants. Besides, according to the barbarous custom of antiquity, the ravages of war extended even to the cutting down of the trees and destroying the plantations. So in the Old Testament and the Greek writers. Hence, perhaps, may be explained a very obscure passage of the Scholiast on Eurip. Orest. 930. Beck. *ὁ δὲ Πελασγὸς πρῶτος ἀγροῦ κατασκευὴν ἐξεῦρε πάλαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς δράγμασι σιτουμένων*: i. e. "he first introduced ornamental culture, that high cultivation of the soil connected with planting." Either this interpretation must be admitted, or we must suppose that the passage is mutilated. And indeed I have sometimes thought that after *ἀγροῦ κατασκευὴν* there had been lost the words *καὶ τὴν σιτοποΐαν* (so Thucyd. 8, 24. *χώραν καλῶς κατασκευασμένην*), or that for *ἀγροῦ* we should read *σίτου*. And yet *ἀγροῦ* often occurs in the classical writers (see St. Thes.), *σίτου* no where; though in Plato de Rep. l. 11. we have *ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν ἀλφιτα σκευαζόμενοι.*

[8] *Defenceless, ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων.*] Literally, "and they withal being not collected into walled towns."

[9] *Either in — civilisation.*] Gail renders this: "ni dans les arts de la paix, ni dans les arts de la guerre." Which, however, is too paraphrastical. The *μεγέθει* has reference only to the size of their towns. The *παρασκευῇ* is indeed explained by the commentators exclusively of *military* apparatus. But the term being general may include *civil apparatus*, which is required by the context, and thus refer to the arts of both war and peace. As *παρασκευὴ* is here used, so I find *κατασκευὴ* in Isocr. Paneg. 5. *ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς κατασκευῆς ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦμεν, καὶ μεθ' ἧς πολιτευόμεθα.* And so Plutarch, *ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον κατασκευή.*

[10] *Now called Thessaly.*] For it had formerly (as the Scholiast observes) the appellation *Emathia*; as Catull. Carm. 65, 26. Emathiæ Columen, Peleu. See Serv. on Virg. Georg. 1, 491. Others, however, make Emathia a part of Macedonia. Thessaly, moreover, is said to have antiently had other appellations, as *Pelasgia*, *Æmonia*, and *Hellas*. See note 4. p. 10.

withal, they were the more exposed to the attacks of strangers.[11] Thus, for instance, Attica, as being on account of its sterility[12], for the most part[13] undisturbed by factions, the same[14] race

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[11] *Strangers.*] *Foreigners*, Hobbes and Smith. But these persons were, doubtless, for the most part Greeks, though of other tribes. The term usually denoted the latter, though sometimes the former.

[12] *Sterility.*] *διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων*, literally, "on account of the thinness of layer, and the scantiness of its soil." Thin coats of soil reposing upon rock, as in Attica, imply infertility (see Mark, 4, 5, 6.), at least for the growth of *corn;* though olives and figs sometimes flourish in such situations, and were afterwards introduced with success into Attica. And Plutarch, in Solon, says that Attica was fitter for pasturage than agriculture. So also Theoph. Inst. l. 1. tit. 2. *ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις ἐκέχρητο ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ, οἷα λεπτόγεως οὖσα.*

On this subject the commentators refer to Strabo, p. 602. Lucian, tom. 8. p. 136. Bip. Schol. Aristoph. Ach. 75. and Av. 123. Casaub. on Athen. p. 95. Spanh. on Julian, p. 78. Marx on Ephor. p. 120. I would add, that this passage is had in view by Galen, in Protrept. c. 7. and Alciph. 3, 35.

The *λεπτόγεων* carries also with it a notion of *dry, friable, sandy.* So Polyæn. 6, 13. *πεδίον λεπτόγεων.* Theophr. Hist. Pl. l. 8. *λεπτόγαιον εἶναι καὶ ψαφαρὰν τὴν χωράν.* The *cause* of this lightness of soil is attempted to be assigned by a writer of the life of Pythagoras, mentioned by Phot. Bibl. Cod. 2, 59. s. f. *τοῦ τοιούτου ἀέρος ἰσχνοτάτου ὄντος καὶ καθαρωτάτου· ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν γῆν λεπτύνειν (διὰ ἣν αἰτιαν καὶ λεπτόγεώς ἐστιν ἡ Ἀττικὴ) ἀλλὰ,* &c. Hence may be understood the controverted expression in Pindar Olymp. 7, 15. *κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναις;* where the Scholiast says, *διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατάξηρον,* (so we say *down*-ripe, *down*-old), *καὶ λεπτόγαιον τὸ κρανααῖς εἶπεν.* "In Attica (says Mitford) population first became settled, and the earliest progress was made towards civilisation. Being nearly peninsular [and therefore antiently called Acte, Edit.], it lay out of the road of emigrants, and wandering freebooters by land; and its rocky soil, supporting few cattle, afforded small temptation to either. The produce of tillage was less easily removed, and the gains of commerce were secured within fortifications."

[13] *For the most part.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense; though some antient interpreters and most modern commentators, take *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* conjointly, to signify "*of old, originally,*" *χρόνον* being supplied. Yet *ἐκ τοῦ* is thus left unaccounted for. It therefore seems better, with the Scholiast and Portus, and some recent commentators (as Goeller), to take the participle *οὖσαν* for the infinitive *εἶναι;* as 4, 63. 8, 105. 6, 84. (See Goeller.) *Ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* is well rendered by Portus *ut plurimum.*

[14] *The same — inhabited.*] Wyttenb. Eclog. Hist. p. 359., in answer to the query, how the inhabitants could be said to be always the same, when there was such an intermixture of foreign blood, replies that this *sameness* is to be understood of the inhabitants not emigrating to other regions, as was the case elsewhere. This circumstance, nay even that of being *αὐτόχθονες,* was the perpetual boast of the Athenians. For (though nothing is mentioned by the commentators) so Plato calls them in his Menexenus, and Demosthenes in Orat. Fun. Thus, also, in Lysiæ Epitaph. *οὐ γὰρ, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, πανταχόθεν συνειλεγμένοι καὶ ἑτεροὺς ἐμβαλόντες τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ὤκησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτηντο μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα.* See also an imitation of this in Aristid. Panath. p. 95. Also not so much an imitation as a barefaced transcript of it in Isocr. Paneg. p. 58. ed. Lang.;

of men have successively and uninterruptedly inhabited: and no stronger proof is there of the truth of this, than that *those* nations (i. e. those who occupied the more fertile tracts of Greece) did not, on account of their emigrations, increase in population equally with Attica[15]: for those of the rest of Greece, who were expelled from thence by war or civil commotion, took refuge (the most powerful of them) in Attica, as a secure place of habitation; and becoming citizens[16], they,

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as is the case, too, with many other passages of the same composition, which are plainly derived from the Epitaph. Lysiæ. Herodo. 7, 162. *ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων.* Longin. de Subl. § 23. *αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνες οὐ μιξοβάρβαροι οἰκοῦμεν.* This circumstance of their being *αὐτόχθονες*, was sometimes touched on by the dramatic writers, to gratify their Athenian audience. So Eurip. Erech. 68. *ἡ πρῶτα μὲν λεὼς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν, αὐτόχθονες δ' ἔφυμεν.* Aristoph. Vesp. 1071. *ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς Ἀττικοὶ μόνοι δικαίως εὐγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες.* Finally, to omit many passages which might be adduced from the sophists and later Greek writers, this is touched on, and the true force of the *αὐτόχθονες* and the *αὐτοὶ ᾤκουν* is shown in the following elegant passage of Cicero de Flacco: "Quæ vetustate ea est, ut ipsa ex sese cives genuisse dicatur, eorum eadem terra parens, altrix, patria, dicatur." Here Cicero plainly had in mind the above passage of Lysias, or that of Isocrates.

It is strange that Hobbes, in his note, should explain *αὐτόχθονες men of the same land.* But this is only one among a thousand other proofs not merely of his utter ignorance of the more exquisite idioms and the nicer proprieties of the Greek language, but of his imperfect acquaintance with even the tritest senses of words.

[15] *And no stronger proof — with Attica.*] Such seems to me the true sense of this obscure and controverted passage, which has not a little perplexed the commentators both antient and modern. Other interpretations are, indeed, brought forward by Poppo, Tafel, and others, (see Goeller) but they will not bear examination; and the above statement of the sense, which I formed nearly twenty years ago, has since been confirmed by the German translators, and by Goeller, who thus expresses the meaning of the passage: "Atque sententiæ a me propositæ hoc firmissimum argumentum est, ob migrationes in alias terras reliquam Græciam non perinde auctam esse, quod qui ex ista aut bello aut seditione exciderant potentissimi quique in Atticam tanquam sedes stabiles futuras se recipiebant." One of the Scholiasts, too, seems to have taken the passage in the same manner.

[16] *Becoming citizens.*] i. e. they were admitted to the jus civitatis equally with the native Athenians. It is truly observed by Smith, that "this was practised only in the infancy and early growth of the state." "Afterwards (he adds) it was an honour very seldom and with difficulty granted. Those who came from other places to settle at Athens, are distinguished from *πολῖται* citizens, by the name of *μετοῖκοι* sojourners, who had taken up their residence and cohabited with them. They performed several duties as subjects to the state which gave them protection, but never became Athenians, or citizens of Athens, in the emphatical sense of those terms." On the *ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ* Duker refers to Petit. Leg. Attic. p. 130. He might appositely have cited Eurip. Med. 820. *Ἐρεχθεῖδαι τὸ παλαιὸν ὄλβιοι.* On the whole passage see Aristid. t. 1, 190. and 191. B. Isocr. Paneg. p. 61–63.

from the earliest periods, mainly contributed to its early increase in population[17]; insomuch, that afterwards Attica being no longer able to sustain its inhabitants, sent out colonies to Ionia.[18]

III. Again[1], what seems to me a convincing proof[2] of the feeble power[3] of the antients is afforded by the fact, that before the Trojan war Greece appears to have achieved no enterprise in common. Indeed, it seems to me, that the whole had not yet that general name; nay, that before Hellen, son of Deucalion, there existed not such an appel-

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[17] *Increase in population.*] The cause of the early dense population of Attica was not only that those who settled there *remained*, but chiefly that the perfect security to persons and property almost exclusively found in Attica, encouraged very many to settle there. So Plutarch, Solon. c. 22. init. ὁρῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄστυ πιμπλαμένον ἀνθρώπων ἀεὶ συῤῥεόντων πανταχόθεν ἐπ' ἀδείας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. Attica, therefore, (says Mitford, 1. 55.) grew populous, not only through the safety which the natives thus enjoyed, but by a confluence of strangers from other parts of Greece: for, when either foreign invasion or intestine broil occasioned any where the necessity of emigration, the principal people commonly resorted to Athens, as the only place of permanent security, and where strangers of character, able, by their wealth or their ingenuity, to support themselves and benefit the community, were easily admitted to the privilege of citizens."

[18] *Ionia.*] So called (says the Scholiast) by *anticipation.*

[1] *Again.*] The δὲ is resumptive; and we have here the subject treated of, supra καὶ δι' αὐτὸ, and which was interrupted by the parenthetical μάλιστα δὲ — ἐξέπεμψαν.

[2] *Again a convincing proof—to all.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of this long, involved, and most perplexed sentence, which has occasioned no little trouble to the interpreters. This view of the *ratio loci*, the scope and general purpose of the passage, is confirmed by the authority of Goeller, whose verbal criticism on the words and phrases is correct and instructive. Οὐχ ἥκιστα for μάλιστα, as often elsewhere.

[3] *Feeble power.*] Some interpreters (as I myself formerly did) assign to ἀσθένειαν the sense *poverty*. So c. 5. ἀσθένεσι τῆς τροφῆς. To which I add Demosth. de Corona. καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἱππότροφος, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀσθενὴς. Eurip. Suppl. 433. Herodo. 2, 88. Aristoph. Pac. 635. Herodo. 8, 51. 2, 47. Demosth. de Cor. § 16. Hence is defended and illustrated Dio Cass. p. 950, 3. τοῖς ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου μὴ δυναμένοις βουλεύειν, which passage has been misinterpreted by Leunclav. and mangled by Oddey. But in all these passages either some word is added which defines the sense of ασθ., or else such a word is *implied* in the context. Not so here. It should therefore seem that the word denotes *tenuitatem, political inability*, the περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχειν before mentioned, a want of that superabundance of the necessaries of life by which alone war can be maintained: for truly is it observed by our author, l. 1, 141. αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσι. This sense of ἀσθένεια occurs infra, and in Herodo. 1, 143. ἀσθένεος δὲ ἔοντος τοῦ παντὸς Ἑλληνικοῦ. Paus. 7, 17, 1. ἐς ἅπαν δὲ ἀσθένειας κατῆλθον ἡ Ἑλλάς, et sæpissime.

lation; but tribes or nations singly, both others, and, most extensively, the Pelasgian[4], conferred a name on the dis-

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[4] *The Pelasgian.*] The Pelasgi, it may be observed, were the greatest rovers of antiquity. "There was hardly any region (says Hudson) which they did not traverse; so that their name was carried far and wide among the antients." And he refers to Herodo. 1, 56. Strab. l. 9. and 13. and Palmer's Græc. Antiq. p. 24, 25, 38, 39. But he might rather have referred to the whole of c. 9. (l. 1.) p. 38–61. (which treats of the Pelasgi), a most interesting portion, of which the following is the substance: "The Pelasgi were undoubtedly the most antient of all the Greeks, for they dwelt in various parts of Greece; nor do we find any name there so universal. Thus Herod. 2, 56. says that Greece was formerly called Pelasgia. And this is confirmed by Thucyd. 1, 3. and Strabo, l. 5. and 7.; the latter of whom tells us that this most antient of all the Greek nations was spread over the whole of Greece, but especially was fixed among the Æoles of Thessaly. The Latin poets, too, from Ennius downward, use the name *Pelasgi* for *Græci*. Retaining their residence in Greece, they yet traversed various regions of Europe and Asia, and made the Pelasgian name known every where. Thus (as we find from Justin, l. 7. init.) they formerly occupied Macedonia before it bore that name, nay, even before it was called *Emathia*, and while it bore the appellation *Bœotia*. The Pelasgi derived their name from the founder of their nation, Pelasgus, whom, on account of his antiquity, some, as Hesiod, call an *αὐτόχθων*; others, as Æschyl., *παλαίχθων*. There were several, too, of that name besides the first (of whom see Palmer in loc.); and from an examination of what is said of them (especially the most antient one) in the earlier classical writers, we may infer the high antiquity of this nation. See Pausan. in Arcadicis. Whence it may safely be maintained, that before Pelasgus I. the Greeks had no common name. That those over whom he reigned were the first who bore the name Pelasgi, and the most antient of the Greeks, appears from the circumstance that those among the Greeks who boasted of their antiquity, and would be thought *αὐτόχθονες* (as the Ægialeans, the Arcadians, and Athenians), were descendants of the Pelasgi; as we find from Herod. 7, 94. where by the Αἰγιαλέες seem to be denoted those Pelasgi who dwelt near the sea, or who were descended from such. That the Athenians sprang from the Pelasgi, we learn from Herod. 1, 57. 8, 44. and Scymnus, Ἐξῆς Ἀθῆναι φασιν οἰκετὰς λαβεῖν, τὸ μέν Πελασγοὺς πρῶτον. οἷς δὴ καὶ λόγος κρανάους καλεῖσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κεκροπίδας. That the *Arcadians*, who boasted of their antiquity, and called themselves *προσέληνοι*, were Pelasgi, admits not of a doubt. For Arcas (from whom that nation derived its name) was one of the posterity of Pelasgus I.; being son of Callistus, grandson of Lycaon, and great grandson of Pelasgus. Arcadia, too, was formerly called Pelasgia. Again, among the most antient of the Greeks are reckoned the Thesproti and Molossi. But that *those*, too, were Pelasgi, we learn from Strabo, l. 7., and Plutarch in Pyrrho; though the Pelasgus there mentioned is not the *antient* one (who lived long before Deucalion's deluge), but one of his posterity. Of the Pelasgi Homer often makes mention, calling them *δῖοι*, i. e. (as the Scholiast explains) *εὐγενεστάτοι, most noble;* and, rightly, since nobility consists in antiquity.* But their antiquity is evi-

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* Here I must be permitted to differ from the Gallic noble, and correct his definition from a more weighty authority, even the great Stagyrite, in his Polit. lib. 4. c. 1. p. 44. Heins. Ἡ γὰρ εὐγενεία ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή. In favour of wealth and aristocracy (usually depreciated by those who possess them

tricts where they resided. That Hellen, too, and his

denced by the many inventions ascribed to them. For we find from Herod. l. 2. that they first taught the worship of the gods by invocations and sacrifices; and from Hesiod, Scymnus, and Strabo, that they founded the first oracle at Dodona, confessedly the most antient of all. See Herod. 1, 51. They were also the first of the Greeks who had the *use of letters;* and (as we find from Eustath. on Hom. Il. p. 841.) long before Cadmus introduced the Phœnician letters into Greece. Thus also Pliny, l. 7. 56., says, *Pelasgos in Latium litteras attulisse.* All the intelligence, then, which the antient Greeks and Latins had of the events before Deucalion's deluge, they owed to the Pelasgi. Diod. Sic., too, l. 5., says that the Greeks had the use of letters before Cadmus and those of the Phœnicians. And, therefore, the sense of that perplexed passage of l. 3. must be, that "after the Phœnician letters were received in the place of the most antient ones (which were changed), and were called Phœnician, then the former ones, to distinguish them from the Phœnician, were called Pelasgic." Thus, a little farther on, he ascribes ignorance to the opinion of those who thought that Cadmus first introduced the use of letters into Greece; and in l. 5. he again refutes that opinion.

The Pelasgi also (as we find from Pausan.) introduced the use of *acorns* for* food. As to the place of their original descent, all agree on Peloponnesus; and Dion. Hal. thinks they first dwelt in Argolis: but others, with more reason, suppose their original seat to have been about Cyllene, in the mountains of Arcadia. So Diony. Perieg. v. 34. and Epigr. Anthol. p. 373. And it may very well be imagined that the first who, after the Noachic deluge, occupied various countries, would, through fear of another deluge, choose to inhabit the mountains rather than the plains. Then, again, the food of the ancient Pelasgi (acorns) would require a mountainous rather than a level country. Arcadia, too, was of old peculiarly called Pelasgia; whence the appellation passed to all the parts of Peloponnese, since over all of them the Pelasgi were dispersed. Afterwards, when the fear of a deluge had worn away, they descended to the plains, and even to the sea coasts.

Moreover, all the cities and towns of Arcadia are said by Pausanias to have derived their names from sons of Lycaon, who was no less than *son of Pelasgus.* As to their *language,* if the Attic nation were Pelasgic, and the Hellenes were also Pelasgi (as Herodot. says) the Hellenes and Attics must have used a language not dissimilar. We may, indeed, suppose that all the nations which were descended from the Pelasgi, differed only in *dialect,* not in language. And as to what Strabo, l. 8., asserts, that the Arcadians formerly used the Æolic tongue, they seem to have derived it from no other quarter than from their ancestors, the Pelasgi, from whom also the Hellenes seem to have taken their words. As to

not), some fine remarks may be found in the same chapter of the above admirable work. Certain it is, that superior wealth averts many temptations to injustice; and superior virtue, in a long extended line of progenitors, *tends,* at least, to become an incentive to imitation among their posterity.

* So Horace represents the first man as fighting *glandem* atque cubilia propter. It has, indeed, been doubted whether men could subsist on acorns; but it has been shown by Mitford, Hist. Gr. i. p. 9. that the βάλανος genus includes various fruits of the acorn and *mast* kind; among which the antients reckoned even chestnuts and dates. The sweetest and most nutritious sort was the *glans fagi,* which long continued to be the common food of the Arcadians; and the acorns of the evergreen oak, which are sweet and palatable as chestnuts, are used, when roasted, as food by the Spanish peasants. See Swinburne and Townsend, cited by Mitford, ubi supra.

sons[6], having become powerful[7] in Phthiotis, and the inhabitants of other cities calling them in[8] to their

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As to their manners and mode of life, Mnasias, the antient and celebrated writer of the Europica, as cited by the Schol. on Pindar, says that "the early inhabitants of Peloponnese lived like brutes, went stark naked, and were cannibals, &c. Such was the barbarous state of society among the antient Peloponnesians, in which a reformation was first made by Pelasgus, who civilised and instilled into them the principles of morality and religion. The Pelasgi, however, were (as we learn from Herod. 1, 56.) a rambling kind of people, and never settled long in one place. See Dion. Hal. l. 1. The cause of these peregrinations was probably excess of population, which compelled them to seek other places of habitation. That these wanderings had existed even from the time of Deucalion, we learn from Herod. l. 1., where also we find that the Dorians, who united with the Heraclidæ in occupying Peloponnese, were of the Pelasgic race. And Justin l. 7. and Dion. Hal. l. 1. speak of the Macedonians as descended from the Pelasgi. From Diod. l. 5. we find that Lesbos, then desert, was occupied by the Argive Pelasgians, who had before occupied that part of Lycia opposite. These wanderings, indeed, perfectly correspond to those of the antient Galli, and the modern Tartars and Arabs. Besides the Pelasgi planted many stable colonies. For, as we have shown, the Hellenes, Thessalians, Athenians, Ægialeans, and many other nations, were their off-shoots. Nay, they once affected the empire of the sea, which was necessary to those who had so perpetually to cross it."

From their feeding on acorns it is plain that they had no better grain. To agriculture, indeed, they seem to have been little attached; their soil being rather adapted to *pasturage*, and that pastoral life for which the Arcadians were proverbial.

As highly illustrative of the above account of, perhaps, the most extraordinary people of antiquity, see the passage from Burke above cited. Greece was, undoubtedly, peopled by a mixture of Pelasgi with some northern tribes, and afterwards Egyptian colonists.

[6] *Hellen and his sons.*] Namely, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus; as in Hesiod cited by the Scholiast. Formerly that portion alone of *antient* Greece which was afterwards called Thessaly, had the name of Hellas. Hence Servius on Æn. l. 2. says that the *Thessalians* only were properly Greeks; and the same is asserted by Aristarchus, referred to by Didym. on Il. 1. Apollodorus, too, ap. Strabo, l. 13., bears testimony that those only were properly Hellenes who inhabited that part of Thessaly about Larissa. (Hudson.) See Palmer's Græc. Antiq. on the different names of Greece, and the appellation *Greeks*, p. 3–7.; on the names Hellas and Hellen, see p. 7–19.; and on Hellas, see Hom. Il. 2, 683. 9, 395. 16, 595., and Heyne in loc. On the time when the name of *Hellenes* prevailed throughout Greece, see the notes to the Chron. Marm. p. 153., or the extracts from it in the editions of Duker and Bauer.

[7] *Powerful.*] Some Scholiasts understand this of *regal* power, but without any reason; for the term is applied to both Hellen and his *sons*; though it must be confessed that one of the regal appellations, ἄναξ, was also applied to all the members of the royal family.

[8] *Calling them in, &c.*] In ἐπαγομένων there is no such ambiguity as the Scholiast pretends. Nor is the sense, I conceive, what several of the modern commentators make it. From the force of the middle verb it must have alone that I have assigned. The word is used impersonally, as Heilman

aid [9], by this association and communication with the Hellenes it happened that the Greeks singly did the more readily obtain that appellation, though it was long before it could become so prevalent [10] as to extend to all. This is abundantly testified by Homer: for, although he lived much later than the Trojan war, yet he has no where given them the general appellation of *Hellenes*, but has confined that solely to those who accompanied Achilles from Phthiotis, and were the first who bore the name. *Danaans*, *Argives*, and *Achæans*, are the names by which he calls them. No, nor has he applied to any the term *Barbarians* [11]; because, I suppose, the Greeks

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and Goeller observe, *ἀνθρώπων* being supplied, as in German and English. Those commentators might also have remarked, that this sense of *ἐπάγεσθαι* occurs in 2, 68. 5, 45. It is frequent, too, in Herodotus, and occurs in Arrian E. A. 1, 17, 12. Procop. 68, 16. and Aristid. 2, 172. B. So also Pausanias often.

[9] *Aid.*] *Ὠφελεία* has here not so much the general sense *benefit* as the special one *aid, alliance*. See Wasse.

[10] *Prevalent.*] This signification of *ἐκνικῆσαι* (to which Bauer, I think, causelessly demurs) was first pointed out by the Scholiast August, and has been, with reason, embraced by the recent editors, Gottleber, Wyttenb., and Goeller; to whose examples from Pausan. (most of which I had noted down) I add Athen. p. 276. B. The passage is *borrowed* by Agath. p. 13, 10. *οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου, οἶμαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι*, and 35, 8. Wyttenb. observes that it often occurs in Plutarch, and he compares *evalescere* in Tacitus.

It is strange that the commentators should not have seen that the dative is here, as often, used for the accusative with *ἐς*, *πρὸς*, or the like.

[11] *Barbarians.*] The word *βάρβαρος* has not a little puzzled the etymologists. Lennep thinks it undoubtedly is formed from the sound. And so thought Strabo. But this would be truer of the Arabic *barbar, murmuravit*, (which, like *murmur*, mutter, &c., seems to be an onomatop.) and cannot be admitted of the word in question, since that would only be a decent way of shuffling over the difficulty. Yet I am inclined to think the word is of Oriental origin, and was introduced into Greece by the Cadmean colony. ברבר in Syriac and Arabic (as also in the old Punic) signified both a *field* and a *field-man, colonus, pastor*, a rustic or clown. Now this, by an easy trope, would denote a person of rude language and uncivilised manners, and would, therefore, be readily bestowed by the self-complacency of the polished Greeks on all foreigners. The prejudice, however, as well as the term, I suspect to be of Oriental origin, and derived, like many other usages, originally from Egypt. For Herod. 2, 158. says, *βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους*. So the Modern Traveller, v. 2, 244. "The original of the Greek word barbarian has been supposed to be derived from the name of the Berber race, ... those (Libyan) shepherds who overran Egypt, and whose name and occupation became alike an abomination to the Egyptians. The same term is found in the Sanscrit, and appears there as a stranger and an exotic; a circumstance which tends to throw some light upon the early communications of India." See Douglas on the Advancement of Society, p. 61.

had not yet been distinguished by that one general appellation, in contradistinction [12] to the other. The Grecians, then [13], I say, whether considered separately, and by cities, (such, namely, as spoke a language mutually understood by each other,) or conjunctively, by the general appellation which they afterwards bore, did, for want of strength and reciprocal communication [14], effect nothing by joint effort before the Trojan war. Nay, it was only by a greater attention to nautical affairs that they combined together unto *that* expedition.[15]

IV. For Minos [1] was, as far as we know from tradition, the most antient possessor of a navy; by which also he held

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[12] *In contradistinction* to the other.] Such seems to be the true sense of the obscure and controverted words of the original, which, I would observe, have been imitated by Procop. p. 118, 30. τὸ τε ὄνομα ἐς αὐτοὺς πῃ αποκεκρίσθαι.

[13] *The Grecians, then — expedition.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of this enigmatical passage. The οὖν has the resumptive force; and there is a repetition of the sentiment above expressed δοκεῖ δέ μοι —— ἐκνικῆσαι. The clause ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν may, for the understanding of the sentence, be best considered as parenthetical, and of which the sense is: "And who spoke a language mutually understood by each other." The words ὁμόφωνοι ἦσαν found in some MSS. are, indeed, glossematical, derived from l. 4, 3.; but they give the true sense of the clause, and show the antiquity of the interpretation in question. Bredow, however, denies that the languages of the Pelasgi and Hellenes were so different as to prevent them from understanding each other. And he renders, "wie viel von einander wussten."

[14] *Want of reciprocal communication, ἀμιξίαν.*] So Theophr. de Voluptate ap. Athen. 5, 11. D., speaking of the life of the heroes who fought against Troy, says (perhaps with reference to this passage): ὁ μὲν (βίος) γὰρ ακατάσκευος, καὶ καθάπερ ἀνεύρετος ἦν, οὔτ' ἐπιμιξίας οὔσης, οὔτε τῶν τεχνῶν διακριβωμένων.

[15] It is well remarked by Haack, that the words τὴν στρατίαν — ξυνῆλθον are meant to lead up to the following remarks on the origin of navigation, and the practice of piracy.

[1] *For Minos.*] The Scholiast remarks that "by *three comparisons*, Thucydides shows the slender power of the times which preceded the Peloponnesian war; *first*, with the period before Minos; *secondly*, with that from his age to the Trojan war; and *thirdly*, from thence to his own times." On this empire of the sea exercised by Minos, the commentators refer to Aristot. Pol. 2, 8. Diod. Sic. l. 4. Stob. Serm. 42. Strabo l. 10. Apollod. l. 3.; and other writers cited by Meurs. in Creta 3, 3., as also Plato de Leg. 3, 596., Cumberland's Origin of Nations, p. 299., and Selden's Mare Clausum, 1, 9. I would add, that this passage is had in view by Pausan. 1, 27, 9. and Scymnus v. 542. πρώτους δὲ Κρῆτάς φασι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἄρξαι, θαλάττιας τε καὶ νησιωτίδας πόλεις κατασχεῖν, ἃς δὲ καὶ συνόικισαι αὐτῶν Ἔφορος εἴρηκεν, where, for want of seeing this, the Latin translator ignorantly rendered τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς *Græciæ*. More egregious is the blunder into which Gail has fallen in his translation of this passage.

a very extensive mastery over what is now called the Grecian sea, and governed the Cyclades; of most of which he was the first coloniser, expelling the Carians [2], and establishing therein his own sons [3] as governors. He also, of course [4], did his utmost to clear the sea of piracy, in order to the improvement of his revenues. [5]

V. For the Greeks [1] in old time, and of the Barbarians, both those who inhabited the sea-coast of the continent [2], and

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It would seem incredible that a Greek professor should be ignorant of an idiom so frequent in Thucydides, and the best writers (as Herod. 1, 11. *πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἴδμεν.* 1, 23. et sæpe), and take up with a sense which would involve a manifest falsehood. I must not omit to observe that the above passage of Scymnus was had in view by Philost. V. Ap. 3, 25. See also Apollodorus, 3, 15, 8. (where consult Heyne), and a learned "Commentatio de Castoris Epochis populorum qui maris imperium tenuisse feruntur." t. 1. in Nov. Comment. Soc. Gotting. The passage is also had in view by Callim. ap. Cyrill. contra Julian 1. p. 191. On Minos, see Mitford's Greece, l. 24.

By the "Grecian Sea" (which the Scholiast says was formerly called the *Carian*) is meant the Archipelago. The *Cyclades* were so called as forming a sort of *circle* around Delos. See the Schol. The sense is, that "Minos had much power throughout the whole of the Archipelago, and actually governed the Cyclades." I must not omit to remark, that Herod. 3, 122. speaks as if there were some before Minos who held the empire of the sea. *Μίνοος, εἰ δή τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρχε τῆς θαλάσσης.* He adds, that Polycrates was the first *τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης λεγομένης γενεῆς* who aimed at naval empire; where *τῆς ἀνθ. γεν.* has been well explained by Wessel, the *historical* period, as opposed to the *mythical*, mentioned at l. 3.

[2] *The Carians.*] Isocrates Panath. and Herodo. 1, 171. ascribe this expulsion to the Athenians, and only say that Minos subjected the islanders. Thucydides does not indeed say that he colonised *all* the islands, some of which undoubtedly were settled afterwards by the Athenians; as is beautifully adverted to by Eurip. Ion. 1583. *οἱ τῶνδε δ' αὖ παῖδες γενόμενοι σὺν χρόνῳ πεπρωμένῳ Κυκλάδας ἐποικήσουσι νησαίας πόλεις.*

[3] *Establishing therein his own sons as governors.*] Hence I would illustrate Psal. 45, 17. "Thou shalt have children whom thou mayst make princes (rather *governors*, Sept. *ἄρχοντας*) in all lands." Rather "over (or *throughout*) the whole land."

[4] *Of course, ὡς εἰκὸς, as it is likely he would.*] Some render, "as most probable," which yields a frigid sense: insomuch that Hobbes had recourse, very unnecessarily, to *transposition*. I have preferred the version of Smith.

[5] *Revenues.*] Grammius and Smith understand *ἰέναι*, not of the *incoming* of the customs, &c., but of their safe *transfer* to Crete. A signification not a little frigid. *Ἰέναι* and *προσιέναι* in the former sense are used at 2, 13., and often by the best writers. The sense I have adopted is supported by the Scholiast.

[1] *For the Greeks.*] Now (the Scholiast observes) is brought forward the *cause* of this pirateering.

[2] *Continent.*] Namely, of Asia Minor. So called *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. See the Schol.

such as occupied the islands, when they had begun to have a freer intercourse by shipping [3], betook themselves to piracy [4], under the command of persons not the least powerful [5], who led them on both for their own gain, and for subsistence to the lower sort; and attacking cities unwalled [6] and scatteringly inhabited, like villages, they plundered them, and from thence derived most of their livelihood [7]; the employment, as yet, bringing with it nothing of shame, nay, rather conferring somewhat even of glory. [8] Indeed, the traces of this custom are still discernible in certain parts of the continent [9], where

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[3] *A freer intercourse by shipping.*] Goeller refers to Ukert's Geogr. Gr. and Rom. t. 1. p. 9., and Clarke on Odyss. 2, 167.

[4] *Betook themselves to piracy.*] So Liban. Or. p. 124. B. τὰ πρῶτα ἔργα τῶν νεῶν λῃστεῖαι καὶ διαρπάζειν τὰ ἀλλήλων. Herodotus, indeed, 2. 152. attempts to extenuate the guilt on the plea of *necessity;* ἀναγκαίη κατέλαβε Ἰωνὰς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἄνδρας κατὰ λῃΐην ἐκπλώσαντας. "Greece, in its early days (says Mitford), was in a state of perpetual marauding and piratical warfare. Cattle, as the great means of subsistence, were first the great object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants of some parts by degrees settled to agriculture, men, women, and children were sought for slaves. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its adjacent sea; where small islands were so thickly scattered, that their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the surrounding continent also, were mariners by necessity, and almost by nature. Water-expeditions, therefore, were soon found most commodious for carrying off spoils."

[5] *Not the least powerful.*] A *litotes* frequent in the best writers. See Matth. Gr. Gr. § 462., where, among other passages, is cited Herod. 4, 95. Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ, which passage, I suspect, was in the mind of Horace Carm. 1, 28, 15. "Pythagoras — non sordidus auctor Naturæ verique." I will only add, that on this principle the well-known *haudquaquam spernandus auctor* of Livy admits of justification; though the use of such an idiom, under the circumstances in which Livy stood to Polybius, was in very bad taste.

[6] *Cities unwalled.*] Gail renders "petites republiques." But προσπίπτοντες requires that πόλεσιν should be taken in the usual sense, which is defended by an imitation of Joseph. p. 1190, 15. προσέπιπτον ἱεροῖς καὶ πόλεσι. The cities, or rather *towns,* were doubtless built, like almost all the antient ones, scatteringly, "sparsis domibus et disjectis" (as says Tacitus), so as to appear rather a congeries of several villages than a city. And this is what Thucyd. means by κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμέναις. Sparta exactly answered to this description, and continued such until the ruin of the state. Such, too, were Mantinea, Tegæa, &c. So Polyb. 2, 17, 9. ᾤκουν κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους, Diod. Sic. 3, 260. κωμηδὸν οἰκεῖν, to omit many other passages.

[7] *Made — livelihood.*] Here Gottleber compares Justin, l. 43, 3.

[8] *Bringing — glory.*] So Plut. Pomp. 24., also speaking of piracy, says, μετεῖχον, ὡς καὶ δόξαν τινα τοῦ ἔργου φέροντος. The passage is almost transcribed by Procop. B. G. 2, 14. and H. A. C. 21.

[9] For ἠπειρώτων, which yields too vague a sense, I read Ἠπειρώτων, *Epirots,* among whom we know pirateering long continued, and even yet lingers.

it is had in honour if it be but practised handsomely[10]: nay, it is evident from the old poets[11], who introduce people every

[10] *Handsomely.*] On the exact sense of καλῶς, interpreters are not agreed. The Scholiast explains it εὐσεβῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως: to which, however, the commentators take strong exception. Quis temperet sibi a risu? exclaims Gottleber. Juste et moderate prædari (says Bauer), idem est quod Terentii 'cum ratione insanire!'" They would, therefore, (as formerly Portus, Stephens, Gramm, and lately Haack,) take it to signify *scitè, peritè, astutè, dexterously, cleverly,* like the Lacedemonian thefts; so as neither to have the plan detected, nor the execution frustrated by being caught in the fact. Thus καλῶς will be taken like φρονίμως, in Luke 16. 8. (where see my note.) But after all, it may justly be doubted whether this be the true sense. The signification in question requires to be established on *authority,* which has not, and perhaps cannot be done. In the mean time, it may be most prudent to acquiesce in the old interpretation, which (as there are two handles by which every thing may be taken) admits of justification; and the *laugh,* to use the words of the poet, "may chance to turn on t'other side." Men do not usually relish robbery any better for being craftily planned, and cleverly executed, though *blundering* knavery is the *more* censured: but they really *are* more favourably disposed to robbery when practised with *some kind* of regard to humanity, and with some feelings of honour and justice. And this is all that the Scholiast means; though his sense is, as far as concerns εὐσεβῶς, as *incautiously* worded as J. Thomasius's title to his tract, *De latrociniis honestis.* In fact he explains himself by the *examples* of this *handsome usage,* as in not taking ploughing oxen, nor robbing by night, nor committing murder. For I regard these but as *examples* of the *kind* of indulgence shown; for if they would not take the ploughing oxen, neither would they the *instrumenta,* or utensils necessary for agriculture, nor, by the same rule, the tools of any handicraft. As to forbearance from *murder,* that would be confined to cases where no resistance was made. The remaining instance of their not robbing *by night* (for so it is found in the best editions), may very well excite some doubt, since it is contrary to what we know of robbery in every age, as the "Surgunt de nocte latrones," and 1 Thess. 5. 2. and 2 Pet. 3. 10. will testify. I cannot, therefore, but suspect, that the old reading ἢ ἔκλεπτον, οὐτε νυκτὸς has been *injudiciously* altered to ἢ ἔκλεπτον νυκτός. I venture to propose a milder emendation: for οὔτε read ἄτε, *scilicet.* This, however, is, I fancy, *quasi mortuo medicinam facere;* for I suspect that the words ἄτε νυκτὸς came from the margin. But how, it may be asked, can we dispense with them? And would not the sense be even more objectionable? for it would be a strange instance of politeness in the robber to abstain from robbery. But what, if we assign to ἔκλεπτον the sense *pilfer?* These pirates, it seems, affected *open plunder,* or raising contributions, not *secret pilfering* (in which sense κλέπτω is generally used in the antient classical writers). They, it seems, practised a sort of *buccaneering;* and, like certain of those rovers (and such *land pirates* as Robin Hood, and others, of the middle ages), affected to be guided by some of the rules of justice and feelings of humanity, especially as they found that by such moderation they, upon the whole, gained far more than they lost. From St. John 10, 10. ὁ κλέπτης οὐκ ἔρχεται, εἰ μὴ ἵνα κλέψῃ καὶ θύσῃ καὶ ἀπολέσῃ, it seems that customs had then changed for the worse. In fact the pirates, in the age of Augustus, were *murderers,* since they used to throw the unhappy captives into the sea; whence they were called καταποντισταί.

[11] *The old poets.*] As Homer, Od. 3, 71., and Hymn. Apoll. 452. See the Scholiast and Eustath. on the Odyss. γ. p. 1457.

where asking the question of mariners, "whether they are pirates?" neither they who are interrogated, it seems, disowning the fact, nor those who make it their business to know [12], reproaching them with it. They, moreover, practised robbery on each other by *land* [13]; and even to the present day, in many parts of Greece, a state of society exists [14] not dissimilar to the antient one; as about the Ozolian Locrians, the Æolians, and Acarnanians, and all that part of the continent, in which the custom of wearing weapons [15], introduced by old piratical habits [16], is still retained.

VI. Formerly, indeed, the whole of Greece wore arms [1]; both on account of their insecure mode of habitation [2], and the insecurity of mutual intercourse: nay, they, like the Barbarians [3], pursued all their customary avocations with arms,

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12 *Made it their business to know.*] Such is the sense of the phrase οἷς τ' ἐπιμελὲς εἴη εἰδέναι, which is found also in Xen. Memor. 4, 7. οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ταῦτα εἰδέναι.

13 *Robbery by land.*] Thus answering to the Latin *prædones*. So Cicero C. Verrum, 2, 5. "Urbes piratis prædonibusque patefactæ." The most famous of these *land pirates* were, and still are, the *Arabs;* and not long since the Irish and Scotch.

14 *A state of society exists.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of νέμεται. And so 4, 64. 5, 32., and Herod. frequently.

15 *The custom of— retained.*] Goeller cites Ammian. Marc. lib. 23. extr. *frequentari sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes.* And Duker, Aristot. Pol. 11, 6. and Petit. Leg. Att. p. 125, and 561.

16 *Old piratical habits.*] This has, I conceive, a reference not only to the arms worn by the *pirates*, but also by such as meant to defend their property.

1 *Wore arms.*] To the passages cited by Wasse and Duker, I add Arist. Pol. 4, 8. τοὺς γὰρ ἀρχαίους νόμους λίαν ἁπλοῦς εἶναι καὶ βαρβαρικούς· ἐσιδηροφοροῦντο γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες. This custom, it seems, had, by the time of Thucydides, grown into disuse. A similar cause, namely, *mutual fear*, again introduced it about 250. B. C., as appears from Plut. Arat. C. 6.

2 *Unfortified manner of dwelling.*] All the commentators understand this of their *houses being unfenced;* and such is a not uncommon sense of οἴκησις: but it is improbable that the *houses* should be left unfenced, when the *persons* were so carefully defended. I would therefore understand οἴκησις of the *act of inhabiting;* the noun being put in the plural, as referring to many, as in 2, 16. 6, 88. Xen. Cyr. 2, 4, 13. 7, 4, 1. Pausan. 9, 5, 1. The sense will thus be, "because of their not dwelling in fortified towns, but in open villages, or scattered lodges;" which was touched on in the preceding chapter.

3 *Like the Barbarians.*] So the antient *Galli* (as we learn from Livy, 21, 20.) came armed even to their common councils, as did lately the Poles. But the description of our author has the most exact counterpart in that of the antient Germans given by Tacitus, in his Germ. 13. "Nihil autem neque publicæ neque privatæ rei, nisi armati agunt." Very similar to which is what

and the parts of Greece [4], where such a state of society exists, are a manifest evidence of the habits which once extended over the whole of it. The Athenians were among the first [5] to lay aside the wearing of arms, and, relaxing the severity of antient customs, to pass into a more refined and civilised mode of life. [6] Nay, it is not long since the more elderly of the rich among them ceased wearing (conformably to those luxurious habits) linen tunics, and wreathing their hair into a topping, which they clasped around by the insertion of a golden

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Dr. Clarke says of the Circassians, in a letter preserved by Mr. Otter, in his interesting life of that lamented scholar, p. 427. "Among the Circassians the labours of the plough become a warlike occupation; and the sower goes to cast his grain, attended by his sabre, his fusil, and a horse that may outstrip the winds in their course." It is indeed much the same in all barbarous and semibarbarous states of society.

[4] *The parts of Greece — whole of it.*] This passage is closely imitated by Dion. Hal. Antiq. p. 474. *αὐτὰ τὰ νῦν πραττόμενα —— μηνύματα οὐ μικρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑπολαβεῖν.* And by Procop. p. 321, 34. See also Greg. Corinth. on Hermog. p. 893.

[5] *Among the first.*] Here the *sense* is plain; but I confess myself not satisfied with the present reading, nor the mode of considering it adopted by Matthæi and Heilman, who take *τοῖς* for *αὐτοῖς*. Such a principle should not be resorted to where any other method can be devised. As to Matthiæ's examples, they almost all bear another kind of explanation, or else need, or *admit* of, emendation. In short, I would here read *πρῶτον*, and subaud *κατατιθεμένοις*. So in a kindred expression, 9, 24. *μέγιστον δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἐκάκωσε τὸ στράτευμα.* See note infra, l. 3, 17.

[6] *Relaxing — life.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this difficult passage, which Smith has strangely perverted. Though it is very far from my intention to chronicle his blunders, I cannot but observe, that it was impossible for him to have more completely changed the sense of *ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ* than he has done; not to say that *σίδηρον* extends to arms of every kind, and not swords alone. So Mitford, 1, 76., with a reference to this passage, says, that "the Athenians began first to acquire more civilised manners, and dropping the practice of going constantly armed, introduced a *civil dress*, in contradistinction to the military." The phrase *ἀνειμένῃ τῇ διαίτῃ*, which is a very elegant one, occurs in Phil. Jud. p. 584. D. On this and the *ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν*, as also the *ἀβροδίαιτον*, I shall fully treat in my edition; and shall for the present content myself with observing, that this passage is imitated by Phil. Jud. p. 900. D. *οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀβροδιαίτων.* It is proper to remark, that by the *ἀβρ.* Thucydides does not so much refer to luxury in general as to that of dress in particular, especially golden ornaments. So Dion. Hal. Antiq. p. 105, 36. *χρυσοφόροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Σαβῖνοι τότε, καὶ Τυῤῥηνῶν οὐχ ἧττον ἀβροδίαιτοι.* Herodian, 2, 8, 16. *ἐς τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον ἀνείμενος.* See also Clem. Alex. p. 286. A. and Æschyl. Pers. 41. The elderly Athenians seem especially to have been prone to luxury of this kind. So Aristoph. Concion. 848. *γέρων δὲ χωρεῖ χλανίδα καὶ κονίποδας ἔχων,* "made of very soft wool and thin soles," and Vesp. *ᾄρξω —— παρέχων ὅσα πρεσβύτῃ ξύμφορα· χόνδρον λείχειν, χλαῖναν μαλακὴν, σισύραν.*

grasshopper[7], (or harvest fly.) Hence also the same fashion was, from national affinity, widely prevalent among the more

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7 *Golden grasshopper.*] i. e. head-bands, to keep the top-knot (*κρωβύλον*) in order, like our ornamental combs. The top of these *κρ.* was shaped after the resemblance of a grashopper: a form fashionable, from the predilection which the Athenians had for what bore some affinity to themselves, who boasted of being *αὐτόχθονες*. These *grashopper combs* are alluded to by Aristoph. Equit. 1331. *ὁδ' ἐκεῖνος ὁρᾷν τεττιγοφόρος τῷ ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός.* (Anglice, as fine as an old beau.) Also by Philostr. Imag. p. 837. Heracl. Pont., in his tract *περὶ ἡδονῆς*, cited by Athen. p. 512. B. Similar ornaments are ascribed to the Samians (who derived the custom from the old Athenians), by Asias, a very antient writer, cited by Athen. 525. E. *χρύσειαι δὲ κόρυμβαι ἐπ' αὐτῶν, τέττιγες ὡς, καῖται δ' ἠώρηντο ἀνέμῳ.* Hence is illustrated Hom. Il. *ρ.* 52. *οἵ χρυσῷ τε ἀργύρῳ ἐσφήκωντο*, where I would take *ἐσφ.* for *χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν σφηκῶν ἀνεδοῦντο.* So Nonnus Dionys. 14. 394. *καὶ πλοκάμοις εὖδμον ἐπεσφήκωσε καλύπτρην.* The passage is had in view by Ælian, Var. Hist. 4, 22., and Lucian in Navigio init. Agath. p. 9., besides many other passages. I must not omit to observe, that this custom seems of Asiatic origin; at least such, I conceive, is the wearing of gold. So in the epitaph on the Athenians slain at Marathon: *χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν*, Lycurg. c. 50,163. 30. Most of my readers will remember the Virgilian *Crines nodantur in aurum.* See my note on 1 Pet. 3, 3.

I would here, with Bekker and Goeller, read *ἐνέρσει*, from many MSS.; which also, as Goeller observes, is supported by Ælian, V. H. 2. 22., to which I have to add a vast number of classical passages. Goeller (after Thiersch, in a Comment. in the Acta Monac. t. 3. p. 273.) observes, that the sense is, "cicadas *innectere* cincinnis, ut cum cincinnis complicatæ eos constringant ornentque." Κρωβύλος he derives from *καρα*, or *κρα*, and the old OFYMEN, whence Fέλλειν, εἱλεῖν, and *volvere*. Thus it denotes what involves the head around, and encircles it with a crown. The form of this topping Thiersch makes out from Eurip. Thes. ap. Athen. p. 454. C.; where a shepherd likens the C to a *βόστρυχος εἱλιγμένος*, as it was always compared with a Scythian bow. He also remarks that many antient statues of gods and heroes have the head ornament in question, which he thus describes: "In his imaginibus pexi exprimuntur capilli ac ita dispositi, ut naturali ordine ad frontem atque cervicem descendant ac compressi omnem cranii concavitatem referant. Ex medio autem fronte reducti sunt et in multos cincinnos convoluti, qui ab altera aure ad alteram pertinentes frontis extremitatem occupant, densa serie connexi et maxima cum cura elaborati." Finally, he cites Virgil, Cir. 127. "Aurea solemni comptum quum fibula ritu cecropiæ tereti nectabat dente cicadæ." I would add, that Tacitus too, in his Germ. C. 38. has a passage to our present purpose; where, speaking of the Suevi, he says: "Insigne gentis obliquare crinem, nodoque substringere." And a little further on: "horrentem capillum retro sequuntur (read retrorsus, or retrorsum comantur) ac sæpe in solo vertice religant." And so Dion. Hal. Antiq. p. 424. *κεκρύφαλας τὰς πλοκαμιδας.* Finally, I would observe, in reference to the extreme national antiquity supposed to be alluded to, by the above ornament, that the Arcadians, in like manner, and for the same purpose, wore *lunulæ* (moonlike ornaments) as if pretending to be *προσέληνοι.* See Suid. in Βεκκεσέληνε. Athen. p. 540. Clem. Alex. p. 5. C. Aristid. t. 3. p. 6. C. And so Lycoph. Cass. 483. (according to the reading of Tzetzes), *ἐπεὶ προσέληνοι οἱ Ἀρκαδες*; which Tzetzes understands figuratively of a thorough knowledge of astronomy.

antient[8] of the *Ionians*. A modest and simple apparel, on the contrary, and that conformed to the present mode, was first used by the Lacedemonians, among whom, too, in other respects, the more opulent were put most on a footing of equality in diet and dress with the bulk of the people.[9] They, too, were the first who used gymnastic exercises[10], after publicly stripping themselves naked and anointing themselves with oil. For formerly, even in the Olympic games, the Athletes contended with girdles about their pudenda [and not many years have elapsed since they were disused[11]]. Nay, even now, among

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[8] *Among the more antient, &c.*] The words of the original τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους — αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατεσχε, are somewhat harsh; and Poppo and Goeller suppose a prosopopœia. But however common in our author that figure may be, it would be little suited to the present passage; and there is no more a prosopopœia than in the phrases φήμη, δόξα, and λόγος κατέχει, which occur in the best writers. Bauer supposes an hypallage. But that is too far-fetched and formal. I have sometimes suspected that for τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους we should read τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, "inter antiquiores."

[9] *The more opulent — people.*] This equality in the mode of life between the higher and the lower it was the general purpose of the laws of Lycurgus to promote; and this was effected by severe sumptuary laws as to dress and diet, the use of the *phiditia* and the *common* schools, a total prohibition of any money but the old heavy iron coin, and many other measures, which are stated by Plutarch in his life of Lycurgus.

It may be observed that the term "more opulent" is used comparatè, since few or no Lacedemonians were absolutely opulent. The ἰσοδίαιτοι is taken by the Scholiast for ὁμοδίαιτοι. But that is not necessary. The word refers to the *common* food, dress, and education, civil and military, which all Spartans shared alike. So Julian, p. 134, 9. with this passage in view, has: ἴσης ἀξιοῦν ἐχρῆν τροφῆς καὶ παιδείας. It was also (as Spanheim there remarks) in the mind of Aristot. Pol. 4, 9. Ἰσοδίαιτος is indeed a rare word, but occurs in Dio Cass. and Lucian, as also in Libanius's Funeral Oration on Julian, § 109. (with this passage in view) προσήκειν αὐτῷ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἰσοδίαιτον εἶναι.

[10] *Usual gymnastic exercises.*] i. e. (says the Schol.) in the games. On this subject Duker refers to Casaub. on Dionys. Hal. p. 475. and Periz. on Ælian. V. H. 3, 58. Gottleber suggests that the word "*first*" must not be too much pressed, since it appears from Plat. Rep. 5. p. 452. that the *Cretans* were the first, and that from them the Lacedemonians borrowed this, like most of their other customs. But Plato there only says, that they first adopted *gymnastic exercises*. The two accounts may very well be reconciled by taking ἐγυμνώθησαν of the *gymnasia* not the ἀγῶνες.

[11] *Not many years have elapsed, &c.*] There has been no little controversy raised as to the time at which the Athletes first disused these girdles. Some (it is observed by Meurs, De Arch. Ath. 1, 6. cited by Hudson), as the Schol. on Homer. and the Etym. Mag., say it took place at the 32d Olympiad. Others, as Eustath. on Hom. Il. ψ., at the 14th Olympiad. "But if," continues Meurs, "the thing were so far back, how could Thucydides, who wrote about 300 years after, say that the custom had only lately ceased?" He would therefore cancel the οὐ. But to this change, unsupported as it is by any MSS., there is much objection. And thus the

some of the Barbarians, especially the Asiatic ones, prizes for wrestling and pugilism are proposed; for which they contend *girdled.* Indeed, in many other respects also, one may plainly show that the old Grecian modes of living were of a similar cast to the present Barbarian ones.

VII. Such of the cities, moreover, as were the latest founded, and when there was a freer communication [1] by shipping, and

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καὶ would require to be altered. Besides the οὐ is confirmed by an imitation of the passage in Appian T. 1. 17, 56. καὶ οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ, &c. Moreover, the change in question is inconsistent with the nature of the context, in which, as Bauer says, "diuturnitatem et perpetuitatem moris cum subligaculo pugnandi ostendere velit auctor." Bauer therefore would remove the difficulty by not pressing on the οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη; comparing Cic. de Nat. D. 2, 50. *nuper* inventa (i. e. a few centuries before.) But *that* is one of those cases in which a period of time in itself long, may be called short *by comparison.* Not so in the passage now before us. As to the discrepancy, if it is to be removed, it may perhaps be done by taking the words οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ε. π. not of the Olympic games, but (as in πρωτ. ἐγυμ.) of gymnastic contests *in general.* And this sense may be favoured by adopting the following punctuation: τὸ δὲ πάλαι (καὶ ἐν Ο. ἀγῶνι,) διαζώματα ἔχοντες, &c., meaning to say, that "not many years had elapsed since this custom of wearing girdles in gymnastic exercises, which had gradually been declining from the time that the Lacedemonians πρῶτοι ἐγυμνώθησαν, had, at no long distance of time, wholly ceased." If this method be not admitted, why then — aliquid humani passus est auctor; and I must abandon him to the fury of the critics. I cannot, however, help suspecting that the clause is insititious, and from the margin; and therefore I have ventured to put it in brackets.

It seems clear from the united authority of the Scholiast on Homer, the Etym. Mag. Eustath., our Scholiast, and Pausan. 1, 44, 1. that *Orsippus* was the first who ran naked in the stadium. From them we find that he had *come forth* with the girdle, but that it had fallen off accidentally, or by the contrivance of Orsippus, who thereby gained the victory. Now this event has been fixed by Corsini. (F. A. T. 3. p. 22.) and Boeck (in a recent tract) to the 14th Olympiad. And this is confirmed by Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 475., who, in an interesting passage, evidently written with a view to this of our author, says, that the first who ventured to *come forth,* and run naked at the Olympic stadium, was Acanthus, at the 15th Olympiad. Nor is there here any contradiction: for though Orsippus was the first who *ran* naked, yet Acanthus was the first who *came forth* to run naked.

The διάζωμα, it may be observed, was a broad girdle. It is called by Pausan. περίζωμα. But διάζωμα is found in Joseph. p. 112, 15. διάζωμα δ' ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα. So Philostr. V. Ap. 4, 42. Schol. on Hermog. c. 3. Pollux 2, 166. and Zonar. Lex. 523. διάζωμα. τὸ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα σκέπασμα. The περίζωμα appears from Pollux 7, 65. to have been a belt which bound up the loins, in order to prevent ruptures, such as our mowers and diggers use.

[1] *A freer communication.*] The original ἤδη πλωιμωτέρων is a phrase of somewhat uncertain import; but taking it in connection with the context and c. 5. init., there is evidently a comparison between the state of navigation in the early ages, and in later times, when there was not only a

a greater superabundance of wealth [2], were built with walls on the very sea-coasts [3]; or they occupied isthmuses [4], both for the purposes of commerce and for the sake of security against their neighbours.[5] The antient ones, on the contrary, both those on the islands, and those on the continent, were, on account of the piracy so widely prevalent, founded rather remote from the sea [6]; for they ravaged each other [7], and amongst the rest, such as, though not mariners, yet were situated on the coast [8]; and even to the present day they retain their inland situation.

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greater attention paid to navigation, but, by the suppression of piracy, a greater security imparted, and consequently a freer intercourse occurred between different states. The Scholiast has therefore *rightly* explained it; nor had Stephens just reason to suppose that he read οὔσων. In fact, there is an ellipsis of πραγμάτων. The above interpretation of πλωιμ. is supported not only by Dionys. Hal. 1, 63. (cited by Goeller), but by various passages of Dio Cass., Appian, Philo, Arrian, Max. Tyr., and other classical authorities which I shall adduce in my edition.

[2] *Superabundance of wealth.*] See Note on 1, 2.

[3] The very *sea-coasts.*] This alludes to the previously contrary practice of building them, as Thucyd. relates, apart from the sea. "Such (says Mitford, 1, 25.) had been the excesses of piracy, that all the shores, both of the continent and islands of Greece, were nearly deserted: the ground was cultivated only at a secure distance from the sea, and there only towns and villages were to be found. But no sooner was the evil repressed, than the active temper of the Greeks led them again to the coast; the most commodious havens were occupied; the spirit of adventure and industry, which had before been exerted in robbery, was turned to commerce; and as wealth accrued, towns were fortified, so as to secure them against a renewal of former evils."

[4] *Occupied isthmuses,*] literally, *took off, enclosed.* See Bauer. There seems to be an especial reference to Corinth, famous for its *strength* (the Acrocorinthus commanding the isthmus) and its *commerce.* One of the latest of the cities so founded was Potidæa.

[5] *For the sake of security against their neighbours.*] Thus Mitford, 1, 52. truly observes, that, in all times, "the terms *neighbour* and *enemy* have, in the language of politics, been nearly synonymous." And I cannot but think that Juvenal had this in view in the beautiful lines of Sat. 15, 33. "Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas, Immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus Ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra."

[6] *Remote from the sea.*] So Sparta, Thebes, Delphi, Argos, &c.

[7] *For they ravaged — coast.*] Such seems to be the sense of this difficult passage, which must be taken parenthetically. It is meant that all cities were prone to ravage and plunder each other, and amongst the rest such as, though not addicted, &c. θαλάσσιος is for θαλασσουργὸς, i. e. (as the Schol. on 1, 67. explains) "exercised in naval affairs." The word in this sense is unnoticed by the lexicographers, though it occurs in Herod. 7, 144. Lucian, 2, 96. Arrian, E. A. 7, 19, 10. θαλασσίοι ἀνθρώποι. All from Homer's Il. β. 614. οὐ σφισι θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.

[8] *On the coast.*] Κάτω literally signifies *down*, as ἄνω, *up*; but also *inland.* The gender, too, (as often) is here adjusted to the *sense*, rather than the

VIII. Nor was piracy less practised by the islanders [1], both Carians and Phœnicians, (for by the former most of the islands were colonised); a manifest proof of which is, that when Delos [2] was, in this very war, undergoing purification [3], and the coffins of those who had died in the islands being dug up, above half the corpses were found to be Carian, recognised as such, both by their suit of arms [4] being buried

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grammatical inflexion of the word. By the *continents* just before spoken of, are meant particularly those of Greece and Asia Minor.

[1] *The islanders,*] who also still continue it. In which view, Wasse refers to Diod. 1. and Tournefort, Itin. 1, 154. As to the Carians and Phœnicians, both of whom are here mentioned, Meurs, in his *Crete* and *Rhodes*, relates, from Diod. and Conon, that the Carians colonised the islands after the expulsion of the Phœnicians. If this be true, though they might be the colonisers of most of the islands, yet they were not the original settlers. But indeed there is no discrepancy, if the old reading ὤκησαν be (as I think it ought) restored; for the facts mentioned are only proofs of *inhabitancy*, not *colonisation*.

[2] *Delos.*] Wasse refers to Plato, Phæd. p. 44. D.

[3] *Undergoing purification.*] For it was maintained by pagan superstition that the sacred island ought not to be defiled with corpses. On the mode in which this purification was performed, &c., see infra, l. 3, 104.

[4] *By their suit* (or *set*) *of arms*, apparatu armorum.] Such is possibly the sense of σκευῇ τῶν ὁπλων; though the commentators think it is simply for ὅπλοις. And σκεύη does sometimes of itself signify ὅπλισις; as in Paus. 10, 21, 2. Eurip. Rhes. 202. Polyæn. p. 662. The phrase σκεύη τῶν ὅπλων is, indeed, very rare, and no examples are adduced by the commentators. But I find it in Pausan. 10, 17, 4. Procop. 149, 30. 183, 17. 320, 26. 365, 5. 376, 11. I must, however, not dissemble that I find the other mode of interpretation supported by Livy 9, 14. apparatus armorum, for arma. And Arrian, E. A. 1, 16, 8. τούτους ἔθαψεν A. ξυν τοῖς ὅπλοις. And the former mode is inconsistent with what the Scholiast (probably on the authority of some antient writer) tells us. "The Carians (says he) first invented the bosses of shields and the crests of helmets. Hence with their dead they buried a little shield and crest, in allusion to this discovery; and by this the Carians might be recognised, but the Phœnicians by the mode of interment; for whereas other nations lay the corpse towards the east, the Phœnicians studiously turn them to the west." Now, as to the invention of bosses and crests by the Carians, it is confirmed by Herodot. 1, 172., who adds the *handles* and *devices* of *shields*. But the expression σκεύη τῶν ὅπλων scarcely admits of such a limited sense as that of a *little imitative shield and crest;* and, indeed, the account itself of such a custom seems to be inconsistent with the *purpose* for which we may suppose arms to have been buried with the deceased, namely, for his supposed use after death.

Of the two readings, ξυντεθαμμένοι and ξυντεθαμμένῃ, I cannot but prefer the latter. The old reading (which, however, is restored by Goeller) involves unusual harshness.

That the custom of burying arms with warriors was antient, we may learn from Soph. Aj. 577. τὰ δ' ἄλλα τεύχη κοίν' ἐμοί τε θάψεται, and Arrian above cited. It was practised by various Asiatic nations, (especially those whose barrows are found in such vast numbers over the south of Russia), by whom

with them, and by the *mode of interment* [5], which was such as is now in use among them.

Minos, however [6], having established a navy, the sea was more open to mutual communication: for those pestilent rovers were by him expelled from the islands; at which time also he colonised most of them. Those who inhabited the sea-coasts having by this time obtained a greater command of wealth [7], affected a more settled mode of life, and some, on

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the custom was introduced into Europe. How antient it was, may be imagined from the circumstance that it is known to have been very antiently in use in *America*, whither it was doubtless introduced by those early colonies which ascend beyond the records of history, or even tradition. The custom of *burning* the arms was also in use, as we find from Hom. Il. 2418. Indeed, both customs had the same aim, the service of the deceased in Hades. And the latter was thought to attain that purpose as well as the former.

[5] *And by the mode of interment, &c.*] These words cannot possibly be taken of the *Phœnicians;* since the present member of the sentence corresponds to the former by means of the apodotic τε — καὶ, and therefore the subject must be the same. Neither is it *necessary* to resort to this violent procedure; for if (as the Scholiast above mentioned had doubtless learned from some antient writer) the Phœnicians turned their dead to the west, and others to the east, the recognition of the Phœnicians from the Carians would, indeed, be easy; but that would *imply* an equally easy recognition of the Carians from the Phœnicians, which is what our author here means.

[6] *Minos, however.*] Here there is, as the Scholiast observes, an *epanalepsis*, or recurrence to what was said supra, c. 4.; the intermediate portion being digressive; q. d. "At the establishment, however, of Minos's navy, all these piracies ceased." On the maritime empire of Minos, Duker refers to Scheff. de Mil. Nav. 2, 1. p. 56.

"Before the reign of this great prince (says Mitford, 1, 25.) such had been the excesses of piracy, that all the shores, both of the continent and islands of Greece, were nearly deserted: the ground was cultivated only at a secure distance from the sea, and there only towns and villages were to be found. But no sooner was the evil repressed, than the active temper of the Greeks led them again to the coast: the most commodious havens were occupied; the spirit of adventure and industry, which had before been exerted in robbery, was turned to commerce; and, as wealth accrued, towns were fortified, so as to secure them against a renewal of former evils."

[7] *Having obtained a greater command of wealth.*] Such is, I conceive, the true meaning, which has been strangely misunderstood by the interpreters, who take the words to signify, "being more addicted to the acquirement of wealth;" a sense which cannot be elicited from them. The phrase recurs at c. 13. and in the very sense which I have assigned to it here.

The acquisition of property naturally carried with it a desire for a settled life, by which alone it could be defended or enjoyed; and hence the next step would be to promote their security, and preserve their wealth, by encircling their towns with walls. The roving habits of the earlier nations had arisen rather from necessity than choice; and piracy itself had, I imagine, been resorted to for want of better employment. Happiness, ("our

becoming richer than before, surrounded their cities with walls [8]. It was, too, the desire of gain that made the lowly endure to serve the great and powerful; who, having superabundance of wealth, employed it in bringing under their rule the smaller cities; and in this manner having attained to greater consequence [9], they undertook the expedition against Troy.

IX. To me, indeed, it seems that Agamemnon brought together that armament, not so much by the suitors being bound under oaths to Tyndarus [1], as by his being a potentate superior in power to the princes of his time. It is, moreover,

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being's end and aim,") and wealth, as subservient to it, were found to be more attainable by a settled mode of life, and patient industry, than by the great but precarious gains of a roving life. The maritime inhabitants, it seems, became rich sooner than the inland ones, because in Greece the best land is situated towards the sea, which could not but furnish a source of wealth to those who dwelt near it. Thus (the Scholiast observes) Thucydides always represents the maritime inhabitants as the more opulent.

Here and throughout, the various stages of society, in its progress from barbarism and mob-law to semi-civilisation, and some approach to regular government, are traced with the hand of a master.

[8] *Surrounded their cities with walls.*] Literally, " surrounded *themselves* with walls," by a figure common in our author, who, in the present and preceding chapter often speaks of *things* as *persons*, and vice versa. As to the phrase in question, Herodot. 1, 41, 18. has the same: τείχεα τε περιβάλλοντο ἕκαστοι. " The hazards (says Mitford, 1, 87.) to which unfortified and solitary dwellings were exposed from pirates and freebooters, had driven the more peaceable of mankind to assemble in towns for mutual security."

[9] *Having attained*, &c.] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of the passage, on which there has been some difference of opinion. Gottleber's interpretation cannot be admitted, since it would involve an unexampled harshness, not to say that the signification itself of τρόπῳ (*state*) is ill-founded. Still less can Haack's interpretation, " having now become accustomed to this thirst for gain," be adopted. The old interpretation is, I conceive, alone the true one. Μᾶλλον (as often) requires ἢ πρότερον to be supplied, which is the less harsh, as ἑαυτῶν preceded. Then we may, from the preceding context, supply πλούσιοι and δυνατόι. Finally, ὄντες is to be taken as the participle *imperfect*, (as it ought at c. 8. in.) " having arisen to wealth and power." The *subject* must, in strictness, be οἱ δυνατώρεροι, yet those potentates, who combined against Troy, were not merely the lords of the *smaller* cities. But though the same kind of persons be meant, (*magnates* chiefly with monarchical power,) yet not under the same circumstances. Within the phrase " in this manner," is concealed *another stage* in the progress of the rich and powerful to monarchy, namely, that by which they attained to power over the *greater* as well as the smaller cities. This they had arrived at by the time of the Trojan war.

[1] *Tyndarus.*] For the story, see Apoll. l. 3. Pausan. Lacon.

affirmed by those of the Peloponnesians [2] who have derived by tradition from their ancestors information most to be depended on, that Pelops [3] first, by the abundance of wealth [4] with which he came to a people of poverty, acquired power, and then gave a name, though but a new-comer, to the country [5], and to posterity attained unto a yet greater estimation and fame [6]. For, on Eurystheus being slain in Attica by the Heraclidæ, Atreus, his maternal uncle, who had taken refuge with him from the anger of his father at the murder of Chrysippus [7], and to whom, on account of his affinity, he had at

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[2] *Those of the Peloponnesians,* &c.] Such has been satisfactorily shown to be the sense by the recent commentators, Haack and Goeller. The old interpretation (as they prove) would require *τὰ σαφέστατα τὰ Πελοποννησιακῶν*. And the new interpretation (I would add) is confirmed by an imitation in Philo 2, 26, 49. *ὡς δ' οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα διηγούμενοι φασὶν*. Our author says the *most* clear and certain, though that might be far from positive clearness or certainty; for, as Mitford observes, traditions are vague, varying, and mixed with fable.

[3] *That Pelops — fame.*] Such seems to be the meaning of this very long and ill-composed sentence, which would not admit of being broken up; and which, therefore, I have moulded and digested, so as to be at least intelligible, and as little disgusting as such an interminable sentence can be.

[4] *Abundance of wealth.*] This wealth was derived in some way from Tantalus. The family was afterwards proverbial for wealth and power. So Isocrat. ad Phil. § 61. mentions *τὸν Ταντάλου πλοῦτον καὶ Πέλοπος ἀρχὴν*. And so Theocr. Idyll. 8, 53. *μὴ μοι γᾶν Πέλοπος, μη μοι χρύσεια τάλαντα εἴη ἔχεν*, &c. Also, Menander ap. Stob. *οὐδ' ἂν συναγάγῃς τὰ Ταντάλου τάλαντ' ἐκεῖνα λεγόμενα*. Hesiod ap. Suid. v. *ἀλκή*. *Ἀλκὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκεν Ὀλύμπιος Αἰακιδῃσι, νοῦν δ' Ἀμυθνόνιδαις, πλοῦτον δὲ παρ' Ἀτρείδῃσι*. See also Æschyl. Ag. 1628. From Arrian on Epict. 2, 29., I find that *τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος πλουσιώτερος* was a proverb equally common with our "*as rich as Crœsus.*" Hence may be understood an obscure and misinterpreted passage of Eurip. Iph. Aut. 373. *Μηδὲν ἄν χρέους ἕκατι προστάτην θείμην χθόνος*, i. e. lucri gratia. Compare v. 338 — 75. which illustrates the present passage.

[5] *Gave a name to the country.*] Literally, "had the naming of the country." See Kistem. Notwithstanding that the critics stumble at this phrase *τῆς χώρας ἐπωνυμίαν — σχεῖν*, such must be its meaning, which, though rare, is not unexampled. See Abresch. Diluc. To seek any other sense or construction would make confusion worse confounded.

[6] *Attained — estimation.*] These words have been strangely misunderstood by the translators. The most plausible sense is that assigned by Hobbes, Smith, and Haack, who take them to mean that the power and riches held by him were enlarged by his posterity. But this cannot be elicited from the words without the use of such *machines* as are better unemployed, especially as they are unnecessary.

[7] *Chrysippus.*] It is thought that Chrysippus was a favourite with his father, and therefore was slain by Pelops and Thyestes, at the instigation of their mother Hippodamia, who was stepmother to Chrysippus. Isocrates and Pindar, however, say that Pelops left his country from some disasters

his departure for the expedition committed Mycenæ and his government; when he returned not, partly with the good-will of the people, whose affections he had conciliated [8], and partly through their fear of the Heraclidæ, obtained the sovereignty of Mycenæ and such other states as had been under the government of Eurysthus; and thus the Pelopidæ became greater than the Persidæ. All which wealth and power Agamemnon inheriting, and possessing, too, a superiority in naval force, seems by these means to have formed the expedition [9]; drawing together the armament not so much by attachment as by fear.[10] For he himself contributed the greatest number of ships, besides furnishing some for the Arcadians, as is mentioned by Homer (if his testimony be thought valid [11]), who also in *the delivery of the scep-*

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in war; and with the facility peculiar to those ages of migration, sought better fortune elsewhere, at the head of a considerable body of adherents: some of them were Achæans from Thessaly. And, indeed, if we suppose him to have fled his country in the manner above represented, it were difficult to account for the *wealth* and the *followers* which he brought with him.

[8] *Whose affections he had conciliated.*] i. e. (as the Scholiast suggests) by money. But various are the arts of acquiring popularity; and in all of these Pelops, like most of those who have founded dynasties, was well skilled.

[9] *Expedition.*] Some read στρατιὰν, which best agrees with ξυναγαγών. But στρατείαν is better suited to ποιήσασθαι, and when repeated with ξυναγαγὼν, it will easily admit of accommodation by a *dilogia*. Besides, στρατεία was sometimes used in a middle sense between *army* and *expedition*, namely, *armament;* as in Xenophon frequently, and Eurip. Suppl. 23., and Iph. Aul. 295. Much which I have to add on the criticism of these two words I must reserve for my edition.

[10] *Not so much—fear.*] And the family connections, formed by the sage and prudent princes of the rising house of Pelops, must have greatly promoted the expedition. It is truly observed by Mitford (v. 1. p. 85.), that the spirit of the age, his own temper, the extent of his power, the natural desire of exerting it on a splendid occasion, would all incite this prince eagerly to adopt his brother's quarrel. He is besides represented by character as "qualified to create and command a powerful league: ambitious, active, brave, generous, humane; vain, indeed, and haughty, sometimes to his own injury, yet commonly repressing those hurtful qualities, and watchful to cultivate popularity." Perhaps no family ever so much profited by fortunate matrimonial connections as the house of Pelops, except that of *Hapsburg*, or Austria, which was, in a neat epigram, said to have gained by Venus what others aimed at by Mars.

[11] *If his testimony be thought valid*] This expression seems not so much to express distrust, as to have been a proverbial one employed where some exception might be taken, however slight, to a testimony. The *ground* of exception here probably was, that Homer was a poet; and the autho-

tre [12], says, that he "o'er numerous ships, and o'er all Argos ruled." Now, of the islands, except the circumjacent ones, which were but few, he could not have ruled over *many*, an inhabitant as he was of the continent, unless he had possessed a naval as well as land force. By this armament, moreoever, we may also conjecture the nature of those that preceded it.

X. And what though Mycenæ was but a small city [1], (and, indeed, which is there of the cities of those times that would not now appear inconsiderable?) that were a very groundless argument for disbelieving the armament to have been so great a one as the poets tell us, and fame has reported it to have been. If, for example [2], the city of the Lacedemonians were, like Mycenæ, brought to ruin and desolation [3], and nought but the temples and the foundations of the edifices [4] were left,

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rity of *such* our author hesitated to admit as testimonies of historical truth. See infra, c. 21.

[12] "*The delivery of the sceptre.*"] Hom. Il. 2, 108. This sceptre was a lance, which the Chæronæans venerated as a god. See Pausan. 9, 40. p. 795. So the sceptre of Jove in gems is simply a lance. See Lipperti Dactyloth. 1. p. 7. Thus the Heb. שֵׁבֶט, Ps. 2, 9. See Æschyl. Theb. 535. and Justin, l. 43, 3. (Gottleb.) Also Heyne's Excurs. to Il. 2. T. 4. p. 441.

[1] *Mycenæ was, &c.*] Many recent commentators have strangely misrepresented the sense, chiefly through mistaking the *purpose* of the author, which is *not* (as Thiersch imagines) to maintain, contrary to the common opinion, that Mycenæ was small. It is rather his intention to protest against the *fact* of its smallness being urged as a proof of weakness, and of the impossibility that such an armament could have been sent forth from it. Still less can it be supposed, with Gottleb., that Thucyd. only speaks of the *present*, not the past smallness of it; for that would require ἦν to be taken for ἐστι; and further, at the time of our author, Mycenæ could hardly be said to be small, since it scarcely even existed, being then a heap of ruins, in the very state, in fact, in which Sparta is just after *supposed* to be. The above is, as Goeller says, the *principal sentiment*, which is then illustrated by the examples of Sparta and Athens.

[2] *For example.*] Such is the sense (and a not unfrequent one) of γάρ.

[3] *Brought — desolation.*] Such is the sense of ἐρημώθη, which might also be expressed by the scriptural phrase, *become a desolation.*

[4] *Foundations of the edifices.*] This is explained by Goeller, *der raum für die häusliche einrichtung*, sive, *die Wohnhäuser.* Yet the sense I have assigned (after Portus) seems the simplest. I know not, indeed, any other example of κατασκευὴ in this sense; but our author abounds in rare, or novel, *senses* as well as *words.* Certainly the interpretation of Poppo, *Suppellex*, cannot be admitted, because of the added τὰ ἐδάφη. Still less can emendation be thought of, since it again occurs in the same clause just after. The word seems to have been used with a reference chiefly to the houses of the rich and great. Such are κατ' ἐξοχὴν, called *edifices.*

there might, I conceive, in the course of long revolving ages, arise a disbelief of their power, as compared with what fame had represented it to be; (and yet, of the five divisions of Peloponnesus, they occupy two, and hold domination over the whole, besides many confederate states out of it; though, as their city is neither compactly built, nor is adorned with sumptuous temples and other edifices, but, in the antique manner of Greece, is built in the village form[5], it would appear much less considerable than it is;) whereas, if that of the Athenians were to suffer such a calamity, a power would, from the manifest appearance of the city, be conjectured double of what it is. We ought, therefore, in such a case, to suppress incredulity, and consider, not so much the appearance of cities, as their power. And consequently, we may suppose the armament in question to have been the greatest of those that preceded it, but inferior to those of the present age. For if we here yield credence to the poetry of Homer — which it was likely for him, as a poet, to adorn by estimating every thing at the highest[6] — yet, *even thus*, it is manifestly inferior; for he has made the armament consist of 1200[7] ships — the Bœotian ones manned with 120 men; those of Philoctetes with 50, indicating, as I suppose, the greatest and the least.[8] Thus,

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[5] *In the village form.*] Such is the sense of κατὰ κώμας οικ., on which I have before treated. Sparta, indeed, was little more than a cluster of large villages. (See the plan by Barbie de Boccage.) Now this was the very opposite to being *compactly* built, συνοικ. From the present passage may be illustrated Dion. Hal. T. 1. 10, 5. ᾤκισε πόλεις μικρὰς καὶ συνεχεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤρεσιν, ὥσπερ ἦν τοῖς πάλαι οἷς τρόπος οἰκήσεως (lego οικισεως) συνήθης. Hence also may be emended Aristid. T. 1. 191. B. μιᾶς μέν γε τῶν τριῶν ἐν Πελ$^{\omega}$. μοιρῶν διαφθαρείσης τὰς Μεσ. where I would read πέντε. Also Aristid. 2, 147. B. Πελοποννήσου τὰς δύο μοίρας ἔσχον — ἔπειτα πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦρξαν· δυνάμεως κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορήσαντες.

[6] *Adorn — highest.*] This has reference to those hyperbolical expressions which are so favourable to poetical ornament; for though statements of the number of ships and men, and such other matter of fact affairs, admit not of poetical exaggeration, yet a poet, for the sake of raising the dignity of his subject, will, in such a case, adopt the highest estimates.

[7] *Of* 1200.] Our author may here be supposed to have used a round number (as does Æschylus, Agam. 44. στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύτην — ᾖραν, where see Stanley); for though the number be somewhat variously reckoned (see Cerda on Virg. Æn. 2, 298. and Meziriac on Ovid Epist. Herm. p. 319), yet no estimate makes it quite so great. Our Scholiast reckons, from Homer, 1166; but Eustath. on Il. β. 358. makes it 1186; and this estimate is supported by the authority of Plutarch, ἐξ ὧν λογίζεσθαι, &c.

[8] *The greatest and the least.*] The words of the original which follow (namely, ἄλλων γοῦν — παρεσκευασμένα) are *illustrative*, and in some

of the size of the rest he has made no mention in the catalogue of the ships. He has, however, intimated that all those on board the vessels of Philoctetes[9] were, at once, both themselves the rowers and warriors[10]; for he makes all the rowers archers. As to supernumeraries[11], it is not likely that many of *those* were embarked, except kings and officers[12] of rank; especially as they were about to cross the sea with warlike

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measure parenthetical. For the subject is again taken up at πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας οὖν, &c. Οὖν has not unfrequently this resumptive or *epanaleptic* force.

[9] *Those on board the vessels of Philoctetes.*] I cannot but advert to a new mode of taking ἐν ταῖς Φιλοκτήτου ναυσὶ, introduced by the recent commentators, as Bauer, Kistem., Haack, and Goeller, who connect them not with the preceding words, but with the δεδήλωκε following. And Goeller renders, "indicavit in recensu navium Philoctetæ." But such a sense is harsh, and scarcely to be justified by ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ just before. I therefore see no reason to desert the common interpretation. The omission, indeed, of οἱ ὄντες, or οἵπερ ἦσαν, is not agreeable to the usage of the best writers; but our author is accustomed to a close brevity of expression, which here, moreover, was necessary, to avoid tautology. The strongest objection to the common interpretation, is that stated by Bauer; namely, that it yields a no very apposite sense; for to what purpose were it to advert to that which was the case in no inconsiderable a number of ships? If this be thought fatal to the interpretation, I would render "by what he has said of the ships of Philoctetes."

[10] *Themselves the rowers.*] It is not easy to express the comprehensive term αὐτερέται by any one in our language. It is best explained by Pollux, 7, 95. as denoting one who both rows and fights. And this gloss may be admitted as far as regards the present passage, since μάχιμοι is associated with the term: otherwise it could only mean one who rows for himself, and is not a mere passenger. So Musæus says of Leander, αὐτὸς ἑων ἐρέτης, αὐτόστολος, for αὐτὸς ἐων ἐρέτης is the Ionic or antique way of expressing αὐτερέτης, as αὐτοέντης for αὐθέντης.

[11] *Supernumeraries.*] Such is the closest sense of περίνεως, which is variously explained by the old lexicographers, because it was used in more than one sense by the classical writers, in the earlier of whom it designates "those who sat apart from the rowers' benches," being exempt from such labour. Their station was probably at the *prow*. (See Pollux, 1, 91.) In the latter ones I have met with it to denote a certain petty officer, perhaps corresponding to our *master's mate* (so Philostr. cited by Steph. Thes. in v.), and who seems from Artemid. On. 1, 35., to have been next in rank below the πρωρεύς. From the words οἷον δούλους, which are at the end of the Scholium (but which could never have come from the Scholiast), it should seem to have been used, perhaps in later Grecism, to denote the persons who went on board as cooks, carpenters, &c. including the officers' servants.

[12] *Officers.*] Literally, "those especially in office." For τέλος, among its other significations, denotes *office;* as Æschyl. Pers. 209. Theb. 246. Agam. 881.; as also *business* in Choeph. 756. Hence τὰ τέλη denotes *officers of law, magistrates*, the *thing* being put for the *person*.

apparatus[13], without having their ships decked[14], but constructed in the antient manner, very much after the fashion of piratical cruisers. If, I repeat, we take the medium between the greatest and smallest ships, the number brought together will not seem great, considered as[15] the joint contribution of the whole of Greece.

XI. Now the reason of this paucity was not so much the want of *men* as of *money*[1]; for by reason of the scarcity of provisions, they brought together so much smaller a force, and such only as they calculated would subsist itself by war-

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[13] *Warlike apparatus.*] The Scholiast and Hack understand this of *arms*. But it must also include accoutrements and baggage of every kind.

[14] *Ships decked.*] Literally, "enclosed or shut down with hatches." So the Scholiast explains it by σεσανιδώμενα (*planked*), so as to admit of the military stores being stowed below, and the passengers above. The word is often used by Polybius. See Pollux and Hesych., and also Scheffer and Bayfius de re navali. Hence it is plain that the piratical cruisers were not decked, but like our men of war's *long boats*. And we find from the Scholiast (doubtless on the authority of some antient writer) that they were built like the νῆες στρογγύλοι, as deep in the hull as possible, for the purpose of concealing the crew from observation. Πλοῖον here, as often, signifies simply a *vessel*, without reference to size.

[15] *Considered as.*] On this use of ὡς, by which it has, not an intensive, but the restrictive force (*for, considered as*, &c.), see Buttm. and Matth. Gr. Gram. With respect to the thing itself, it may seem strange that our author should consider 102,000 men, besides a fleet of 1200 ships, as a small armament for a country of so moderate a size as Greece Proper. That would now be considered far above the amount of force which such a country could send forth, especially as there is no reason to think Greece was at that time so well peopled as Europe in general is now. But, in fact, both sacred and profane history is full of such statements of forces sent forth to war, as astonish us of the present times. To lessen our wonder, we must remember that in antient times every man, except those in the last state of decrepitude, was in some way or other *a soldier*. And we find in our author's accounts of the numbers sent forth by the Lacedemonian league, that *two thirds* of the population were drafted for foreign service, and the *other third* left for domestic labours and home defence. At this rate 102,000 might, indeed, seem an inadequate number; and yet it may be questioned whether even that number, exclusive of slaves, was ever brought into the field by the same portion of Greece, even for summer, during the Peloponnesian war.

[1] *Money.*] The sense before indicated must here again, in a great degree, have place; for of *money*, in its proper sense, there was as yet little or none. "Neither (says Mitford, 1, 88.), did the policy of the times amount, by many degrees, to the art of subsisting so numerous an army for any length of time; nor would the revenues of Greece have been equal to it with more knowledge; nor indeed would the state of things have admitted it, scarcely with any wealth, or by any means. For in countries without commerce, the people providing for their own wants only, supplies can never be found equal to the maintenance of a superadded army."

fare.[2] Nay, after having on their arrival gained a battle[3], (for that they did so is plain[4]; otherwise they could not have erected the fortification around their camp,) we find them not even then employing their whole force, but directing their attention to the cultivation of the Chersonesus, and to piratical depredations[5], through mere want of subsistence. Hence, also, by their being thus dispersed, the Trojans were the better able to hold out in pertinacious resistance for those ten years[6]; being generally a match[7] for such as were at any time left behind to maintain the siege.[8] Whereas, if they had gone

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[2] *Subsist itself by warfare.*] It is a well-kown maxim of generals (perpetually acted upon by Napoleon Buonaparte), to carry the war into the enemy's country, and thus, as it were, make it support itself by *quartering upon the enemy.*

[3] *Battle.*] Namely, that which attended their debarkation, in which Protesilaus fell.

[4] *Is plain.*] Thiersch contends that had they been the victors, they would have had no need to fortify their camp; but if conquered, that would be very necessary. And conquered he thinks they were, as he attempts to prove from Pind. Ol. 9, 109. Hence, he would for ἐκράτησαν read ἐκρατήθησαν. And he might have given an example of the word in 7, 55. But this criticism is in the worst spirit of the sceptical *new* school of Germany. Surely far less learning, though somewhat more of judgment, might have taught him to abandon a conjecture so wholly unsupported, and, in truth, so futile. A battle, surely, could not but result from an attempt at debarkation; and the very effecting such an attempt *implies* victory. But, in fact, that the victory, though at one time somewhat doubtful, was actually gained, is clear (as Goeller here remarks in a sensible note), from the circumstance, that after having fortified their camp, they went forth to ravage the country, and sack the surrounding cities. As to the fortifying the camp, that was a precaution which scarcely any advantages gained in the field would have justified their neglecting. And as to the passage of Pindar, it has (as Haack and Boeck. observe) reference to *another* battle.

[5] *Piratical depredations.*] The word λησταία is often used, in Thucydides and other antient writers, not of absolute piracy, but of that *petty war* and pillage of which individuals rather than the state are the object; and which bore some resemblance to the *privateering* of modern times. See I. 4, 67. and the notes.

[6] *Ten years.*] Mitford thinks "it was only the success of the Greeks, in these ravages, that induced them to persevere so long. These, however, he observes, alarmed the neighbouring people, and contributed to procure numerous and powerful allies to the Trojans, both Asiatic and European."

[7] *Generally a match.*] Namely, able to effect their designs with respect to the besiegers; i. e. either to make successful sallies, or to carry by force the introduction of supplies and succours into the city.

[8] *Siege.*] Such, however, was the strength of the city, both by nature and art, that they were obliged to turn the siege into a *blockade* (and, indeed, the antient sieges were little more), and endeavour to starve out the enemy.

properly provided with supplies of food, and had, without the interruptions of foraging [9] and agriculture, applied themselves in full force to carry the war through [10], they might easily have reduced and taken the place. But, in fact, they did not act in conjoint force, but only maintained the siege with such a portion as might be any time at hand. Whereas, I repeat, if they had assiduously applied themselves to the siege, they might have carried the city in less time, and with less labour. But it was through deficiency of wealth that the military affairs prior to these were feeble; and even these, though the most memorable of all preceding ones, yet are shown by facts to have been inferior to their fame, and to the current report even now prevalent concerning them through the poets.[11]

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[9] *Foraging.*] Including piratical cruises. Such is the common method of subsisting a besieging army; but, as Mitford observes (1, 88.), "such a resource soon destroys itself. To have, therefore, a more permanent and certain supply, they sent a part of their army to cultivate the vales of the Thracian Chersonese, then abandoned by their inhabitants on account of the frequent and destructive incursions of the wild people who occupied the interior of that continent."

[10] *Carry the war through.*] Such is the literal sense of διέφερον, by which is meant, carry into effect the objects of the war, ἐξήνυον, διήνυον, as the Scholiast explains.

[11] *By the poets.*] In what our author says of the poets we are rather, I conceive, to suppose him to have in view the *poets of his own age*, and a little before, than *Homer*. And it has been already shown, that the way in which Homer has been mentioned, does not necessarily imply distrust in his general accuracy. Indeed, had our author not thought him a trustworthy authority in historical matters, he would not have so often adverted to his poetry. The following remarks of Mitford (1, 92.), on the credit due to Homer, and the circumstances on which it is principally established, are entitled to much attention: — "In Homer's age poets were the only historians; whence, though it does not at all follow that poets would always scrupulously adhere to truth, yet it necessarily follows that veracity, in historical narration, would make a large share of a poet's merit in public opinion: a circumstance which the common use of written records, and prose histories, instantly and totally altered. The probability, and the very remarkable consistency of Homer's historical anecdotes, variously dispersed as they are among his poetical details and embellishments, form a second and powerful testimony. Indeed, the connection and the clearness of Grecian history, through the very early times of which Homer has treated, appear very extraordinary, when compared with the darkness and uncertainty that begin at the instant of our losing his guidance, and continue through ages. In confirmation, then, of this presumptive evidence, we have very complete positive proof to the only point that could admit of it, his geography, which has wonderfully stood the most scrupulous enquiries from those who were every way qualified to make them."

XII. Nay, even *after* the Trojan war, Greece was yet so occupied with transmigration and sending out colonies, as to enjoy too little quiet to make any progress in power; for both [1] the return of the Greeks from Ilium, after so long an absence, produced many changes, and factions [2] had generally arisen in the cities, by which those who returned being exiled, they [3] went and colonised other cities. [4] Thus, too, those who are now called Bœotians, in the sixtieth year after the taking of Ilium, being expelled from Arne [5] by the Thessalians, settled in what is now denominated Bœotia, which formerly bore the name of Cadmeis; though there had been a part of them which had previously settled there, of which were those that went on the expedition against Ilium. Also, in the eightieth year, the Dorians, in conjunction with the Heraclidæ, occupied Peloponnesus. With difficulty, then, and after a long series of years, Greece becoming thoroughly tranquillised, and no

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[1] *For both, &c.*] The passage ἥ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις — ἔσχον is parenthetical, and is meant to exemplify the transmigrations and the colonisations just mentioned.

[2] *Factions.*] i. e. factions opposed to the royal party, by which the government was administered. These persons had, no doubt, partially succeeded in acquiring influence and power (perhaps the executive) before the return of the rightful rulers; and not choosing to resign it, drove them away after their return. The Scholiast thus expresses the then state of affairs: — "No longer expecting them to return, they rose in rebellion and war against them when they came; and then the defeated party was driven into exile."

[3] *They.*] i. e. many. For, as the Scholiast observes, not a few there were who suffered this expulsion; as Teucer, who went to Cyprus; Philoctetes, who, being afflicted with the female disease [on which see Herod. 1, 105., and the Commentators, Hippocr. de Ære, p. 293., and especially a Dissertation recently published in Germany], and not enduring the shame of this, left his country, and colonised a city called, after his calamity, *Malacia;* Diomede, who, excited by Comes, went to the Liburnian isles; Menestheus, who, expelled by the sons of Theseus, went to Iberia; and many others. Mitf. 1, 91. thinks that, "not expecting to be so long detained from home, they had not made due provision for the regular administration of their affairs during such an absence. Though, indeed, it is probable that the utmost wisdom and forethought would have been unequal to the purpose. For, in the half-formed government of those days, the constant presence of the prince, as supreme regulator, was necessary to keep the whole from running presently into utter confusion. Seditions, therefore, and revolutions, were almost as numerous as the cities of Greece."

[4] *Colonised — cities.*] In τὰς πόλεις the article has reference to κατῳκίζετο a little before; and the literal sense is, "colonised the cities which were colonised." This strongly confirms the reading κατῳκ. for μετῳκ., introduced by the recent editors.

[5] *Arne.*] In Thessaly, from which the city colonised in Bœotia (now called Chæronea) derived its name. (Schol.)

longer fluctuating, sent out colonies.[6] Thus Ionia and most of the islands were colonised by the Athenians; but the greater part of Italy and Sicily, and also some few other parts of what was also esteemed Greece, by the Peloponnesians. All these colonies were planted after the Trojan war.

XIII. Greece having thus become more powerful, and attained unto a greater command of wealth than before, tyrannies[1] or despotic monarchies, now that the revenues were increased[2], began to be very generally established in the cities; for formerly there were kingships, occupied by here-

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6 *Sent out colonies.*] After the country was at length thoroughly settled, then population became so dense that a removal of part of it became necessary. But to this *deportation* was applied the decent name of *colonisation;* as is plain from a passage of Plato de Rep. 5. p. 222. ὅσοι διὰ τὴν τροφῆς ἀπορίαν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἐχόντων μὴ ἔχοντες ἑτοίμως αὐτοὺς ἐνδείκνυνται παρεσκευακότες ἔπεσθαι, τούτοις, ὡς νοσήματι πόλεως ἐμπεφυκότι, δι' εὐφημίαν ἀπαλλαγῆς ὄνομα ἀποικίαν τιθέμενος, εὐμενῶς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξεπέμψατο. There was then, as there always will be in over-peopled countries, a violent contest between the οἱ ἔχοντες and the οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες, the *have-somethings* and the *have-nothings.* So also Plat. de Leg. 5. p. 221. τοὺς μέγιστα ἐξημαρτηκότας, ἀνιάτους δὲ ὄντας, μεγίστην δὲ οὖσαν βλάβην πόλεως ἀπαλλάττειν εἴωθεν.

1 *Tyrannies.*] The distinction made by our author between these and the *kingships,* just afterwards, is plainly this, that in the latter case the power was legitimate, hereditary, and limited; in the former usurped, unlimited, and despotic; at least nominally so, there being no sort of constitutional or legal check on their will. All history serves to show the high antiquity of monarchical government. Neither Homer, nor any equally antient author, makes mention of any other. That the power of these petty kings was not absolute, but limited by laws or customs, we learn not only from our author (not to mention historians later), but from Homer. It appears from Il. 2, 204. and various other passages, that the king recognised the laws as the only measure of regal power, and the people as the source of all power; and that even hereditary right required to be united with merit, personal or intellectual, in order to maintain authority. See Mitford's Dissertation on the Government of the early Greeks, vol. 1. p. 123–132. On this subject there is a most important passage in Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 336. penult. Sylb. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ ἅπασα πόλις Ἑλλὰς ἐβασιλεύετο, πλὴν οὐχ, ὥσπερ τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη, δεσποτικῶς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ νόμους τε καὶ ἐθισμοὺς πατρίους· καὶ κράτιστος ἦν βασιλεὺς ὁ δικαιότατός τε καὶ νομιμώτατος, καὶ μηδὲν ἐκδιαιτώμενος τῶν πατρίων. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος, δικασπόλους τε καλῶν τοὺς βασιλεῖς, καὶ θεμιστοπόλους. καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τισιν αἱ βασιλεῖαι διοικούμεναι, καθάπερ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων. He here evidently has in view Thucydides, and doubtless other antient writers.

2 *Now that the revenues were increased.*] Or, "from the increase of revenues." For our author intended, I think, to ascribe the rise of tyranny to the cupidity of ambition excited by the increase of wealth, and consequently of revenue. See l. 3, 45. and notes.

ditary [3] right, and with certain defined privileges and prerogatives.[4] And now Greece began to construct navies, and to apply more assiduously [5] to nautical affairs. The first who introduced a change in the structure [6] of vessels, so as to form

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[3] *Hereditary.*] In illustration of this subject, on which the commentators have neglected to treat, I would refer to a kindred passage of Pind. Pyth. 10, 110. ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖνται πατρωΐαι κεδναὶ πολίων κυβερνάσιες. where αγ. is explained κάλοι κἀγαθοι, *optimates*, by the Scholiast, who also explains κεῖνται πατρωΐαι by ἀπόκεινται πατρικαί.

[4] *Determinate privileges and prerogatives.*] Such seems to be the sense of ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι, where the ἐπι expresses *condition.* And ῥητοῖς is well explained by the Scholiast ὁμολογουμένοις. To the γέρασι Valla assigns the sense *honoribus ;* Stephens, *honorariis, præmiis.* But it rather seems to signify *privilegiis, prerogativis,* so called from the honour which they carried with them. In nearly this sense the word is often used by Homer and Pindar. See Damm. Lex. Hom., who, after observing that it primarily denotes the principal share of any thing apportioned to the king, proceeds to remark: " ergo γέρας in genere omne præcipuum notat quod quis præ aliis habet, etiam præcipuum honorem aliquem." It is used in Pindar, Pyth. 5, 23. to denote the royal dignity *generally ;* and in Pyth. 7, 58. we have γέρας βασίλειον, regal office. In Herod. 1, 161, 14. 1, 165, 3. and 6, 56, 59. are mentioned certain γέρεα βασίλεια belonging to the kings of Sparta. But the present passage is most aptly illustrated by the following one, from an epistle of Pisistratus to Solon, in Diog. Laert. Sol. l. 1, 53. οὐ πλεῖόν τι φέρομαι τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς τιμῆς, ὁμοῖα δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρὶν βασιλεῦσιν ἦν τὰ ῥητὰ γέρα. So also Æschyl. P. v. 237. δαίμοσιν νέμει γέρα Ἄλλοισιν ἄλλα, καὶ διεστοιχίζετο ἀρχήν. Thus also we have τὰ γέρα νομιζόμεν. infra, c. 25. The expression ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, used of what is *conditional,* or *definite,* occurs in the best writers, where there is an ellipsis of δικαίοις, which is *supplied* in Dionys. Hal. p. 279, 43. and 630, 5.

Wyttenb. remarks, that " we are not to suppose these hereditary and limited kingships were immediately succeeded by tyrannies, since history informs us that the kingships of the heroic ages, and of the times of the Trojan war, passed not long afterwards into democracies, which again had their issue in tyrannies; revolutions which, he observes, are adverted to by Aristot. Polit. 4, 17. and 5, 4. and especially 10. which forms the best commentary on the present passage." That these democracies should have terminated in tyrannies, is no more than what the general experience of all ages would lead us to expect. Into what multiplied evils and manifold calamities did the abandonment of limited monarchy plunge the Greeks! The aiming at greater liberty led to licentiousness, anarchy, and finally tyranny, the only kind of government suited to a nation under such circumstances.

[5] *Apply more assiduously.*] The Scholiast explains ἀντείχοντο by προσεῖχον. But the former is a far stronger term, and denotes " such devoted attention to a thing as makes us cling to it, and not be willingly drawn from it."

[6] *Change in the structure.*] Such seems to be the sense of μεταχείρισαι, which, however, is otherwise interpreted by Steph. Thes., and from him by other lexicographers, down to Donnegan's Lexicon. But the context will hardly permit the signification they assign. The term must have that ascribed to it by the Schol. and Portus, " to change the structure of." And this was learnedly established by Salmasius de modo Usur. p. 327. See also Scalig. on Euseb. Chron. p. 61.

them very nearly in the present mode, are said to have been the Corinthians; and *triremes* are thought to have been built first of Greece at Corinth. It appears, too, that Aminocles, a Corinthian ship-builder, also constructed four such vessels for the Samians. Now it is about 300 years from the time when Aminocles went to the Samians, to the end of this war; and the most antient sea-fight[7] within our knowledge is that of the Corinthians against the Corcyreans. Now from the time that the engagement occurred, up to the above-mentioned period, there are about[8] 260 years.

Indeed, the Corinthians, from their situation on the isthmus[9], enjoyed always a very considerable commerce; the

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What was the nature of this change we are not fully informed. Our Scholiast says, it was by changing vessels of fifty oars into triremes. On which Duker refers to Salmas. Obs. ad Jus Attic. et Rom. p. 692., who has much instructive matter on this subject (though he very strangely interprets the πεντηκόντορος of our Scholiast of a *five*, instead of a *fifty*, oared vessel). He has, I believe, omitted to bring forward an important passage from Pind. Olymp. 13, 20-22., where, after ascribing many inventions to the Corinthians, the poet proceeds thus: πολλὰ δ' ἐν καρδίαις ἀνδρῶν ἔβαλον Ὧραι πολυάνθεμοι ἀρ- Χαῖα σοφίσματ'. And he pithily adds, Ἅπαν δ' εὑρόντος ἔργον. where the Scholiast observes, that though some have gained fame by improving on the inventions of the Corinthians, yet they are *greater* by being the inventors. As I doubt not that Pindar had especial regard to the inventor of triremes, so the Scholiast seems to have had the *Samians* in view, who probably improved upon the Corinthian model; nay, the *invention* is ascribed to them by Alexis ap. Athen. p. 540. E, perhaps from confounding this with what our author says a little further on of Polycrates. Whether Aminocles was the inventor of triremes is uncertain; but he appears to have been one of the earliest builders, and was induced to form four as models for the Samians.

[7] *Most antient sea-fight.*] i. e. regular engagement between fleets; for combats between single ships must have often occurred before. The *cause* of the war in question is narrated by Herod. 3, 53.

[8] *About.*] On the μάλιστα affixed to the numbers interpreters are divided in opinion. Taylor, Bast, and Thiersch take it to signify *more than*. But this sense is not supported by the use of the word, either here or elsewhere. I must prefer the interpretation of the Scholiast, Suid., and Phot., ἀκριβῶς, though that may be considered too formal. Goeller objects to *circiter* (I suppose because it would seem too lax), and explains it by *ferme, gewiss, sicher*. But these two significations may be said to merge into each other; and the true sense seems to be *thereabouts, a little over or under, as near as may be;* a mode of expression, as regards chronological matters, commendably cautious. From this mention of the end of the war, it is plain that our author survived its termination.

[9] *Isthmus—commerce.*] To the references of the commentators I add Plutarch Anat. 16. and Aristid. 1, 415. A, both of which passages were written with a view to the present one. The advantages of a situation on an isthmus in the early ages our author has before adverted to, as also the practice of the early Greeks to travel by land rather than by sea.

Greeks of old carrying on mutual intercourse more by land than by sea, and passing (both those within and those without Peloponnesus,) necessarily through their territory. Hence they were exceedingly wealthy; as is plain from the epithet ἀφνειὸν, given to the place by the old poets. And when the Greeks, having paid greater attention to naval affairs[10], had obtained shipping and suppressed piracy[11], they, by making their city a double[12] emporium, arrived at considerable opulence by the revenues thence resulting.

The Ionians, too[13], in after times; viz. in the reign of Cyrus the First, king of Persia, and of Cambyses his son, attained no inconsiderable navy; indeed, for some time during their hostilities with Cyrus they were masters of the sea over against their country. Polycrates[14], also, the despot of Samos, in the reign of Cambyses, possessing a strong naval

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[10] *Having — affairs.*] Such seems to be the sense of ἐπλώιζοντο, and not *navigabant*, as Portus renders it. In this sense the word occurs in Strabo (ap. Budæum), in Polyb. often, in Diod. 2, 255., and Lucian 1, 567. In all which passages, and elsewhere, πλωίζεσθαι is used, but the *active* πλωίζειν, which is introduced here from some MSS. by Bened., Bekker, and Goeller, occurs, as far as I remember, *no where*.

[11] *Suppressed piracy.*] This is chiefly to be understood of the *Corinthians*, who are spoken of in the next clause. We are also, (the Scholiast suggests,) to understand it as the completion of what had been commenced by Minos. Yet considering the long period which elapsed between the time of Minos and that in question, this view appears to involve somewhat of absurdity. There was time for piracy to be suppressed, and then to *revive*, as it probably would during the revolutions mentioned by Aristotle as occasioned by the subversion of limited monarchies, and the erection of democracies, which terminated, as in so many other cases, in *tyrannies*.

[12] *Double.*] The ἀμφότερα edited from MSS. by Bened. Bekker, Haack, and Goeller, is confirmed by Aristid. 1, 415. A, who has ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. Also by Dio Cass. p. 28, 7. 77, 1. 216, 56.; but he *supplies* the κατ', which is here left understood.

[13] *The Ionians, too.*] After the ship-building of the Corinthians is now introduced the attention paid by the Ionians to raising a navy. (Schol.)

[14] *Polycrates.*] See Herod. 3, 122., who there says that he was the first, except Minos, indeed the first of the *historical* period, who aimed at the dominion of the sea. And yet it is remarked by Wessel. and Valck., that Euseb. in his Chronicon gives a list of several who, between Minos and Polycrates, held the empire of the sea. But Wessel. observes that Herodot. speaks only of kings or tyrants. For those θαλασσοκρατοῦντες were either of the democratical, or aristocratical polity, in whose hands that dominion would be very fluctuating. We must bear in mind what we learn from Aristot. Pol., cited a little before. Wess. has here pithily remarked: "Qui maris tenuere Mediterranei partem Græci, superbo θαλασσοκρατούντων insignes titulo, in aliquot insulas Ægæi maris exercebant imperium, sic satis interdum violentum; nam obniti quidem noverant dominationem affectantibus, sed moderate imperandi artem ignorabant Græci."

force, both reduced others of the islands into subjection [15], and, on subduing Rhenea, he consecrated it to [16] the Delian Apollo. The Phoceans [17], also, while colonising Massilia, had a sea-fight with the Carthaginians, and defeated them.

XIV. These, then, were the most powerful navies; but even these, though many generations [1] posterior to the Trojan war, yet appear to have possessed very few triremes, but to have still chiefly, like the navies of that time, consisted of fifty-oared vessels and long barks.[2] And it was but a short time before the Median war and the death of Darius, who succeeded Cambyses on the throne of Persia, that triremes, in any considerable number, were possessed by the tyrants on the coasts of Sicily [3], and by the Corcyreans: for these last were the only Grecian navies worth mentioning, before the expedition of Xerxes; the Æginetæ and the Athenians, and such others as had them, possessing but inconsiderable ones, and those for the most part consisting of fifty-oared vessels. Nor was it till late that Themistocles prevailed on the Athenians, when at war with the Æginetæ, (the Barba-

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[15] *Possessing — subjection.*] Both these circumstances are adverted to by Max. Tyr. Diss. 5, 1. p. 73. Κροῖσος μὲν εἶχεν εὔιππον γῆν, Πολυκράτης δὲ εὔνεων θάλατταν. & Diss. 35. t. 2, 165. ἐκέκτητο θάλατταν Ἰωνικὴν καὶ τριήρεις πολλάς.

[16] *Consecrated it to, &c.*] The mode in which this was done is mentioned in 3, 104., and Herod. 3, 34, and 122. See also Theocr. Idyll. 17, 70. and Kiesling there; and on *ἀνατίθημι*, Polyæn. 6, 50. On Rhenea, see Wess. on 6, 97.

[17] *Phoceans — Massilia.*] On the Phoceans, see Herod. 1, 166. and Schweigh. On the Carthaginians, Herod. ibidem, and Justin. l. 43, 5. On the Massilians, Eustath. on Dionys. Per. 70. and Harpocration in v. Μασσαλία.

[1] *Generations.*] So in Diod. 1, 24. Hercules is said to have flourished one generation before the Trojan war, i. e. as Diodorus and Herodotus are accustomed to reckon, *thirty years.* See Wess. on Herod. 2, 142. and Periz. Orig. Ægypt. c. 9. p. 176. (Gottleb.)

[2] *Long barks.*] Very much like the long boats of our men of war. See Scheffer de Re Nav. 2. p. 85. Thus, there is no occasion for Salmasius's emendation μικροῖς. These were, we may suppose, very similar to the piratical barges of earlier times. Vide supra, c. 10.

[3] *On the coast of Sicily.*] Such seems to be the sense of περὶ Σικελίαν, which the commentators seem mistaken in regarding as a mere periphrasis for Σικελοῖς (or rather Σικελικοῖς). Such a signification of περὶ is not unusual in our author, as 6, 2. ᾤκουν Φοίνικες, περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Σικελίαν, where the commentators rightly take it for ἀμφί. The tyrants here meant were chiefly Gelo and Hiero.

rians, too, being expected [4],) to construct the ships wherewith they engaged with them; and even these were not decked [5] throughout.

XV. Such, then, were the navies of Greece, both the antient and the later ones. Those, however, who attended to their formation and support, acquired no small power thereby; both by the revenues thence accruing, and by the dominion [1] it gave them over others. For they, and especially such as had no sufficiency of territory [2], made cruises, and subdued the islands. As to *land* wars, at least such whereby power might be attained, there were none, all of them being only hostilities of borderers against their neighbours [3]; since in extraneous and far distant expeditions, for the conquest of foreign lands, the Greeks had not engaged. Indeed there were [4] as yet no subject associations of the smaller with the greater cities, nor did they form common expeditions [5], at a certain just rate of contribution [6]; but, rather, neighbouring

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[4] *Expected.*] Namely (says the Schol.), by the battle of Marathon having taken place. The sea-fight here alluded to must be that of Salamis.

[5] *Decked.*] On these decks see Voss. de Const. Trirem. p. 722. tom. 12. Antiq. Rom. Græv.

[1] *Revenues — dominion.*] Our author has chiefly in view the Athenians, Corinthians, Corcyreans, and Æginetæ.

[2] *Sufficiency of territory.*] This is meant chiefly of the Athenians, though also of the others just mentioned.

[3] *Against their neighbours.*] Vide supra, c. 7. note 6.

[4] *For there were, &c.*] This passage is meant to assign a reason why no far distant foreign expeditions were formed, namely, because there was not enough of combination among the petty states to supply the funds.

[5] *Expeditions.*] Our author especially alludes to the unfortunate one of the Athenians, for the conquest of Sicily, which will serve to defend the words πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν. Indeed the records of history show that something ill-omened attends far distant expeditions. And this seems to have been in the mind of those who fabricated the story, (for such it is,) which Ælian H. A. 2, 46. retails, that ταῖς ἐκδήμοις στρατειαῖς ἔπονται γύπες.

[6] *Just rate of contribution.*] This seems to be the true sense of ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης, which Hack would render *ex æquo*, because this clause is opposed to the preceding. But, in fact, it is *not*; for αὐτοὶ cannot be rendered *soli*; nor perhaps ought αὖ to have been introduced into the text. There is, as the Schol., Poppo, and Goeller rightly maintain, an ellipsis of συντελείας, the idea of which is suggested by the subject of the context. The same phrase occurs, but in a metaphorical sense, at 3, 40. I cannot, however, approve of the version of Goeller, "*parem* contribuentes impensarum partem." For it is not to be supposed that the lesser parties in these associations contributed an equal share of expense, &c., with the greater, but what was ἴσον in a figurative sense, i. e. a just and right portion.

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states severally[7] pursued each other with hostilities. It was chiefly at that war which of old took place between the Chalcideans and Eretrians, that Greece was engaged in general or combined hostilities; the rest of it separating into parties, as they sided with one or the other.[8]

XVI. Various hindrances, too, occurred to other states in the way of their growth and increase. To the Ionians, when their affairs were in a thriving state[9], Cyrus and the Persian monarchy[10]; who having subdued Crœsus, carried hostilities into all the country between the Halys and the sea-coast, and subjected their continental cities; as afterwards Darius, by the aid of the Phœnician fleet, did their islands also.

XVII. As for the tyrants, such as held dominion in the *Grecian* states, they, keeping solely in view their own interest[1], as it regarded their present security and the aggrandisement

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On the associations here mentioned, see the Memoir on the State of Greece prefixed to vol. 1. sub. init. of Poppo's Thucydides.

7 *Severally.*] Such seems to be the sense of ὡς ἕκαστοι. Though Goeller renders the whole sentence thus: "civitates ut erant quæque finitimæ, ita mutuo bellabant."

8 *It was chiefly — other.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of this awkwardly phrased sentence, rendered obscure by its brevity, and which was misunderstood by the antient commentators. See note 12. on ch. 18. On the war in question, see Herod 5, 99. et alibi, as also Spanh. on Callim.

9 *When their affairs — state.*] This clause so plainly relates to the *Ionians*, (as the context requires,) that it is surprising that all translators and commentators, except Valla and Abresch, should have referred it to the *Persians*, which neither grammar nor sense will permit.

10 *Cyrus and the Persian monarchy.*] It is strange that the commentators should not have noticed this remarkable pleonasm or Hendiad., of which the following examples may be acceptable. Plut. Themistocl. c. 4. s. i. οὐ Δαρεῖον οὐδὲ Πέρσας ἐπισείων. Pausan. 1, 36, 4. οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων καθεῖλον. and 1, 9, 7. Procop. 104, 11. ἐπὶ Βανδίλους τε καὶ Γελίμερα. Appian, 1, 103, 29. πλέοντες ἐς Ταρτησσὸν καὶ Ἀργαθώνιον, Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλέα. Livy, 28, 42. Africa eadem ista *et* M. Atilius.

1 *Keeping — interest.*] Literally, forecasting solely for their own interest, &c. Such is the sense of the phrase, τὰ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν μόνον προορώμενοι, which has been passed over by the commentators. So 6, 12. τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπῶν. Appian 1, 380. Soph. Aj. 1313. Herod. 5, 39. Eurip. Med. 461. besides several other passages which I reserve for my edition. I will only add a very similar passage of Theocr. Idyll. 16, 17. πᾶς δ' ὑπὸ κόλπῳ χεῖρας ἔχων, πόθεν αὔξεται ἀθρεῖ Ἄργυρον.

of their families[2], guided their measures[3] in as cautious a way as they possibly could[4]; so that nothing was achieved by them at all memorable, nor *any thing* except against the surrounding states; for *those in Sicily* had arrived at a considerable height of power.[5] Thus was Greece for a long time every way impeded[6], insomuch that it could effect nothing remarkable conjointly, and severally, or by single states, it was even yet less enterprising.

XVIII. But when[1] both the tyrants of Athens and those of the rest of Greece (generally, and even of old[2], under tyrannical government[3],) had been put down, and the last[4] of

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[2] *Aggrandisement of their families.*] This whole passage may serve to bring to our minds 1 Tim. 5, 8. where see my note.

[3] *Guided their measures.*] This sense of ᾤκουν, *regebant, administrabant,* is permitted by the usus loquendi, and required by the context. Πόλιν οἰκεῖν for διοικεῖν is used both at 2, 37. 3, 37. and by the best authors. It is strange that the above sense, (which I many years ago perceived to be the true one,) should have been missed by almost all interpreters; Haack, Lindau, and Goeller being the only ones who have seen it. A similar blunder has been made by the interpreters in Herod. 4, 9. οἰκήτορε.

[4] *As cautious a way as they possibly could.*] This is, I think, the true sense of the words δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο, which the commentators might have illustrated from a kindred phrase at 7, 9. fin. τὰ κατὰ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχων, where see the note. The *security* meant is in respect of foreign wars and distant expeditions.

[5] *Power.*] i. e. ability to undertake distant war, and make themselves of consequence beyond their own immediate neighbourhood. Thus at c. 14. they are said to have had powerful fleets.

[6] *Impeded.*] Namely, by want of union, to make common cause as one people. This was sufficient to keep under any enterprising spirit in single states.

[1] *But when — Lacedemonians.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of this obscure and confused sentence. The construction is not terminated until πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο, after the insertion of a very long parenthetical portion.

[2] *Generally, and even of old.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρίν. (as is plain from 6. 15.) and not that assigned by the Scholiast and Hack, who take it to signify that Greece had been under tyrants before Athens was.

[3] *Under tyrannic government.*] i. e. the government of tyrannic or despotic chiefs. So supra c. 13. it is said that as soon as Greece had attained unto any considerable power, τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο.

[4] *The last, &c.*] Such is, I think, the sense of καὶ τελευταῖοι, which has been tampered with by some critics, but explained by none of the commentators. The article must be repeated from οἱ πλεῖστοι The sense I have assigned is required by the truth of history, with which that of the common versions is at variance. It is not *true* that the οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ

them (except in Sicily) by the Lacedemonians (for Lacedemon [5], from the period of its occupancy by the Dorians, who now inhabit it, has, after having been the longest harassed by factions of any nation on record, for a considerable time, enjoyed a well-regulated government [6], and ever been free from tyrants; for there are about four hundred years [7], or a little

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τελευταῖοι had been put down by the Lacedemonians; though the *last* of them were. See Herod. 5, 68, 72. and the commentators there. Thucyd. 1, 126. & 127. Pausan. 3, 212. Schol. on Aristoph. Nub. 37. By οἱ πλεῖστοι may, by a common idiom, be understood *nearly all.*

[5] *Lacedemon — tyrants.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense and construction of this difficult clause. By the "*time during which it was harassed with factions,*" our author plainly means, the time before the restoration of the Heraclidæ, during which faction was sure to be kept alive, since the government was a usurpation, and therefore could not have the confidence and obedience of those who held fast their attachment to their rightful governors; and after their restoration, the faction of the contrary party would be strong enough to clog the wheels of government. Thus the period of well-regulated government commenced at the return of the Heraclidæ and the Dorians, or rather at the period of the legislation of Lycurgus. Yet, even during the factious times which had preceded, it had ever, it seems, been free from *tyrants.* The Scholiast, however, understands the ατυράννευτος of the period since the return of the Heraclidæ: and as ἄτυρ. immediately succeeds εὐνομήθη, it may be thought that the latter is represented as being the consequence of the former.

Now the period of the promulgation of the laws of Lycurgus was about 881 B.C., and therefore ἐκ παλαιοτάτου is applicable. Nay, even after the promulgation of the famous code of Lycurgus, it would be some time ere it could come into full play, or sufficiently show its beneficial tendency. Perhaps, too, a conflict of the good and evil principle is unavoidable, and even *necessary* to the consolidation and permanency of any system of polity; as we have experimentally found in our own invaluable constitution. It is remarked by a most sagacious observer and deep thinker, πόλις ἀδιακοσμητός ἐστι καὶ ἀδιάτακτος, ἅτε νεόκτιστος οὖσα καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν συμφορητὸς ἐθνῶν, ᾗ μακρῶν δεῖ χρόνων καὶ παθημάτων παντοδαπῶν, ἵνα καταρτυθῇ καὶ παύσηται ταραττομένη καὶ στασιάζουσα. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 147, 12. The present passage seems alluded to by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 268, 17. ὡς Λακεδαιμονίους πυνθάνομαι ποιεῖν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἤδη γενεὰς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀπάντων μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνομεῖσθαι.

[6] *Well-regulated government.*] Εὐνομεῖσθαι imports the having good laws faithfully administered. The word is used by the best antient writers. On the fact of the length of time during which Lacedemon laboured under faction or misgovernment, see Isocr. de Panath. Liban. Or. 681. B. Lycurg. C. Leocr. p. 166, 2. In praise of this εὐνομία, we have the following beautiful passage of Pindar, Olymp. 13, 6. Ἐν τᾷ (sc. Corintho) γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει, κασίγνη- ταί τε, βάθρον πολίων, Ἀσφαλὴς Δίκα, καὶ ὁμό- τροπος Εἰράνα, ταμίαι Ἀνδράσι πλούτου, χρύσεαι Παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος. See the Scholiast in loco.

[7] *About four hundred years.*] Scaliger on Euseb. reckons four hundred and seven; others, four hundred and four; and some (see Simson's Chron.) as much as four hundred and eighty. The true number it is difficult exactly to

more, up to the end of this war, from the time that the Lacedemonians have used the same polity, by which[8] also they have been enabled to regulate and settle affairs[9] in other states); after, I say, this extirpation of the tyrants from Greece, it was not many years before the battle of Marathon took place; and, in the tenth year[10] after that event, the Barbarians again came with a mighty armament against Greece to enslave it. A formidable danger being suspended over its head, the Lacedemonians, as preeminent in power, took the command of the confederated Greeks; and the Athenians, on the approach of the Medes, determined[11] on leaving their city and packing up their moveables[12] on board their ships, they embarked, and became [instead of landsmen[13]] mariners. Having, by common effort, driven back the Barbarian, they (both those who had revolted from the Barbarian, and those who had combined for mutual defence,) not long after split into parties,

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determine; but there are sufficient grounds to justify the expression of our author; nor is it necessary to resort to emendation.

[8] *By which.*] Namely, continuance in the same polity; for, as our author elsewhere observes (3, 37.), *χείροσι νόμοις ἀκινήτοις χρωμένη πόλις κρείσσων ἐστίν ἢ καλῶς ἔχουσιν ἀκύροις.*

[9] *Regulate and settle affairs.*] i. e. politics; namely, according to the model of Lacedemon, by putting down both tyrannies and democracies.

[10] *In the tenth year.*] i. e. the year 481 before Christ. This is to be understood, not of the battle of Salamis, but of the setting out of the armament, which, after wintering at Salamis, proceeded forward towards Greece. The battle of Salamis was fought the year after this setting out, 480. See Herod. 7, 37. Duker here, in an able note, adopts the opinion of Scaliger and Van Alphen, that this passage will not support the assertion of Petav., that the battle of Marathon was fought in the *tenth* year before that of Salamis.

[11] *Determined*, *ἐπινοηθέντες.*] This verb signifies properly to *revolve in mind*, and also, from the consequent, to *decide* upon, *determine.*

[12] *Packing — moveables.*] Ἀνασκενάζεσθαι signifies to pack up one's goods for a removal. So the Schol., *τὰ σκεύη ἀναλάβοντες*; and so Hesych., *ἀνασκευαζόμενοι, μετοικιζόμενοι*; where Soping cites Athen. 12. *ἀνασκευαθέντων τῶν* E. Phavor. explains the words, *ἐνέθηκαν ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ νεῶν τὰ αὐτῶν σκεύη, ἤγουν τὰ πρὸς χρείαν ζωῆς ὄντα.* The recent editors join *ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐκβάντες*, which *may* be the right construction; but the other method is defended by a similar use of *ἀνασκ.* with *ἐς* in Plutarch ap. St. Thes., Dio Cass. 191, 59. and 213, 26., and Arrian E. A. 1, 26, 8.

[13] *Mariners*, instead of landsmen.] Which the Athenians had hitherto been esteemed. So Plato, cited by Gottl., *ἀντὶ πεζῶν ὁπλιτῶν νομίμων ναυτικοὺς γενομένους.* He would read from Plutarch, *μονίμων.* But the common reading is somewhat defended by Thucyd. 6, 31. *τὸ δὲ πεζὸν καταλόγοις χρηστοῖς ἐκκριθὲν*, &c.

joining either the Athenian or the Lacedemonian league[14]: for these states manifestly[15] held the balance of power; one being mighty by land, the other by sea. The confederacy[16], however, continued but a short time. Afterwards the Lacedemonians and the Athenians disagreeing, waged war, together with their allies, against each other; and, when differences arose among any of the rest of the Grecian states, they immediately had recourse to these [as their principals]. So that from the Persian war down to the present one continually, sometimes making truces with, and at other times warring either against each other, or their revolted allies, they were not a little exercised in warlike affairs[17], and acquired gradually greater skill from their practice being accompanied with dangers.[18]

XIX. And as for the Lacedemonians[1], they did not govern their allies so as to subject them to contribution, but

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[14] *They not long, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage, obscure from its brevity. With the construction *διεκρίθησαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους*, &c., the commentators might have compared a kindred one, supra 6, 15., *τὸ ἀλλὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἑκατέρων διέστη*. In both these cases the words are what the grammarians call *verba prægnantia*.

[15] *Manifestly.*] Many critics would change *διεφάνη* to *δὴ ἐφάνη*. To the *elegance* of that reading no objection can be made; but it is wholly unsupported by authority, and inferior to the other in significancy and force, for the *διὰ* is often intensive. Besides, the common reading is supported by an imitation in Dio Cass. 343, 39. *μάλιστα διεφάνη*, and 675, 55.

[16] *The confederacy.*] So *ὁμαιχμία* should be rendered, (and not *alliance*,) to distinguish it from *συμμαχία*, which, in our author's time, began to denote a *subserviency*, if not *subjection* of one party to the other. This confederacy, it may be observed, between the Lacedemonians and Athenians, was only such as regarded the defence of Greece against Persia, or any other Barbarian power.

[17] *Exercised in warlike affairs.*] Literally, "they exercised themselves in (*κατα* being understood) warlike affairs." It is strange that the interpreters should take this of providing themselves with military stores. The sense I have assigned is supported by the usage of the best authors. I shall content myself with an example in imitation of this passage by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 20, 8. *ἦσαν δὲ τὰ πολέμια, ἐκ τοῦ μετὰ κινδύνων ποιεῖσθαι μελέτας, πολλῶν ἀμείνους*.

[18] *And acquired — dangers.*] These words contain a sentiment worthy of attention, as bearing upon the question of the superior efficacy of regular troops, arising from their exercises being formed in the midst of danger; by which, therefore, their attention is fixed, and their skill much more rapidly attained. Thus Joseph. p. 1123, 2., speaking of the military system of the Romans, *οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις εἰπών, τὰς μὲν μελέτας αὐτῶν χωρὶς αἵματος παρατάξεις· τὰς παρατάξεις δὲ, μεθ' αἵματος μελέτας*.

[1] *Lacedemonians, &c.*] This sketch of the comparative policy of the two great rivals, is further illustrated in the course of Book I. and elsewhere.

rather conciliated them, in order that they might mould their polity alone in conformity with [2] *their own* oligarchical forms.[3] The Athenian mode of governing, on the contrary, was planned with a view to gradually obtain the ships of all the allied states, except the Chians and Lesbians, and to impose on all a certain rate of contribution; and their own particular state of preparation for this war was greater than at the period when they had formerly been in the most flourishing state [4], and with a confederacy unbroken.[5]

XX. Such, then, I have found to be the state of affairs in antient times, though hard to be credited, even when established on regular and constant proof [1]; for men catch up

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[2] *In conformity with.*] Or *suitably to, in subservience to.*

[3] *Oligarchical forms.*] In order to the establishment and preservation of these, they placed governors over the allied states, called *harmostæ*, literally *regulators*. See Diod. l. 13, 66. Now the common people every where favoured the *Athenians;* the higher ranks, the *Lacedemonians*. For the former strove to establish in all parts the popular government they themselves used; but the aim of the latter was, that they should be governed by *the few,* and in such a manner as was conducive to their *own* advantage. Indeed, it is clear from this whole history, that the Peloponnesian war was but a contest of the two forms of polity. See 1, 76. (Goeller.)

[4] *Greater — state.*] We may take this on the authority of our accurate annalist, though it would not be easy to prove it, since the accounts we have only regard the contributions of the allies; but do not tell us the private revenue of Athens at either of the periods here mentioned. What it was, not long after the Peloponnesian war, we partly learn from Xen. de Republ. Athen. Mitford considers Athens as having been at the summit of her greatness about 448 B.C., 16 years before.

[5] *Confederacy unbroken.*] This may be understood by considering that the perpetual contests which our author records, of the Athenians with their allies, until they were at length reduced to complete subjection, must have considerably exhausted the strength of those states. See l. 3, 11 and 46.

[1] *Such then —proof.*] This I conceive to be the sense of the passage, which has been not a little controverted. The phraseology is, indeed, awkward, and, as often, obscure from its brevity. The difficulty hinges on πιστεῦσαι. This Reiske and Wyttenb. would remove by reading πιστῶσαι. But for this alteration there is no authority; and it is better to suppose with Goeller, that the author has not fully evolved the sense; which would have required χαλεπὰ ὄντα πιστεῦσαι, παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πεπιστωμένα, difficiles ad credendum, omni deinceps argumento probatos. Why the πεπιστωμένα was omitted is obvious.

By παντὶ τεκμηρίῳ is meant all *necessary* proof. And ἐξῆς is used (in the words of Goeller) "quia in tantæ vetustatis obscuritate non simplex argumentum sufficit, sed aliam rem ex alia colligendo, et longam demum post ratiocinationem ad sententiam pro vera statuendam perventum est." "Our historian (he continues) proceeds to show *why* these arguments are

from each other the reports of past events (even though they be those of their own country), alike[2] without scrutiny[3] or examination. Among the Athenians, for example, it is the popular opinion, that *Hipparchus* was the tyrant, and was slain by Harmodius and Aristogiton; nor is it generally known that *Hippias*[4], as being the eldest of the sons of Pisistratus, then held the government, and Hipparchus and Thessalus were his brothers; and that on the day in question[5], just at the crisis, Harmodius and Aristogiton, suspecting that some disclosure to Hippias had recently been made by their fellow-accomplices, desisted from attacking him, as one forewarned [and therefore forearmed]. But being willing, before they should be apprehended, to venture on achieving *something*, and happening to meet with Hipparchus somewhere about the Leocorium[6], regulating the Panathenaic procession, they slew him. But many other matters are there, even such as concern the *present* times, and are not clouded in the oblivion of antiquity, on which the other Greeks[7] entertain

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hard to be credited, by adverting to the carelessness of men in examining the antiquities even of their own country, their prejudices, and that supineness which makes them decline the labour of investigating truth, and be disposed rather to acquiesce in opinions ready made to their hands." This passage was had in view by Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Procem. p. 7., and also by Livy, l. 3, 5, 12. Drakenb., which I shall cite, because it confirms the common reading: "*Difficile ad fidem* est in tam antiqua re — exacto affirmare numero," &c.

[2] *Alike.*] Namely, as if they were foreign. We may dispense with Reiske's conjecture ὅμως.

[3] *Without scrutiny.*] The passage has been imitated by Dionys. Halic. p. 11, 26. περὶ πραγμάτων παλαιὰ ὧν ἀβασανίστως τὰ λεγομένα δέχεσθαι. and by Heracl. Pont. Alleg. Hom. p. 411. ἀβασανίστως αὐτοῖς ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσις ἔρριπται, besides many other passages which I shall adduce in my edition.

[4] *Hippias, &c.*] A full narration of this story may be seen at 6, 54., though introduced on slight cause, and enlarged on with unnecessary, not to say offensive, minuteness. See Meurs. Pisistr. c. 11.

[5] *The day in question.*] A not dissimilar use of the phrase occurs in 1 Tim. 1, 12. & 4, 18., where see my note.

[6] *Leocorium.*] A temple in the midst of the Ceramicus. See Maussac. on Harpocr. in v. Meurs. Panathen. c. 19., and the note infra 6, 57., and Poppo's Prolog. t. 2. p. 242.

[7] *The other Greeks.*] By these are meant all *but* the Athenians; or, in this instance, some out of all the states *except* Athens and Lacedemon; for we cannot well suppose the Spartans to have been ignorant of such matters as those here mentioned; whereas others, from the studious care with which every thing respecting their civil and military polity was concealed by the Lacedemonians, might not know them. See l. 2, 39.

erroneous notions: — as that the Lacedemonian kings each gave their suffrage, not with one vote, but with two[8]; and that there is a band among them called the Pitanitan[9]; whereas there never was any such. So little diligent[10] is the multitude in the search after truth, and so much more are they disposed to take up with opinions ready made to their hands.[11]

XXI. He, however, who, from the proofs above deduced, shall think the things I have thus cursorily treated on be really such as I have represented them, (and not giving credence rather to the songs of the poets, who have used the embellishments of exaggeration, or to the narratives of historians, who have formed their accounts rather alluring to the ear than agreeably to truth, especially as the things recounted admit not of refutation, but mostly, from length of time, have passed into *myths* entitled to no credit,) he, I say, who thinks them to be such, and, considering their remote

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[8] *Lacedemonian — two.*] In this passage our author has been supposed (as at 2, 97. 1, 23. 2, 8., and elsewhere) to aim a secret blow at the *Father of History*, 6, 57. Yet Wesseling, in loco, doubts whether the words will authorise such a sense. And he proposes another mode of taking them, which, however, cannot be admitted, since there is a subaudition of ἑκάτερον. Perhaps when the suffrages of the senators were equal, either of the kings, when one alone was present, or the senior one, when both were present, might have the *casting vote;* from whence the story might be fabricated. It has indeed been doubted, by some eminent recent critics, whether the writings of Herodotus were ever known to our author. On a subject of such uncertain discussion, it were presumptuous to offer any decided opinion; but I at present see no reason to abandon the invariable persuasion of the antients, and almost all writers, that they *were* known to him. Indeed, my extensive and minute researches into the phraseology of both these great historians, have furnished me with what may be considered *proofs* of the above, in passages of our author, which seem imitated from, or to have been partly suggested by, others in Herodotus.

[9] *Pitanitan.*] See Stroth and Irmisch on Herodian 4, 8, 7., and especially Wessel., Valck., and Schweigh. on Herod. 9, 53, 7.

[10] *Little diligent.*] This whole passage is imitated by Ælian Frag. p. 1010. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τε (I conjecture γε) ἀβασανίστῳ γραφῇ τε καὶ ἀταλαιπώρῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, κ.τ.λ. Aristoph. cited from Etym. Mag. by Morell Thes.: οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀταλαιπώρως ἡ ποίησις διάκειται.

[11] *Ready made.*] Perhaps Thucyd. had in view Hom. Il. ω. 627. οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον. Bauer aptly compares the Horatian *frui paratis*, Carm. 1, 31, 17., i. e. what is ready, and may be obtained without trouble.

antiquity, to be sufficiently well made out, and on the plainest evidence, will not err in his judgment.[1] And although men fancy the wars in which they have been engaged the greatest, but when they have ceased from military service admire the old most; yet this war will, to those who judge from facts themselves, appear to be greater than those[2] antient ones.

XXII. And as to the *words*, and what was *spoken*[3] by orators, of whichever side, either when about to enter on the war, or

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[1] *He, however, who — judgment.*] Such, after long and frequent examinations, I have no doubt is the true sense of this most perplexed and truly Thucydidean passage, and the clearest mode of representing it in a modern language; though, to have made it quite tolerable to the ear of an English reader, is more than I can hope to have attained. I have chosen to keep as close as possible to the construction of the original, for the benefit of students. Indeed to have expressed such a density of sense in the number of words required by modern usage, would have made the whole even more distasteful to general readers.

By *the poet* is particularly meant the poet of history, Homer, of whom our author uses the very same expression ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμῆσαι, supra 10. It is proper to note the antithesis between ὑμνήκασι and ξυνέθεσαν. Goeller has truly remarked, that ἀπίστως is to be expressed per circumscriptionem, *ita ut nulla fides iis habeatur*. Such a use of an adverb for a whole clause, is found both in Thucyd., and in other writers of close brevity, as Æschylus, Tacitus, and St. Paul. Thus, there is no reason to adopt the conjecture of Reiske. The common reading is, moreover, defended by an imitation in Philostr. Heroic. c. 1. p. 667. φῆμι γὰρ ἀπίστως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ μυθώδη.

The words ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι are taken like ἐκὼν εἶναι, and other such phrases. The words καὶ ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι, &c., were in the mind of Livy Præf. Hist., "Quæ ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis traduntur." And Joseph. p. 340, 34. Sext. Empir. Adv. Matth. 59. D. καὶ ὅτι οἱ συγγραφεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ χρήσιμα τῷ βίῳ δηλοῦσιν εὐεπιλογιστόν, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς στοχάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πάντος. Also Plut. p. 357. E. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔοικε ταῦτα κομιδῇ μυθεύμασιν ἀραιοῖς καὶ διακένοις πλάσμασιν, οἷα ποιηταὶ καὶ λογογράφοι, καθάπερ οἱ ἀράχναι, γεννῶντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν. See a fine sentiment in Pind. Olymp. 1, 44. The λογογράφοι are those whom Herod. 1, 1. styles the οἱ λογίοι.

[2] *And although — those.*] This obscure and difficult clause has not been well explained by the commentators. The above seems to be the true sense, since it is required by the construction, and is agreeable to the context. At ἐν ᾧ must be understood χρόνῳ; at παυσαμένων, τοῦ πολεμεῖν, from πολεμῶσαι; and at τὰ ἀρχαῖα, πράγματα, in the sense of *war*, as further on and often elsewhere. By *ceasing from war* is meant, being beyond the age for military service. Now, such persons being old, become *laudatores temporis acti*. The αὐτῶν must be referred to ἀρχαῖα, *the antient wars*. And so one of the Scholiasts.

[3] *And as to — spoken.*] Such I conceive to be the true sense of this passage, the difficulty of which has arisen from a confusion of two constructions. See Goeller. The εἶπον must, of course, relate to *orators*; but I cannot, with Goeller, recognise this sense in λόγῳ (which ought thus to be λόγοις). That word is rather antithetical, as in λόγῳ and ἔργῳ; but

when engaged therein, it were indeed difficult both to myself when present, and to others from whom I received them at

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here it has no ἔργῳ referring to it; the phrase is changed to τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων.

The whole chapter, indeed, is so important to the determination of important questions concerning the faith and credit of our historian, that it will claim to be considered at large; especially as no portion of the history has been so misunderstood, nay, I had almost said, misrepresented. And first, the scope of this chapter seems to be, to preoccupy some objections which might be made to the history, both on the score of *words* and *actions*, the *speeches recorded*, and the *actions narrated;* and each of these in order. The *speeches*, it might be objected, cannot be genuine, because it were impossible to preserve in the memory the exact words spoken. To which it is replied, that to do this were *indeed difficult;* but that it is more than the historian undertakes. All that he professes to do is to record such as he considers the *most pertinent observations* on the points under consideration, and to clothe them in his own words, only keeping close to the *general meaning* of the sentiments *really uttered*. No other sense than this is admitted by the *construction*, which is as follows: — ὡς δὲ ἕκαστοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων, οὕτω εἴρηται (ἐμοὶ) ἐχομένῳ, &c. And yet many antient, and almost all modern commentators, adopt a mode of interpretation which would impute to the greatest of historians the *fabrication* of the speeches. So Dionys. says: τοῖς τε πράγμασι προσήκοντα, καὶ τοῖς συνελεγθησομένοις εἰς τὸν σύλλογον προσώποις ἁρμόττοντα πέπλακε διάλογον, ἐχόμενος. So, also, the Schol. paraphrases: ὡς ἔδοξα δὲ ὅτι εἶπον ἄν ἀληθῶς, οὕτως εἴρηκα, εἰ καὶ μὴ αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα τὰ λεχθέντα ῥήματα. And he is not ashamed to add, that the historian, for his own purpose, "pretends ignorance, that he may bring forward his own sentiments;" i. e., as Steph. explains, *play the orator*. But before we fix a charge that must materially impeach the credit of the author, and lessen the value of his work as an authentic history, we should be sure that the sense in question can be proved to exist in the words. Now, I am bold to say, that it can *not* be elicited therefrom without doing great violence to them. The clause ἐχομένῳ — λεχθέντων can only signify that the historian kept as close as possible to the general sense of what was *really spoken*. But this excludes all idea of *fabrication*. The writer brings forward nothing but what was *really spoken;* though he does not undertake to record *all* that was spoken, but only what seemed to him most pertinent to the case in hand. Yet he avowedly keeps *as close as possible* to the general *sense*, and only professes to furnish the *words;* and that from the difficulty of remembering the exact expressions of the speaker. Though, when he says it was difficult for him to keep in memory the words, we may reasonably suppose that he *did his best* to overcome that difficulty. And, as he sat down to write the history of the war at its *beginning*, he would both regularly attend when orations were delivered, and use such close attention as to bring away no little of the phraseology as well as the general sense; and sitting down, as he doubtless would, *immediately*, to form the orations he chose to record, he would, from his own memory, and that of others, be enabled faithfully to represent all that he thought it important to record. We are to remember, too, that the preservation of the exact words is only mentioned as a *difficulty*, not an *impossibility;* and this difficulty would be much lessened by the *assistance* Thucydides would have at his command; and when we consider how much, in our own times, of the phraseology of

second-hand, to remember the exact words that were spoken; but as either party might seem to me to speak the most to the purpose on the matter any time in hand, so I have expressed it; keeping, withal, as closely as possible to the general sense of what was really spoken. As to the *deeds*[3] which were actually performed in the war, I judged it proper not to narrate what I heard only by random report, but only such as I was myself present at, or had heard from others who were so, investigating as accurately as possible the evidence for each circumstance. Laborious, however, was the research; since even those who were present at a battle, did not agree in their accounts of the same actions, but spoke, on either side, according as they each stood affected in respect of partiality or prejudice[4], or as they could remember. Now, as far as

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the Parliamentary speeches is brought away by the reporters, that difficulty will appear not insuperable; especially as there is some reason to suppose that stenography, which was commonly practised at no long period afterwards, was then in some degree known. But how, it may be asked, could such a sense as the above have been almost universally ascribed to the passage? I answer. First, because an ἄν occurs before ἐδόκουν; and secondly, because the *true construction* was not seen. The ἄν in question is, indeed, somewhat puzzling. Goeller affirms, that it belongs not to ἐδόκουν, but to εἰπεῖν. But to attempt to remove a difficulty by resorting to so harsh a hyperbaton "for the nonce," cannot be thought of. And here the difficulty is *not* removed. For the two parts of the version proposed by Goeller are so inconsistent with each other, as to remind one of the Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam, &c., of Horace. The ἄν must, then, be referred to ἐδόκουν. But the *potential* use of the particle is so inconsistent with the words of the following clause, that Portus and Kistem. translate as if it were *not there*. And, indeed, its sense seems so faint, that it may be dispensed with. It has, however, I conceive, that force treated on by Matth. Gr. Gr. § 598, 2. *a*., by which it expresses *repetition* of action, or *habitual* action, equivalent to our *might* or *would*. The sense, then, is, "as each might or would seem to me," &c. Finally, the ἐχομένῳ must refer, not to the ἐμοὶ above expressed, but to the repetition of it in εἴρηται.

Thus, it appears that the intent of the author was, to use the words of Livy, 45, 25., "consecrare simulacrum eloquentiæ vivorum clarissimorum."

[3] *As to the deeds.*] The τὰ δ' ἔργα correspond to the ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ before. With respect to the πραχθέντων, there was no reason why so many should have stumbled at it, and some proposed to cancel it. A similar pleonasm is cited by Dorville from Manetho, πρήξιες ἔργων. I add Pind. Ol. 2, 29.

The ἐπεξελθὼν imports diligent investigation; and when united with ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκρίβεια, it gives a sense that cannot well be stronger.

[4] *As they each stood affected in respect of* (περὶ) *partiality or prejudice.*] "According (the Scholiast explains) to the partiality of private interest, or the ill-will he might bear from compulsory service." And indeed there was much of this compulsory service. So in a similar passage, 7, 57. ὡς

the gratification of the ear reaches, probably their very freedom from mythic embellishment may be thought not so agreeable. As to those, however, who shall desire to have a clear view of past events, and indeed of *future* ones (such and similar ones being, according to the natural course of human affairs, again to occur); for *those* to esteem them useful, will be sufficient [5] to answer every purpose I have in view:

ἑκάστοις τῆς ξυντυχίας, ἢ κατὰ τὸ ξύμφορον, ἢ ἀνάγκῃ ἔσχεν. Yet our author has, I conceive, chiefly in view *national* partiality or prejudice: and, as he had free correspondence with persons of both the belligerent parties, he would have to be on his guard in this respect.

[5] *As to those — sufficient.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this most obscure, difficult, and controverted passage. The various modes of interpretation are well detailed by Goeller, whom see. Most of them are founded either on some proposed change of reading, or contortion of signification; and the sense they elicit is harsh, and little to be relied on, as worked out by violence. Perhaps, too, the difficulty of the sentence is unnecessarily increased by pressing too much on the sense of certain terms, and pushing them to philosophical nicety, rather than taking them in their popular acceptation. To lessen the uncertainty of philological exposition, it is of consequence that we should ascertain, on critical principles, the true meaning. Now ὄντων is not found in many good MSS. and Dionysius; and, as it confuses the construction and obscures the sense, it has been (*rightly* I think) cancelled by the best critics, who are, however, not agreed on the sense contained in the other words. The most probable interpretations are,— 1st. That of Steph., Matthiæ, Poppo, and Goeller: "Quicunque autem volent veritatem eorum; quæ evenerint, considerare, et eorum, quæ, ut sunt res humanæ, vel talia omnino vel similia sint eventura, illis satis erit, ea esse utilia judicare." 2dly. That of Wolf and Haack: "Quicumque autem voluerit, perspicue considerare et ea quæ facta sunt, et ea quæ fortasse aliquando, ut sunt res humanæ, denuo vel tali vel simili ratione fiant, illos utilia hæc indicare, (mihi) suffecerit." Now both these classes of commentators are agreed on the sense of the former part of the passage, which, notwithstanding the scruples of Krueger and Thiersch, is open to no serious objection (since σαφὲς must, as applied to the future, be taken in a qualified and popular sense; but, on the words ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ, ἀρκούντως ἕξει (in which, indeed, the whole difficulty centres), they are divided in opinion. The former supply τούτοις; and the latter, τούτους. But the subaudition τούτοις is very harsh, since at ἀρκούντως ἕξει the context and sense require ἐμοὶ, which is omitted *dignitatis gratia*. Besides, the sense thus arising is frigid, and not very pertinent. I therefore prefer the *second* interpretation, which coincides with that to which I had myself been led by diligent and repeated examinations of the passage during a long series of years; except that I took κρίνειν for κρίνεσθαι (active for passive as often), and understood τούτοις, governed of ὠφέλιμα. The sense, however, is the same in either case.

As to the *arrogance* which some critics here fancy, I see none such, at least not in this passage; if any there be, it may be rather recognised in the κτῆμα εἰς αἰεὶ a little after. The historian may safely affirm that the study of past events, when truly narrated, will exceedingly enlighten the mind in foreseeing and providing against future ones. This high

and I have composed them, not for an ambitious subject of temporary display[6], and gratification for the ear, but for an EVERLASTING POSSESSION.[7]

XXIII. Of the former wars [1], the greatest was the Median; and yet that was brought to a speedy decision in two sea-fights[2] and as many land engagements. But *this* war was drawn on to a considerable length, and such calamities befel

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utility is adverted to in a passage of Lucian t. 4. p. 205., written with a view to the present one: κτῆμά τε γὰρ φῆσι μᾶλλον ἐς ἀεὶ συγγράφειν, ἢπερ ἐς τὸ παρὸν ἀγώνισμα, καὶ μὴ τὸ μυθῶδες ἀσπάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀληθείαν τῶν γεγενημένων ἀπολείπειν τοῖς ὕστερον· καὶ ἐπάγει τὸ χρήσιμον, καὶ ὃ τέλος ἄν τις εὖ φρονῶν ὑπόθοιτο ἱστορίας, ὡς εἴ πότε καὶ αὖθις τὰ ὅμοια καταλάβοι, ἔχοιεν, φησὶ, πρὸς τὰ προγεγραμμένα ἀποβλέποντες, εὖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐν ποσί. I cannot omit to notice the following passages imitated from this of our author. Appian 2, 3, 7. Joseph. p. 17, 94. Dionys. Hal. Proœm. Antiq. p. 7, 33. ἵνα καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς διατρίβουσι λόγους, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον ἐσπουδακόσι θεωρίαν, καὶ εἴ τισιν ἀσχλήτου δεήσει διαγωγῆς ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ἀναγνώσμασιν, ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσα φαίνηται. See also similar sentiments in p. 321, 42. 675, 43. 685, 25. The passage is also clearly imitated by Procop. in the proem to his history. And hence may be explained Pausan. 8, 2, 3. and Plut. Sert. c. 1. Indeed it has ever been the opinion of the wisest of every age, that the true use of history is, in the words of Soph. Œd. T. 916. to enable us τὰ καίνα τοῖς πάλαι τεκμαίρεσθαι, which is imitated by Isocr. Paneg. τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγενημένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι, by Dionys. Hal. 456 and 507. and Joseph. p. 152, 23. See some excellent observations on this political prescience, illustrated with pertinent examples, by Mr. D'Israeli in his interesting Curiosities of Lit., New Series; also in Mr. Roscoe's Preface to Leo X., p. 37.

[6] *Temporary display.*] Perhaps our author alludes to the history of Herodotus, which was recited at the Olympic games. For that is the primary sense of ἀγώνισμα. And so the Scholiast and Lucian t. 4. p. 205. See more in Goeller's note.

[7] *Everlasting possession.*] Ἐς αἰεὶ is found in the best authors, and exactly corresponds to our old "for *aye*," χρόνον being understood, which is supplied in Eurip. Phœn. 1540. Κτῆμα here signifies something adapted for use, as distinguished from what will only furnish matter for *words*. This use of κτῆμα is rare, and I know nothing parallel to it but an expression of Eurip. Ereth. Frag. 2, 4. (perhaps in the mind of Thucydides), παραίνεσαι κειμήλια ἐσθλὰ καὶ νέοισι χρήσιμα, *monita salubria*. So Ælian, in the proem to his History of Animals, says: κειμήλιον οὐκ ἀσπούδαστον ἐκπονῆσαι πεπίστευκα.

[1] *Of the former wars.*] The δὲ has, I think, the *transitive* force (on which see Hoogev.); for, though the commentators seem not to have perceived it, the preface properly ends at the close of c. 22., and c. 23. commences the history itself; though it is somewhat introductory to it, consisting of a comparison of the former war with the present one.

[2] *Two sea-fights.*] The sea-fights were those at Artemisium and Salamis; the land engagements, those at Pylæ and Platæa.

Greece in the course of it as are not to be paralleled in the like space of time. For never were so many cities stormed and brought to desolation; some by the Barbarians[3], others by the Greeks at war with each other[4]: nay, some there were which, when taken, changed inhabitants.[5] Never was there so much of banishing and bloodshed[6]; partly in the course of the war itself, partly by sedition. Things which had been formerly heard of, indeed, by report, but had been very rarely confirmed by facts, now ceased to be incredible; as in the case of earthquakes, most extensively prevalent and most violent in their effects[7]; eclipses of the sun, frequent beyond what was remembered from former times.

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[3] *Barbarians*] Here Mycalessus is meant. See 7, 29.

[4] *At war with each other.*] Platæa and Mytilene (Goeller thinks, Thyrea) are supposed to be here meant. There may also, if *αντιπολεμούντων* be applied to civil war (as Joseph. p. 833, 19.), be an allusion to the horrid tragedy at Corcyra, l. 4.

[5] *Changed inhabitants.*] Or, "had its inhabitants expelled, to make room for others;" as Ægina (2, 27.), Potidæa (2, 70.), Scione (5, 32.), and Melus (5, 118.). This was an antient Oriental custom.

[6] *Banishing and bloodshed.*] There is, perhaps, especial reference to the cases of Corcyra and Mycalessus; though, indeed, both might be said to occur in a greater or less degree every where throughout Greece.

[7] *Extensively — effects.*] The translators and commentators represent these earthquakes as extending to the greater part of the habitable globe. But for this there is neither historical evidence, nor probability. That sense, too, would require the *article* *τῆς γῆς*, which, indeed, does occur in three MSS., but those the worst, and proceeding from alteration. And in vain would it be to seek to confirm the other interpretation from Matth. 27, 45. *ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τῆς γῆς*, for the best commentators have long been agreed that that phrase can only designate *Judæa*. (See my Recensio Syn. in Loc.) Some, indeed, may think that *τῆς γῆς* might, in like manner, here mean *Greece*. But that use of the word seems Hellenistic. The *γῆς* plainly signifies *land, earth, territory*. The sense is such my version represents it.

Hence may be illustrated the phrase in Matt. xxiv. 7. *καὶ ἔσονται σεισμοὶ κατὰ τόπους*. Now Greece, from the nature of its geological structure, which is, like that of Palestine, rocky and cavernous, has ever been extremely subject, throughout most of its surface, to violent shocks of earthquakes. The same, indeed, may be said of the south of Europe in general. It may be observed that our author, by mentioning national calamities, as earthquakes, eclipses, and droughts, together with those occasioned by the crimes of men, hints that these have a natural connection with each other, and the one was meant as a punishment for the other. Such were, indeed, commonly thought, in a certain sense, supernatural, as being out of the ordinary course of nature; and were considered by many as signs or presages of public calamities. See Matt. 24, 7 and 8. See also the classical passages adduced by Wets. on Matth. 27. 45., to which might be added many from Josephus.

Great droughts, too, were there in some places; and thence arose famines [8], and (what produced most damage, and to a certain extent [9] devastation) *the pestilential disorder:* for all these calamities beset them at once, together with the war.[10] *That* the Athenians and Peloponnesians began, on breaking the thirty years' truce which they had entered into after the reduction of Eubœa. The causes why it was broken, and the differences [which led to it] I have, in the first place, narrated, in order that none should ever have to enquire how a war so momentous to Greece arose. The truest cause, then, though the least apparent in words, was, I conceive, the increase of Athenian power, which struck a fear into the Lacedemonians, and urged them to the contest; but the ostensible reasons for which they respectively broke the truce and went to war, were such as the following narration will declare:—

XXIV. [1] There is a city called Epidamnus [2], situated on

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[8] *Droughts — famines.*] Now drought naturally leads to famine, which as naturally breeds pestilence. The connection indeed between λιμὸς and λοιμὸς was almost proverbial. So in Matth. 24, 7. καὶ ἔσονται λιμοὶ καὶ λοιμοί.

[9] *To a certain extent.*] i. e. of territory; for at μέρος I would understand γῆς, namely Ἀττικῆς.

[10] *Beset them at once — war*] Such is the plain sense of the words, which by no means admit of that ascribed to them by Hobbes and Smith. We need not, however, so *press* on the terms as to suppose the meaning to be that droughts prevailed during the whole of the war. They were sometimes beset by all three at once, and were seldom without the two last.

[11] *Truce.*] Hobbes renders "*a league.*" I have used the term *truce*, because it is most applicable to treaties of peace of a limited duration, which seem to have been sometimes preferred to unlimited ones, as being less likely to be broken.

[12] *In order — how, &c.*] A similar reason is assigned by Polyb. 1, 3, 8., referred to by Kreuger.

[13] *Cause.*] This sense the context requires to be assigned to πρόφασις, as it afterwards does to αἰτίαν that of *pretext*; though Goeller remarks that the two might have better changed places. And, indeed, I have noted down such a position in Appian, 1, 228, 6. ἥτις δὲ τῇ Ἀννίβᾳ γέγονε τῆς ἐσβολῆς αἰτία τε καὶ ἀληθὴς, καὶ πρόφασις ἐς τὸ φάνερον. But πρόφασις *may* very well signify the true cause, since that is, perhaps, its primary signification, and though rare, it occurs also in Dionys. Hal. p. 160, 40. 173, 6. and Theodect. ap. Stob. Phys. 1, 116.

[1] Krueger remarks on the *epic* air which distinguishes this commencement of the narration.

[2] *Epidamnus.*] From Euseb. Chron. it appears that it had been founded 188 years before. As to the derivation of the name propounded by Steph. Byz. it is such as few can approve. I should rather suspect that it was corrupted from ἐπίθαμνος, *i. e.* σύνδενδρος τόπος. See Hesych. on θάμνος

the right side as one enters the Ionian gulf.[3] Bordering on it are the Taulantii, a Barbarian tribe of the Illyrian nation. The place was colonised by the Corcyreans, and the founder of the settlement was Phalius, son of Eratoclidas, a Corinthian, of the lineage of Hercules, called to this office, according to antient custom[4], from the mother state. With them, too,

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and θάμνους. Now this would be not unsuitable to a tract then, doubtless, rough, desert, and overgrown with thickets. Thus the more recent name, Dyrrachium, had a reference to the rockiness of its coast; for it answers to the Greek Δυσράχιον, as is evident from a fragment of an antient geographer, preserved by Steph. Byz. in v., who there applies to the town, as the epithet, δυσράχιον. See, also, note on l. 4, 10. Pausan. 6, 10, 2. derives the name, Dyrrachium, from its founder; a perpetual mode, in such a case, resorted to by the antients, of hiding ignorance, shuffling over the difficulty.

The place now bears the name of *Durazzo*. Poppo thinks that Epidamnus and Dyrrachium were not properly the same; but that the latter was a little apart from, and the *port* of, the former. And this he proves from Appian and Pausanias. The Taulantii are, I must observe, *wrongly* placed, in some maps, *beyond* Epidamnus; since it appears, from Strabo, that they were situated between Epidamnus and Apollonia. And this may be proved from Thucydides. See more in Dodwell and Pouqueville's Iter per Græciam, t. 1. p. 324. seq.

[3] *Ionian gulf.*] This expression (which not a little perplexed Hudson) is to be carefully distinguished from the Ionian *sea*, and is confined to that part of it afterwards called the *Adriatic*, which was bounded on the Illyrian coast by the Acroceraunean promontory. Now the most antient and important passage in this appellation is Herod. 6, 127. See, also, the learned note of Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. P. v. 865. Gloss. (Stanley 839.) As a proof how long antient names continue in use even after modern ones have been given, I would observe that it is so called by Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. l. 2, 3.

[4] *Antient custom.*] Or *law*. As to *what* were the rights due from colonies to the parent states, it may be observed, 1st, That the colonists were furnished with arms, utensils, and stores of provisions, by their citizens, at the public expense. They were also provided with *diplomata*, called κατοίκια [constituting them a colony. T.] But, above all, the colonists carried with them the country's goods, and the sacred fire lighted at and taken from the *penetrale urbis*, and which, if it should chance to be extinguished, had again to be kindled from thence. It was the custom for the colony to annually send deputies to the mother country, to celebrate divine rites in honour of their country's gods. It was also usual for the colony to take its high priests from the parent country. And, moreover, if the colonists should ever choose to plant any where another colony, it was customary for them to ask for a *leader* of it from the mother country. See Vales on the Excerp. Polyb. 6. p. 7. and Spanh. Diss. 9. de usu et præst. Numism. p. 570. seq. (Duker.) The Corcyreans, it must be observed, were originally colonists from Corinth; and thus their colony, planted at Epidamnus, had to be settled by some one from Corinth.

As to the γέρα afforded by colonies to the parent state in the public games, they are called by the Scholiast τιμαὶ and προεδριαὶ, the chief seats on the benches. But many other privileges are also understood, as ἐπιγαμίαι, κτῆσις γῆς, &c., which are often found in the Greek *decreta*. It

some Corinthians, and others of the Doric race, had taken part in the settlement. Now, in process of time, the city of Epidamnus became large and populous [5]; but after having laboured, it is said [6], many years under intestine feuds, they were not a little weakened by a certain war with the neighbouring Barbarians, and deprived of most of their power. At last, just before this war, their commonalty had driven into exile the higher ranks.[7] These went and joined the Bar-

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may also be observed, that legates were sent to the mother country, to be present at the festivals. (See Thucyd. 6, 3. and that magistrates were also taken from thence. (Goeller.) It was thought right that the mother country should have the love and respect of the colony, and be its leader and guide; and, on the other hand, that the colony should yield to it (1, 38.), unless grievously injured. (1, 34.) Thus it was thought so great a crime to bear arms against the mother country, that the Melians chose rather to suffer siege and destruction than be guilty of such impiety. See l. 5. fin. The colonies themselves, when in danger, fled for help *ad minorem patriam*, as, in the present instance, Epidamnus did to the Corcyreans. (Poppo.) "They held themselves bound, (observes Mitford,) by a kind of religious superiority. Thus it was supposed that the gods of their forefathers would still be *their* gods, would favour the enterprise, and extend lasting protection to the settlement." See more in Poppo's Memoir on the State of Greece, &c., and Wessel. on Diod. Sic. t. 5, 64, 10.

[5] *Large and populous.*] Mitford adds, that "it asserted independence, and maintained the claim." But for this there is no authority, and it does not seem warranted by the words.

[6] *It is said.*] On the punctuation, and, as depending thereon, the sense of this passage, the commentators are not agreed. Some take the clause ὡς λέγεται with the preceding, but most with the following, words. According to the usage of the best writers, it can only belong to the *former*. Most recent interpreters, however, (like Abresch,) place a comma after βαρβάρων, and take ἀπὸ in the sense *after*, or *because of*. But the authority for this signification, in any prose writer of the *best age*, is slender, and the sense not very apt. Factions and feuds would be likely to arise (as they too often did in other colonies), *without* the intervention of a Barbarian war, especially as the colonists, being composed of settlers from two states that had long disagreed (see l. 1, 37.), would be likely to fall into dissentions. Whereas, after worrying each other by intestine feuds, they would be ill prepared to resist the attacks of the Barbarians (by whom are be understood the Taulantii. The ἀπὸ, then, stands for ὑπὸ, a very common idiom in our author.

Here, we may observe, the progress towards ruin is marked by very natural *gradations*. As to the circumstance of being long harassed with internal feuds, that was one which often occurred in the Grecian states.

[7] *Commonalty — ranks.*] By the δῆμος is sometimes, and possibly here, meant the democratic party. By the οἱ δυνατοὶ are denoted persons of power and influence, acquired by wealth or other means. There was here, it seems, as well as elsewhere, that contest between the οἱ ἔχοντες and the οἱ οὐκ ἔχοντες, the *have-somethings* and the *have-nothings*, which has harassed, more or less, every nation that has arrived at any height of civilisation, and seems particularly to infest old settled and thickly inhabited countries. It

barians, and with them carried on devastating hostilities [8] against the citizens both by land and by sea. But they being hard pressed, sent ambassadors to Corcyra, as being their parent city, imploring them not to look on and see them perish, but to reconcile the exiles [9] with them, and put an end to the war with the Barbarians. These entreaties they preferred, sitting [10] in the temple of Juno. The Corcyreans, however, rejected their entreaties, and sent them away without having effected their purpose.

XXV. The Epidamnians, then, finding that there was no help for them from Corcyra, were in great perplexity what measures to adopt under the present exigency; and sending

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is well remarked by Mitford, that "the spirit of faction remained, in spite of misfortune, untamed; they had learned nothing even from the lessons of adversity."

[8] Ἐλῃζοντο does not signify *robbed* (as it is rendered by Hobbes), but denotes that sort of *petty war* which consists chiefly in ravage and devastation.

[9] *Exiles.*] There is also an allusion to their being impleaded for trial, and avoiding it by flight; for to such φεύγειν was applied in opposition to διώκειν, used of the prosecution.

[10] *Sitting.*] This was the posture of suppliants, from which, also, they arose on being raised by the person whom they addressed, and who, *thereby*, was understood to grant their petition. See 1, 126. and note.

They selected the temple of Juno, as being (it seems) the most sacred fane in the city. Though Palmer (Antiq. 352.) suspects it to have been *without* the city, on the promontory Leucimne.

Mitford infers from their taking the character of suppliants, that "they felt they had no claim of merit from the mother country, especially as the government of Corcyra was aristocratical, and theirs was *now* democratical." The inference, however, is weak, since they would, probably under any circumstances, have assumed that character. It is truly observed by Hobbes, that "the manner was in those times to take sanctuary, not only for crimes, but for obtaining aid in extremities, tacitly disclaiming all other help save that of the gods, and those to whom they made supplication." The dissimilarity, however, of the two forms of government, is sufficient to explain how so moderate a request should have been *refused.* Though the refusal was probably grounded, in a great measure, on the Epidamnians having thrown off all dependence on the parent state, which, of course would (as the duties of both were reciprocal) deprive them of all claim upon its protection. This independence was probably not openly proclaimed until the expulsion of the aristocratical party by the democratical. The refusal in question was certainly natural, for when the democratical party ask of the Corcyreans their mediation with the aristocratical, they seem not prepared to establish things on their old footing, without which Epidamnus would not have been a safe residence for the restored exiles.

to Delphi [1], they enquired of the god whether they should deliver up their city to the Corinthians as their founders [2], and endeavour to procure some aid from them. The response was, that they should deliver themselves up to them, and make them their leaders. Then the Epidamnians, in obedience to the oracle, went to Corinth, delivered up the colony, (proving [3] that their founder was from Corinth, and declaring the answer of the oracle,) and entreated them not to suffer them to be utterly ruined, but to succour their distress.[4] The Corinthians undertook their assistance, both in consideration of the justice of the request (esteeming the colony to be as much theirs as the Corcyreans), and through hatred of the Corcyreans, because, though their colony, they contemned them. For they neither, in the public festive assemblages [5], paid them the rightful and accustomed honours, nor committed (as did their other colonies) the leading part of the sacrificial rites to a [6] Corin-

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[1] *Sending to Delphi.*] "The usual resource, (says Mitford,) of despondings states." Indeed, religious helps and consolations are naturally resorted to by those in adversity: but here, probably, this step had been deliberately resolved on in the council, and the application to Delphi only made in order to procure religious countenance to measures of political expediency.

[2] *Deliver up—founders.*] Mitford thinks we are without the means of determining the exact import of this expression, and the ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι: but I see not any difficulty. The sense seems to be plainly this; whether they should deliver up the city to the Corinthians, by formally *making* them the *immediate*, as they were the *mediate*, founders. Now this surrender had to be formally made; for it appears that the duty of a colony to its parent state did not involve any to the parent state of *that*. Though it seems that a *transfer* of allegiance, &c., might be made to it, at least if the founder had been regularly taken from thence. Nay, sometimes the reverential respect and religious observances paid to the original founder, were transferred to some *other* person who had been a great *benefactor*; thus at 5, 11. we read that the Amphipolitans transferred this *foundership* from Agnon to Brasidas, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν, where προσ. exactly corresponds to παραδοῖεν here. As to ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι, it is plainly exegetical of the preceding phrase.

[3] *Proving, &c.*] This it was perhaps necessary for them to do, in order to give them a claim to make the transfer.

[4] *Succour their distress.*] Diod. Sic. adds that they requested also some fresh colonists to be sent them.

[5] *Public festive assemblages.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the term, on which see the learned note of Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Sept. 206. (Gloss.) The Scholiast explains it of the Olympic and Nemean games. Those, however, cannot here be meant, but the public festivals of *each city*. Of the nature of these honours we can have but an imperfect knowledge; yet we may safely (with the Scholiast) include the προεδρία, on which see my note on Matth. 23, 6.

[6] *Committed—Corinthian.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of the

thian, but despised them, as being themselves, in point of wealth, at that time, equal to the richest of the Grecian states, and in military preparations an overmatch for them. They were puffed up, withal, by their naval superiority, and proud of their isle having been formerly the abode of the Phæacians, so famed for their nautical skill. Hence they had paid more attention to the formation of a navy, and, indeed, had a very powerful one, being in possession of 120 triremes when they commenced the war.

XXVI. The Corinthians, then, having, on all these accounts, just cause of complaint, willingly sent assistance to Epidamnus, making proclamation [1] that every one who chose might go as a colonist, and ordering thither some troops of the Ambraciots, Leucadians, and their own cities, to garrison it. These went by *land* to Apollonia [2], a Corinthian colony,

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words οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, which are obscure from brevity, and have been variously explained. One thing seems certain, that they cannot have the sense ascribed to them by the Latin and English translators, "began with a Corinthian in the distribution of public sacrifices." There is no mention of *distribution;* and the sense in question would rather require Κορινθίοις ἀνδράσι. The Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ can only refer to some one Corinthian who had especially to do with sacrificial rites; and the antient and the recent modern commentators are rightly agreed that *that* must be the chief priest, who, the Scholiast (doubtless from some antient writer) says, was sent from parent states to colonies. There is, indeed, some difficulty in the *construction;* but it seems to have been best removed by Reiske, Gottleb., Haack, and Poppo, who subaud ἐν, in the sense *cum, per*. This, indeed, Goeller denies to be good Greek. But perhaps that language is not yet sufficiently understood to enable any one to pronounce thus positively; especially as the usage of our author differs so materially from that of the other classical writers. To avoid the above *fancied* difficulty, the learned commentator devises a new mode of interpretation, which, however, involves a violation of the construction, and silences the force of the πρό.

As to the principal offices here alluded to, the commentators agree in understanding them of the pouring the wine on the victim's head, sprinkling over it the crumbs of the bruised salted cake, and clipping off the hair of the forehead, and casting it into the fire.

[1] *Making proclamation.*] The word κελεύοντες must, per dilogiam, be taken in two senses, accommodated to two clauses to which it belongs. The term seems, as applied to the former clause, to import an union of *permit* and *urge*. The one, it should seem, was *requisite*, the other *expedient*. Indeed in the then over-peopled state of the principal cities of Greece, colonisation was a necessary expedient to carry off a superabundant, and therefore burthensome, population.

[2] *By land to Apollonia.*] A colony of the Corinthians, formed, as we learn, from Steph. Byz., on an old town of the Illyrii. Scymnus and Strabo say that the Corcyreans had a share in colonising it. Hence in Steph. Byz. ὕστερον διακοσίων Κορινθίων ἀποικία εἰς αὐτὴν ἐστάλη. Bekker

lest the Corcyreans should hinder their passage by sea. Now when the Corcyreans had heard of the colonists and troops proceeding to Epidamnus, and that the colony was given up to the Corinthians, they were fired with resentment, and setting sail immediately thither with twenty-five ships[3], and afterwards with a reinforcement[4], they insultingly[5] ordered them to receive the exiles: for[6] the Epidamnian fugitives[7] had gone to Corcyra, pointing to the sepulchres of their ancestors, and claiming kindred; on which ground they entreated them to restore them to their country. But the Epidamnians hearkened to none of these demands. Whereupon[8]

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would read Κορκυραίων καὶ Κορινθίων. But as the Corcyreans had at least only an inferior share in colonising, and are placed *after* by Scymnus, this conjecture cannot be admitted. I rather suspect that διακοσίων should be changed to δὲ. For δὲ and διὰ are perpetually confounded. And κοσιων seems to have originated in an abbreviation of Κορινθίων, i. e. Κορ^{ιων}. The place is now called Polina. Our author does not directly say that they went all the way to Epidamnus; but πεζῇ must be taken emphatically, and then such may be *implied*. That they *did* we find by what follows. It may be observed that they went by *sea* from thence, to avoid the danger of passing through the territories of the Taulantii.

[3] *With 25 ships.*] These would seem to have been all that were then, as we should say, in *commission*, and equipped for sea. For though we learn that the Corcyreans possessed 120 triremes, yet only a small number were ever in actual service.

[4] *A reinforcement.*] Consisting, as we afterwards learn, of fifteen sail.

[5] *Insultingly.*] Or, *abusively*. Goeller renders "aus höhnender schadenfrende." The term may include a union of abuse, and insolent threatening. As illustrative of the force of the term, Wasse refers to an opposite passage of Aristot. Rhet. l. 2, 2., and Duker to Salm. Obs. ad. Jus. Attic. 2, 9. p. 115. It is a rare phrase, but it occurs in Dio Cass. 169, 31. 744, 33., and in Pausan. 1, 9, 10. τάδε ἐστι φανερὸς ἐπηρεία συνθείς. Lœscher conjectures κατ' ἐπηρείαν. Facius ἐς επ., which I prefer. But the true reading is ἐπηρεία (sub. ἐπ'), which occurs in Philostr. ap. Steph. Thes. in v. That *threatening* is included in the force of the term, is clear from Herod. 6, 9, 22. τάδε λέγετε ἐπηρεάζοντες. See my note on Matt. 5, 44.

[6] *For the Epidamnian, &c.*] The author here assigns a reason why the Corcyreans had so soon altered their determination not to interfere in the disputes at Epidamnus. This, however, was doubtless not the principal reason.

[7] *Fugitives.*] Or banished men. Divers occasions force men from their country. Sentence of law, which is commonly called banishment. Proscription, when the sentence is death, for which cause they fly into banishment; but those that are here meant are such as in seditions, being the weaker faction, fly for fear of being murdered, whom I here call banished men; or might call them, perhaps better, outlaws or fugitives, but neither of them properly. (Hobbes.)

[8] *Whereupon.*] There is something peculiar in this use of ἀλλὰ, which, though abrupt, is very spirited. The Scholiast, Gottl., and Abresch explain it by καὶ. But this is peddling criticism, and settles nothing.

the Corcyreans proceeded against them with forty ships [9], in conjunction with the exiles (whom they pretended they were come to restore), and with the additional aid of the Illyrians; and blockading the place [10], they made proclamation that any one who chose, both of the Epidamnians and the strangers [11], might depart unmolested; otherwise they would be treated as enemies.[12] But as they were not induced to submit, the Corcyreans proceeded (now the situation is that of an isthmus [13]) to lay siege to the place.

XXVII. But the Corinthians, as soon as messengers reached them from Epidamnus with news of the siege, prepared an armament, and withal proclaimed a colony to Epi-

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[9] *Proceeded — ships.*] Such is the sense of στρατεύουσιν, and not *warred upon*, or *proceeded to hostilities*. For it appears from what follows, that hostilities were not commenced until after all fair means had been tried in vain.

Hence it appears that, though the requisition might be sent as soon as they had arrived with twenty-five ships, yet they did not put the expedition in motion for Apollonia before the arrival of the second division of fifteen ships.

Instead of *forty* ships Diod. Sic. says *fifty*. But as that writer continually imitates our author, the difference seems to have arisen from an error in his MS.

[10] *Blockading the place.*] For the same reason that I have rendered στρατεύουσιν *proceeded against*, I assign to προσκαθεζόμενοι not the sense *besieging* (with the translators), but *blockading, taking a position;* since it was *after* the Epidamnians would listen to no proposal that they, it is said, ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν. In fact it is plain that the word does not properly denote *to besiege*, since it is often used *with* πολιορκέω; as Herodian 3, 3, 1. 3, 9, 6. Herod. 2, 157, 28., and many other passages, which I could adduce. In fact, when taken by itself, it rarely signifies more than "to take a position before a place, to *blockade* it. See Valckn. on Herod. 6, 133, 7. and 5, 104, 14.

[11] *The strangers.*] An invidious term this, applied to the Ambraciots and Leucadians, hinting that they had nothing to do with Epidamnus. That it was not meant of the *Corinthians* appears from c. 29.

[12] *Treated as enemies.*] The commentators here, as often, are pleased to overlook a real difficulty. The truth is, that though χρήσασθαι must grammatically depend upon προεῖπον, yet that verb may be repeated in *another* sense, which is included in *proclaim*, i. e. *order*. The literal meaning is, "otherwise they ordered their troops to treat them as enemies."

[13] *Especially — isthmus.*] Such is the purport of this insertion, which, in the original, is so abrupt, that I once thought it from the margin; but the experience of such kind of clauses, in the best authors, especially the present, has made me "wiser than of yore." So a passage of St. John, 6, 10. ἦν δὲ χόρτος πολὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.

Isthmus, the Scholiast explains γῆ ἀμφιθαλάσσιος. But the sense seems to be, that the place was situated on the isthmus of a peninsula, and consequently favourable for being besieged by those commanding the sea.

damnus; so that any one who would might go, on condition of enjoying equal and like privileges[1]; and that if any one should be unwilling to join immediately, and yet wished to take part in the colony, he might remain, on paying down fifty Corinthian drachms.[2] And many were there who went on the voyage, and many who paid the money. They, moreover, entreated the Megareans[3] to convoy them with some ships, lest their passage should be obstructed by the Corcyreans. And they prepared to accompany them with eight ships, and the Palians with four. They requested some, too, of the Epidaurians, who contributed five; the Hermionians one, and the Troezenians two; and lastly the Leucadians ten, and the Ambraciots eight. Of the Thebans and Phliasians[4] they requested *money;* of the Eleans empty ships and money. The armament fitted out by the Corinthians themselves was thirty ships, and three hundred heavy-armed.[5]

XXVIII. But when the Corcyreans heard of these extensive preparations, they went to Corinth, taking with them some Lacedemonian and Sicyonian ambassadors[1], and charged

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[1] *Equal and like privileges.*] i. e. either with the old colonists, or the Corinthians themselves, sub. *μοίρᾳ*, or the like. So infra 34. it is said of colonists, *οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὅμοιοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμπονται.*

[2] *Paying fifty drachms.*] Namely, towards defraying the expenses of sending out the colony.

[3] *Megareans.*] This, and the following, were those states with which Corinth was most intimately connected by consanguinity, amity, and community of political views.

[4] *Thebans and Phliasians.*] As being wealthy states, and the money doubtless to be repaid. *Ships* they asked not, since Phliasia was an inland state, and had none; and Bœotia was far from being a nautical one, at least it had no convenient port on the Sinus Corinthiacus. The Leucadians and Ambraciots contributed many, as being nautical states. Of the Eleans they obtained *money*, since they were a wealthy people, and *empty* ships, since they were not attached to maritime pursuits. The number of ships seems to have been seven.

[5] *Heavy-armed.*] i. e. those who were sheathed in armour, and wielded long and stiff lances, and heavy swords; somewhat like the *men at arms* of the middle ages.

[1] *Some — ambassadors.*] Whom they had prevailed upon to go with them as mediators. Hitherto they had had no connection with either of the two confederacies, but now were justly alarmed at the powerful combination forming against them. They, it seems, had recourse to the Peloponnesian alliance, as nearer to them and more connected by blood. And the Lacedemonians and Sicyonians were, it seems, well disposed to preserve the general peace.

the Corinthians to withdraw the garrison and colonists at Epidamnus, since they had no concern with that city. If, however, they had any claim to allege, they were themselves willing to submit the cause to be judged before such states of Peloponnesus as might be agreed on by both; and to whomever the colony should be adjudged to belong, those should have possession of it. They were willing also to leave the cause to the arbitration of the oracle at Delphi.[2] As to a *war*, they protested against it[3]; but if[4] there must be one, they should be themselves[5], at their compulsion, driven to make friends[6] such as *they* would not[7], and quite other than their present ones, for the sake of succour. The Corinthians answered, that if they would withdraw their fleet and the Barbarians from Epidamnus, they would take the proposal into consideration; but before that was done, it would not be well for *those* to be sustaining a siege, while themselves[8] are litigating on the question. The Corcyreans replied, that if *they* would withdraw those in Epidamnus, themselves would do the

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[2] *At Delphi.*] Though *that* the Corinthians had already accounted favourable to them. So that, upon the whole, the Corcyreans could not offer more reasonable terms.

[3] *Protested against it.*] Or *dissuaded it*. Literally, forbade it, q. d. there should be none with their good will. So 2, 21.

[4] *If, &c.*] i. e. otherwise, if it should be different to what we wish. So in Mark, 2, 21 and 22. I know not why Goeller should have conjectured εἰ δὲ.

[5] *They themselves.*] i. e. as well as the Corinthians, as the Corinthians were doing.

[6] *Make friends.*] Literally, attach persons to them as friends. It is proper to observe the force of the middle verb, in the place of which St. Mark, 16, 9., uses the verb active and the pronoun: ποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ, &c.

[7] *Whom they would not.*] i. e. (says the Scholiast) the *Corcyreans*, not the Corinthians. There are similar expressions in St. John, 21, 18. Heb. 10, 5. The *friends* in question must be the *Athenians*, with whom they had no connection of any kind. As to the μᾶλλον, the idiom of our language would not permit it to be expressed. Certainly, there was no reason for the commentators to have stumbled at it. They might have compared Æschyl. Choeph. 213. μὴ μάτευ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον φίλον.

[8] *Themselves.*] i. e. (as Bauer rightly explains) the two litigant parties, both the Corcyreans and the Corinthians, not the Corinthians only, as the older commentators and Smith take it. Thus, the καλῶς ἔχειν refers to *both*. The sense is, it would not be well, it would be *absurd*, for them to be at issue concerning the possession of a city whose very existence was threatened, or that their mutual friends should be endangered, while *they* stood by disputing. Δικάζεσθαι signifies to be impleaded, to be at issue in a suit.

same. They were also ready to agree that both parties should remain where they were, and a truce be made, to continue until the cause should be decided.

XXIX. The Corinthians, however, hearkened not[1] to these proposals, but as soon as their ships were manned, and their allies were come up, having sent forward[2] a herald to first declare war against the Corcyreans, they put to sea with seventy-five ships and two thousand heavy-armed[3], and made sail for Epidamnus, to commence hostilities against the Corcyreans. The fleet was under the command of Aristeus, son of Pellichas, Callicrates, son of Callias, and Timanor, son of Timanthes: the land forces under that of Archetimus, son of Eurytimus, and Isarchidas, the son of Isarchus. When they arrived off Actium[4], in the territory of Anactorium, about the plain where stands the temple of Apollo, at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, they found a herald[5] whom the Corcyreans had sent forward in a skiff, in order to forbid them to proceed. In the meantime they were manning their fleet, having repaired and made seaworthy the old ones, and fitted out the rest for action.[6] Now after the herald had brought back

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[1] *Hearkened not.*] Depending, it seems, on their apparent superiority; and, trusting that they should not be impeded either by the Lacedemonians or the Athenians, they therefore refused to treat on equal terms.

[2] *Having sent forward,* &c.] They delayed this ceremony claimed by general usage, as long as possible. It is strange that the Scholiast should recognise in this an insulting bravado.

[3] *Seventy-five ships, and* 2000 *heavy-armed.*] Of these seventy-five ships thirty were Corinthian ones; the rest furnished by the allies, of which it hence appears that the Eleans furnished seven. Diod. Sic. says there were seventy-five ships. The number of heavy-armed is less by a thousand than it was, c. 27. Either there is some mistake in a figure, or the whole force could not be got ready to embark with the fleet. Which is more probable than supposing, with the Scholiast, that there was found no need of them, and that they were left behind in contempt of the Corcyreans.

[4] *Actium.*] i. e. the port of Actium; "a place," as Mitford observes, "destined hereafter to be the scene of a much more important action."

[5] *Herald.*] The Corcyreans meant by this to gain time, and were anxious not to leave any thing undone to avert hostilities; yet they prepared for them with judgment and spirit. Bekker says that Diodorus makes the Corcyrean fleet *seventy;* but he is mistaken. Diod. says the *ten* of the Corinthians.

[6] *Repaired — action.*] Such seems to be the sense of this passage, which is somewhat difficult, from our imperfect acquaintance with the nautical terms of the antients. Hence some (as Reiske) have resorted to critical conjecture; and others have propounded interpretations which are hypothe-

nought but hostile news from the Corinthians, and as soon as their ships were manned to the number of eighty (for forty were maintaining the siege of Epidamnus), they put to sea, and ranging themselves in line against the Corinthians, engaged them; and the Corcyreans were decidedly victorious, and destroyed fifteen ships of the Corinthians. On the same day it happened that their besieging force before Epidamnus

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tical, and destitute of all authority. Such I must regard that of Coray, ap. Levesque, and even that of Goeller, who maintains that ζεύξαντες must signify *caulking;* and ἐπισκ., *fitting out for sea.* The same may be said of the common interpretation, founded on Portus, "refitting with benches, oars," &c. Those who, as Smith, render *repairing*, only *avoid encountering* the difficulty. Under these circumstances, the antient lexicographers should be consulted; though the commentators have made little or no use of them. Now Pollux, 1, 125., in a chapter on nautical terms, says: τὰς δὲ πεπονηκυίας καὶ κεκακωμένας (scil. ναῦς) ἔστι θεραπεῦσαι, ἐπισκευάσαι, ἐπισκευάσασθαι, ζεῦξαι, ζεύξασθαι. And as he refers to Thucyd. in the words immediately preceding, so he seems to have had in view the same author, in the passage now before us. And though he does not exactly tell us *in what* the ζεῦξαι consisted, yet he says enough to overturn the interpretation of the other term ἐπισ. proposed by Goeller, *segelfertig machen.* It is plain from 7, 1, 36 and 38. and many passages of the classical writers, that it meant to *repair* a ship. And from the manner in which ζευξ. is there introduced, it is evidently included among verbs of *repairing ships.* Now *caulking* scarcely suggests that idea. The same objection lies against the interpretation of Levesque, who takes ἐπισκ. to signify *caulking.* Still we have rather seen what is *not*, than what *is*, the sense, and have, at best, only obtained a general notion of the word. Now as, unfortunately, classical usage fails us, the best we can do is to make use of what were founded upon it, the interpretations of the Scholiasts. Now one of the Scholiasts on our author explains, ζυγώματα αὐταῖς ἐνθέντες εἰς τὸ συνεχέσθαι. And again: τὰς μὲν ἔζευξαν διαλελύμενας οὔσας καὶ ζυγωμάτων προσδεηθείσας εἰς συνοχήν, &c. But what may be the signification of ζυγώματα we have yet to learn. Now though the lexicons only tell us that it signifies the *lintel of a door*, it no doubt also denoted what is called in Exod. 12, 7. the *upper door-post.* Now, by analogy, we may very well suppose that it might denote *inner blocks*, *beams*, and *stays*, by which the frame of ships is held together, and which must be renewed on repairing. I cannot at present point out any passage where the word has that signification; but such is clearly the meaning of the primitive ζυγὸν, though in a metaphorical sense, in Theog. Admon. 513, where he thus addresses a broken-down seaman, who had applied for relief: νηός τοι πλευρῆσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὰ θήσομεν ἡμεῖς. Now when ships grow rickety by time, or wear and tear, they not only require these ζευγώματα to be repaired and renewed, but need a sort of *inner belting*, on which I have treated at Acts, 27, 17. βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο. Thus much may suffice for the ζευξ. As to the ἐπισκ., it presents no real difficulty, since from the way in which it is mentioned (the τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκ. being opposed to the τὰς παλαιὰς ζευξ. it plainly denotes repairs of a minor sort, such as even vessels that are not old require, to fit them for sea, including *equipment* of every kind.

compelled it to surrender[7], on condition that the strangers should be sold[8] for slaves, but the Corinthians be held in custody until some other course should be decided on concerning them.

XXX. After the battle, the Corcyreans having erected a trophy on Leucimme, a promontory of Corcyra, put to death the rest of the captives whom they had taken, after reserving the Corinthians, whom they kept in bonds. And now after the Corinthians and their allies, being defeated in naval combat, had retired homewards, the Corcyreans were masters of the whole sea thereabouts, and sailing to Leucas, the colony[1] of Corinth, they ravaged part of its territory, and then went and burned Cyllene, the naval arsenal[2] of the Eleans, because they had furnished ships and money to the Corinthians. And indeed, after the battle they were masters of the sea, and

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[7] *Compelled it to surrender.*] Literally, brought them to agree to terms of surrender. Those who were formerly called ξένοι, are here called ἐπήλυδες; which literally signifies *new comers.*

[8] *Sold.*] Such was the *condition*, which, however, was afterwards violated, for they were slain. Reiske, indeed, conjectures ἀπόλεσθαι. But that would scarcely be Greek; and it is highly improbable that such an atrocity should be inserted as a *condition* of the surrender; whereas, considering the cruelty afterwards evinced by the Corcyreans, it was not unlikely that, in the moment of triumphant elevation occasioned by setting up the trophy, the democratical party should commit this atrocity; perhaps from the deliberate instigation of their leaders, in order thereby to cut off all hope of accommodation with the aristocracy, whether foreign or domestic.

On the *trophy*, see Potter's Archæologia.

[1] *The colony.*] The article is here used with reference to the previous mention of the place, though not as a colony of Corinth.

[2] *Naval arsenal.*] Most ancient cities, it has been before observed (6, 7.), were built away from the sea-coast, in order to be out of the reach of pirates. And the same policy was pursued, and for the same reason, in Spanish America, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus Sparta, Messene, Argos, Mycenæ, Thebes, Delphi, Sicyon, Megara, and Athens. On the growth, however, of arts and civilisation, and the rise of commerce, these antient sites were found inconvenient, and such as made them unfit to compete with the modern ones on the sea-coast. And the only remedy for it was to build towns on that part of the coast which was nearest to them, to serve as ports and naval stations for the reception and transmission of the imports and exports, and all other commodities. Hence arose such places as Piræus, Nisæa, Nauplia, Gytheum, Lechæum, and, among the rest, Cyllene. These were, when possible, connected by walls.

Pausan., with a view to this passage, has Κυλλήνη, ἐπίνειον οὖσα Ἠλείων.

continued for the most part[3] cruising upon and ravaging the allies of Corinth until the return of summer, when the Corinthians, to sustain the cause of their distressed allies,

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[3] *For the most part.*] The sense (which has been missed by Smith) is, that after the sea-fight they were masters of the sea, and evinced themselves as such, by, for the most part, cruising upon and ravaging the Corinthian allies, until, &c. There is here a sort of *Synchysis* not unfrequent in our author. Had the recent editors, Haak, Bekker, and Goeller seen this, they would not have brought back the old reading περίοντι (which had been altered to περιόντι by Gottl. on the suggestion of Reiske and Abresch), nor endeavoured from it to introduce the sense (perhaps derived from Palmer, Antiq.) "*supereunte adhuc æstate*," "what yet remained of the summer," "during the remnant of the summer." It may be doubted whether that sense can be elicited from the words; and, if it could, it would involve such an improbability as to deserve little attention. The season must have been somewhat far advanced at the period of the late engagement; for, considering that this was an armament composed of various confederates, it is not probable that it should have been got ready very *early* in the season. Then, allowing for the time consumed in the voyage, it is not probable that the battle was fought sooner than the end of July, after which (though with what delay we know not) they, it is said, returned home to refit. Now considering how very roughly the fleet had been handled in the late engagement, it is not at all likely that it could have been got ready for any maritime service for the short remainder of the summer. There would have been hardly time for the Corinthian fleet to have returned and taken port, even for a few days, at Actium and Chimerium. Certainly, in such a case, the words which follow, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι, &c., would not be applicable; since, then, the reading in question is so inconsistent with the context, and so highly improbable, scarcely *any* evidence would suffice to establish it. But here the case is very different. It varies in so slight a degree from the other (περιόντι) that MS. testimony is of no weight; in fact, the words are perpetually confounded. And as to the phrase, though it is not found in the lexicons, nor noticed by the critics, yet it has sufficient authority. Thus Xen. Hist. 3, 2, 25. in a kindred passage: περιόντι δὲ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνονσι πάλιν φρουρὰν (expeditionem) ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦλιν. where the very mistake is made; some MSS. reading περιόντι. which was adopted by Castalio, "quasi (Schneider remarks) *reliquo anni tempore* iterum duxisset exercitum Agis contra Eleos." Though it is clear, he adds, from what follows, that the time meant must be another *season;* and so Dodwell. In Plut. Pomp. 38. for περιόντι of the text some MSS. erroneously have περίοντι. On the contrary, in Pausan. 3, 15, 3. for περίοντι of the text some MSS. read περιόντι, which Facius ought to have received into the text. In Arat. Dios. 1145. αἰεὶ δ' ἂν περιόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀριθμοίης Σήματα, the second iota is sunk by poetical license. In Herod. 4, 155. occurs a kindred phrase: χρόνου δὲ περιόντος, ἐξεγένετο οἱ παῖς. Schweigh., in his Lex. Herod., also cites it from 2, 121., also 2, 120. ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὡρέων ἐς τὠυτὸ περιών. Thus there can be no longer any doubt as to the authority of the phrase in question, which is well rendered by Steph. Th. *circumactâ æstate, redeunte æstate.* So *circumagi* is often used by Livy with annus and tempus; e. g. 9, 33. *circumactis* XVIII. mensibus. And so Virg. Æn. 3, 284. interea magnum sol *circumvolvitur* annum. Finally, the above interpretation is confirmed by the authority of the antient Greek commentators, who, however, doubtless read περιόντι, which Dindorf has rightly restored.

sent a naval and military force, which was stationed at Actium, and about the Chimerium[4] of Thesprotis, for the defence of Leucas, and such other states as were friendly to them. The Corcyreans took an opposite station, both with a fleet and army, at Leucimme.[5] Neither party, however, advanced upon the other; but after remaining in opposite stations this whole summer, they each, on the approach of winter, retired homeward.

XXXI. During a full year[1] after the sea-fight, and the one subsequent to it, the Corinthians, feeling indignant[2] at this issue of the Corcyrean war, busied themselves in ship-building, and made every preparation in their power for a

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[4] *Chimerium.*] This (Palmer observes) appears from the present and another passage further on, compared with Strabo, l. 7., to have been a promontory which closes the west side of the Glykys Limen, not far from the present town of Phanaro (probably so called from a light-house formerly there). It is not unlikely that that occupies nearly the site of some town which formerly existed at Chimerium; for Palmer infers, from Steph. Byz. giving it a *nomen gentile*, that it must formerly have had a *town*. The name Chimerium, Palmer thinks, was given to this promontory, from its being a place for ships to winter in: but rather, I imagine, from its wintry and stormy aspect; since mountainous promontories often attract the clouds. Thus such are frequently what we call *cloud-capped*, sub. ὄροις. Hence also, perhaps, Ἰμέρα, or Χείμερα, in Sicily.

[5] *Leucimme.*] So called from the whiteness of its cliffs, as the name Albion was given to our own country from the white cliffs of Dover. The appellation was applied to *both* the horns of the south of Corcyra; though now the name, Cape Bianco, is given only to the *southern* one.

[1] *A full year — war.*] According to the most correct view which I am able to form of the chronology of this part of the history, I would say that the sea-fight took place in the summer of 435, B.C. The position and encampment spoken of at the close of the preceding chapter, occurred in the summer of 434. The preparations here mentioned seem to have occupied the whole of the year after the battle, and the year after that. Now if the expressions be taken in their literal sense, the preparations must have been brought to a conclusion in the summer of 433; and the subsequent expedition must be fixed to the same year; and so Diodorus. Yet most chronologists fix the second expedition to 432. And this may be admitted, if by the year after the sea-fight be understood the year 434, and by the year after it, the year 433. Then the year of the second expedition will not be till 432, and of course not before the usual time, namely, late in the spring.

[2] *Feeling indignant.*] I see no reason to abandon the sense commonly ascribed to ὀργῇ φέροντες, though some recent philologists take ὀργῇ to mean *animosè, with energy and spirit.* But though ὀργῇ occurs in this sense in Thucydides, yet πόλεμον φέρειν does not appear then to have been in use. Whereas ὀργὴν ἔχειν occurs in l. 2, 8 and 85.

naval armament; drawing together, by offers of high pay[3], mariners both from Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece. The Corcyreans, however, hearing of these preparations, felt alarm, especially as they were confederated with no Grecian power; having entered themselves neither into the Athenian nor the Lacedemonian league. Hence it seemed prudent for them to have recourse to the Athenians, and by assenting to their alliance, endeavour to obtain their assistance. This, however, coming to the ears of the Corinthians, they also sent an embassy to Athens, lest the addition of the Athenian navy to the Corcyreans should prevent them from bringing the war to any favourable issue. On an assembly[4] being met, the opposite orators proceeded to debate on the great question, and the Corcyreans spoke to the following effect:—

XXXII.[1] "It is but just, O Athenians, that those who, as we now do, address themselves to others[2], to entreat succour, without the claims previously due[3] from signal benefits or

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[3] *High pay.*] This seems implied in the words ἐρέτας μισθῷ πείθοντες. There is a similar passage in 1, 143. εἰ—μισθῷ μειζόνι πειρῶντο ὑμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ξένους τῶν ναυτῶν.

[4] *Assembly.*] On this see Potter's Archæol., or the Travels of Anacharsis.

[5] *To the following effect.*] Such is the true force of τοιάδε: for our historian does not profess to record the very words used. See supra, p. 50. note 3. Of the *pair* of orations now laid before the reader, the Scholiast justly remarks, that that of the Corcyrean orator urges the argument of *expediency* rather than of *justice;* that of the Corinthians is founded on justice rather than expediency. For the Corinthians were, indeed, allies, but the Corcyreans had a navy of 120 ships.

[1] The exordium of the present oration must be considered very masterly; and it has been much admired. The commentators have failed to remark, that it was had in view by Livy, l. 7, 30., in the oration to the Campanians. The beginning of it is imitated by Sallust, p. 137. edit. Maittaire, "Omnes qui secundis rebus ad belli societatem orantur considerare debent, liceatne tum pacem agere," &c.

[2] *Others.*] It is strange that the antient interpreters should take the πέλας figuratively It is rather to be understood popularly, with reference to *all* those with whom we have any intercourse.

[3] *Previously due,* προοφειλομένης—εὐεργησίας.] It is strange that Reiske should have doubted whether the word προοφείλω were used by any Greek author, and have had recourse to critical emendation. The word occurs in Herod. 5, 82. and 6, 59. Aristoph. Lys. 648. Av. 3. Eurip. Heracl. 241. Iph. Taur. 523. Aristid. T. 2, 156. Besides, the present reading is defended by an imitation in Pausan. 1, 12, 2. προϋπαρχούσης μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας, and others which I could point out. It is remarkable, that in Herod. 5, 82. it should be used in *malam partem.* ἡ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους,

antient alliance, should, first of all, make it appear that what they ask is advantageous to, or at least involves no detriment to, the grantors; and next, that *they* will have the favour securely laid up for future return.[4] But, if they can establish neither of these points, they must not take it ill if their suit should be rejected. Now the Corcyreans have sent us hither to entreat your alliance, fully persuaded that they shall be able to establish these preliminaries to your satisfaction. It has chanced [5], however, that a line of conduct has prevailed among us which is *irrational* [6], when viewed with reference to our interests as regards you, and, as concerns the present state of our affairs, *prejudicial*. For, having never chosen [7] aforetime to be the allies of any, we come now as suitors for the alliance of others, being, on that very account, left destitute of help in this our necessity, even this war with the Corinthians. And thus our former seeming prudence, in not

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where Wessel. would not have conjectured προσοφ., had he recollected this passage of Thucydides, and also that of Eurip. Iph. Taur. 523., κἀμοὶ γὰρ τι προὐφιλει κακόν; which seems to be ridiculed by Aristoph. Av. 3. κακὸν ἄρα ταῖς πλευραῖς τι προύφείλες μέγα.

[4] *Have the favour — return.*] The sense of the original is somewhat uncertain, and will depend upon what is taken as the subject of the assertion. It is most natural to suppose it to be the same as that of the preceding clause, i. e. "the persons who ask the favour." And so think almost all the commentators. But what is the most natural construction has, in our author, sometimes the least semblance of truth. Neither can any suitable sense thus be elicited from the words. I am, therefore, inclined to agree with the Scholiast, who evidently refers it to the persons who *confer the favour*. He, too, explains χάριν by ἀντίχαριν, i. e. the return made for the favour. There, however, I do not agree with him. The sense seems to be this: "They (i. e. the granters) shall have the favour they have conferred securely laid up with the grantee, and be sure of a return." This is confirmed by what follows, c. 33. ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μετ' ἀειμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν κατάθησθε; and Schol. on Pind. Olymp. 7, 1. διὰ τοῦ δώρου ὀφειλομένην χάριν ἀπέσωσας, and elsewhere. Also by Livy, 7, 30., who seems to have an eye to this passage: "beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet."

[5] *It has chanced — prejudicial.*] This obscure and difficult passage is thus translated by Goeller: "es hat sich aber getroffen, dass unser bisheriges Verfahren für unser Begehren in der Noth bey euch schlecht begründet ist, und zugleich für unsere gegenwärtige Verhältnisse unvortheilhaft."

[6] *Irrational,* ἄλογον.] For it would seem absurd that those who had aforetime minded only their own affairs, and selfishly consulted their own interest only, should now expect assistance from others in the hour of need. Πρὸς ὑμᾶς, "in your view." Ἐς τὴν χρείαν, "quod attinet ad," &c.

[7] *For, never having chosen.*] This sentence is exegetical of the preceding, and shows in what respects their custom was irrational and prejudicial.

engaging in alliance with others, that we might not, at their discretion, come into danger, has turned out to have been stark folly and weakness.[8] It is true, that in the late sea-fight we, *by ourselves*, defeated the Corinthians; but since they are earnestly bent on making an attack upon us with a greater force, collected from Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece; and we perceive ourselves to be unable, by our own strength alone, to survive the contest[9]: and when we consider how fearful is the danger of being subjugated by our foes, necessity impels us to implore your aid, and that of every other state. And excusable may we be well thought, if we now adventure upon a daring course, so contrary to our former creeping maxims; which, however, originated not so much in evil intention[10], as in error of judgment.[11]

XXXIII. "Should you, then[1], grant our boon, this relief of our necessity[2] cannot but in many respects redound to your honour. First[3], because ye will render this assistance

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[8] *Turned out — weakness.*] By *weakness* is meant, per meton., the *cause* of our weakness. To the imitations of this passage, adduced by the commentators from Dionys. Hal., I add Procop. p. 256, 15. ἀλλὰ περιέστηκει ἡ τότε δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν εὐγνωμοσύνη νῦν ἀνοία φαινομένη. See also 216, 4.

[9] *Survive the contest.*] So c. 55. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὕτω περιγίγνεται τῷ πολέμῳ.

[10] *Evil intention.*] Such is the sense of κακία, which corresponds to the Latin *malitia*. See my note on Rom. 1, 29. Bauer renders it *inertia, ignavia*. But such rather applies to the ἀπραγμοσύνη just after, which denotes a low, creeping, grovelling course of action.

[11] *Error of judgment, δόξας ἁμαρτία.*] So Æschyl. Agam. 480. φρενῶν ἁμαρτία. See my note on John, 8, 48.

[1] *Should you then, &c.*] Goeller observes, that in these words are contained three reasons why an alliance between the Corcyreans and Athenians will be to the latter both honourable and useful. If this remark be well founded, the καλὴ must mean both *honourable* and *advantageous*.

[2] *Relief of our necessity.*] Literally, *meeting* or *supply* of our necessity. There was no reason why the scribes and critics should have stumbled at the expression, and devised new readings and interpretations: the former of which are needless, and the latter little to the purpose. They would have hazarded neither the one nor the other, had they sufficiently appreciated the value of antient authority, as found in the Scholiast; or remembered the imitation in Lucian, pointed out by Goeller, to which I add Plutarch T. Grach. 6. ἡσθέντες τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ τῆς χρείας, and Vit. Arat. c. 34. ὑπήντησε τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. As to the transposition, no one conversant with our author can stumble at that.

[3] *First.*] It is observed by the Scholiast, that the orator puts the arguments deduced from *justice first*.

to the *injured*, and not the *injurers*: and then, by receiving into your protection those whose dearest interests are at stake, you will effectually lay up the favour with an everduring pledge of remembrance.[4] We possess, too, a navy the most considerable, save your own, [in Greece]. And consider, what rarer good fortune[5] can befall you, or what more bitter to your enemies than this, that the power whose accession you would have valued[6] beyond much treasure and obligation, should now come voluntarily and offer itself without danger or cost: and moreover conferring, as to mankind in general[7], *reputation*[8]; as to those whom ye will succour, *favour*; and as to yourselves, *strength*. Few, indeed, are those in the records of time past[9] in whom these advantages have been united; few are there of those who sue for alliance, who come, as we do, to *give* to, rather than to *receive* security and credit from, those whom they call in to their aid. And as to the war wherein we may be useful, if any one of you thinks that it will not take place, he errs in his judgment, and does not consider that the Lacedemonians, through fear of your power, seek

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[4] *Lay up — remembrance.*] Such is the literal sense, which, more fully evolved, signifies: "you will confer a favour, which will be laid up and reposed in persons whose preservation will be an everlasting testimony of the favour so conferred." On the phrase χάριν κατατίθεσθαι I would compare Herod. 6, 41. δοκέοντες χάριν μεγάλην καταθήσεσθαι τῷ βασιλῆι. See also Herodian, 6, 9, 2. 2, 3, 15. Lucian, 3, 619. Diod. Sic. 6, 481.

[5] *Rarer good fortune.*] This elegant passage is imitated by Aristid. Panath. 1, 231. B. καίτοι τίς προθυμία λαμπροτέρα, τις εὐψυχία φανερωτέρα. See Hom. Il. 1, 476., cited by the Schol.

[6] *Appreciated — treasure.*] The Scholiast and Suid. explain ἐτιμησ. by ἠγοράσατε, for which they are censured by Stephens. But they seem not to have had the προ in their copies, which is here very significant, and is defended and illustrated by many classical examples, which I shall adduce in my edition; and, indeed, is rejected by no critic. Hence, there is the less excuse for Smith in omitting it. Is it possible that he can have chosen, for once, to consult and *follow* the Scholiast! I will only observe, that this whole passage is closely imitated by Agath. p. 79. s. f.

[7] *Mankind in general.*] Such, I think, with Goeller, is here the sense of the expression οἱ πολλοί; as is, indeed, apparent, from its standing in opposition to the Corcyreans and Corinthians.

[8] *Reputation.*] Not *glory*, as is commonly rendered, but the reputation of liberality, (for such is frequently the sense of ἀρετή). So several antient lexicographers cited by Goeller, explain it εὐδοξία, or ἀξίωσις τῆς ἀρετῆς.

[9] *In the records of time past.*] Such is the force of τῷ παντὶ, for which several MSS. have παρόντι. But παντὶ is defended and illustrated by Dionys. Hal. 1, 162, 31. ὃ δὲ πάντων μὲν ἔστιν ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις, σπανίως δέ τισιν ἐκ τοῦ παρελθόντος αἰῶνος ἐξεγένετο.

to go to war with you [10], and that the Corinthians, who have most influence with them, are hostile to you [11], and begin with us first, with a view to an attack upon you, that *we*, through common enmity, may not stand by each other in resisting their encroachments, and that *they* may not be disappointed in one or other of their views, either to humble us, or confirm their own power.[12] Our business[13], then, it must be to *antici-*

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[10] *Seek to go to war with you.*] Such is the force of πολεμ., which is one of the verbs *desiderative*, often used by our author, like those in *urio* of the Latin, and the conjugation תִּפְקֹדִי in the Hebrew.

With the φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ may be compared the νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν, in 1 Cor. where Koppe.

[11] *Are hostile to you.*] The causes of this are detailed in Mitford's Greece.

[12] *That they may not — power.*] Such I believe to be the sense of this difficult passage, the perplexity of which, Herman thinks has been occasioned by the author's avoiding a repetition of φθάσαι, which ought, properly, to have had a place after both the ἧς. If so, φθάσαι is now to be taken by itself, and depends upon ὥστε understood, in the sense, "so that they may not miss of two things in which to be beforehand with us." "Now (says Poppo) he who would not miss of *two* things, he, if he cannot get two, wishes to have *one*. Whence, 'that they may not miss of two,' is equivalent to 'that they may obtain one.'" And he thus expresses the sense: "neve duobus, quæ sibi parent, excidant, sed alterutrum potius prius, *quam in Athenienses impetum faciant*, consequantur, vel hoc ut Corcyræos, *si iis resistant et cedere nolint*, malis afficiant vel hoc, ut seipsos, *si Corcyræi perterriti iis subjiciantur*, corroborent atque potentiam suam augeant." In short, the only real difficulty is in φθάσαι, of which the Scholiast says there is an *hyperbaton;* though, in its present position, it is better to point it off thus, φθάσαι, and take it for εἰς, or πρὸς, τὸ φθάσαι. There is also an ellipsis of θατέρου. The sense of this cropped sentence, if expressed at full length, would have been, μηδὲ δυεῖν ἁμάρτωσιν, ἀλλὰ θάτερον φθάσωσιν, ἢ, &c. As examples of this idiom, Goeller adduces Soph. El. 1312., and Andoc. Or. de Myst.

[13] *Our business.*] I have, with the recent editors, adopted the reading ἡμέτερον, not so much from its being found in most MSS. (for in such minutiæ MS. authority is of little weight), as because it seems most suitable to the words following. This reading the editors might have supported by a passage in Herod. 5, 1., which our author probably had in view: Νῦν ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον, &c. Yet Herodian, 1, 5, 19., has ὑμέτερον ἤδη ἔργον εὑρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; and I confess that ὑμέτερον is more agreeable to what *preceded*. The formula τὸ ἔργον, with a possessive pronoun, is learnedly illustrated by Valckn. on Eurip. Ph. 447. The whole passage is imitated by Procop. p. 47, 32. and others. Indeed all the *verbs* used in this sentence are rare, and seldom found but in imitations of this passage. Amidst a variety of critical illustrations I will only adduce the following passages, which regard the *sentiment:* — Justin, l. 16, 1. "Priorem se petitum ab Alexandro adlegat; nec *fecisse* se, sed *occupasse* insidias." A. Gell. 7, 5. "Beneficia promissa opperiri oportet, neque ante remunerari quam facta sunt. *Injurias* autem imminentes præcavisse justum est, et magis quam expectavisse." It not impossible that Thucydides has in view the terse and pithy dict of Soph. Œd. Tyr. 617. Ὅταν ταχύς τις ὑπιβουλεύων λάθρα Χωρῇ, ταχὺν δεῖ κἀμὲ βουλεύειν πάλιν.

pate them, and, by mutually interchanging engagements of alliance, to *foreplot* rather than *counterplot* their machinations.

XXXIV. "But if they urge, that it is not just for you to receive into confederacy their colonists, let them learn[1] that every colony, so long as it meets with good usage, honours the parent state; when injuriously treated, is alienated from it.[2] For[3] colonists are not sent out to be slaves, but to be on a footing of equality with those who remain behind. Now that[4] *they* have been the injurers in respect of us is plain; for when we had invited them to a judicial determination of our differences concerning Epidamnus, they chose to follow up[5] their accusations by war, rather than substantiate them by any equitable procedure. And let their treatment of us, united as we are by bonds of consanguinity, serve as an example for

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[1] *Let them learn.*] Namely, 'what it seems they know not, and are slow in apprehending.' Stephens has alone perceived this idiom, which is also found in 1 Tim. 5, 4. *μανθανέτωσαν πρῶτον τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εὐσεβεῖν*; where see my note.

[2] *Every colony — from it.*] This is a maxim which ought never to be absent from the recollection of those who are called upon to govern colonies, and which of itself is sufficient to regulate the conduct of parent states. It is good treatment alone which can prevent that alienation likely in time to occur, especially when the parent state and the colony are widely separated; since distance of situation occasions separate, and even opposite, interests; and in the ardour of competition, and the conflict of clashing interests, the affection even of consanguinity grows cold, and then nought but the endearing recollection of that hand which guided their infant steps, and "led them up to man," can preserve any sort of attachment.

[3] *For.*] The *γὰρ* has reference to a clause omitted; q. d. "and to this kind treatment they are justly entitled, for they are not," &c. In the *they* of the original (for which I have substituted *colonists*) the construction is *ad sensum*. The passage is imitated by Procop. p. 106, 4.

[4] *Now that they, &c.*] The doctrine just laid down the orator now applies to the case of the Corinthians; and here, perhaps, there is an anticipation of the objection, that the alienation was produced by injurious treatment on the part of the *Corcyreans*. The argument proceeds upon the principle that those who decline judicial scrutiny, thereby tacitly proclaim their guilt.

[5] *Follow up.*] Literally, *urge forward*. The term cannot possibly mean *meet*, as it is rendered in the Lex. Thucyd. I would illustrate it from Æschyl. Choeph. 975. Blomf. *ὡς τόνδ' ἐγὼ μετῆλθον ἐνδίκως μόρον, Τὸν μητρός, Αἰγίσθου γὰρ οὐ λέγω μόρον*, where the learned editor remarks: "Verbum forense. In judicio accusatus dicebatur *ὁ φεύγων*, accusator erat *ὁ διώκων*." I add Dio Cass. 349, 2. *ὅσους μήδενι ἀξιοχρέῳ ἐγκλήματι μετελθεῖν ἐδύναντο*.

your instruction [6], so that ye may not be led astray [7] by their sophistry, but may at once and flatly deny [8] them the assistance they entreat. For he who repents the seldomest of gratifying the wishes of his foes, will pass through life with most security.[9]

XXXV. "But, furthermore, neither will you break the *treaty* with the Lacedemonians by receiving us, since we are allies of neither party. For in that it is expressed, that whatever of the Grecian states is confederate with neither, shall be

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[6] *For your instruction.*] i. e. as a proof what *you* may expect. The ὑμῖν is a *dativus commodi;* q. d. for your information as to what *you* may expect.

[7] *Led astray — entreat.*] Such seems to be the full sense of ἀπάτῃ μὴ παράγεσθαι, which is strangely rendered by Portus, "ne ab ipsis in fraudem inducamini;" which misled Hobbes, who translates, "not to be made their instrument." But the Corinthians did not so much ask the Athenians to assist them in subduing the Corcyreans, as they attempted to show them that they ought not to interfere in the dispute between a colony and the mother country.

[8] *Flatly deny, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the difficult expression of the original, which is omitted by Hobbes. Its obscurity was increased by an error in the reading, εὐθέως for εὐθέος, which has been rightly emended by Bekker, but has, most injudiciously, been restored by Goeller, who assigns the following sense: "Auxilium vero vestrum implorantibus ne statim sine hæsitando præbeatis." But this is scarcely sense at all, and certainly not that of the author. Still worse is the *ex tempore* of Portus. Besides, εὐθέως, which Goeller has brought back, is so far from being supported by authority, that I suspect it to have been a typographical error of the early editions. *No* authority, indeed, would be sufficient to establish it, since it is quite ungrammatical. Εὐθέος is clearly the true reading; and the sense was alone seen by Gottleb., who renders it by "sine morâ et hæsitatione." Perhaps, too, this is meant by the ἀσκέπτως of the Scholiast. As Gottleb. and Bekker have omitted to establish the phrase by authority, and such is not found in the lexicons, I shall add a few examples. Aristid. T. 2, 325. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος εἰπεῖν, and 1, 44. 3, 618. Procop. p. 23. et sæpe. Arrian E. A. 17, 4. Hence is illustrated Eurip. Hipp. 494. τὸν εὐθὺν ἐξειπεῖν λόγον, where Monk says it is for ἀπ' εὐθέος (or, rather, he should have said, ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος). And indeed our author himself, l. 3, 43., has ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθέος λεγόμενα; where, however, the same mistake occurs in some MSS. Indeed the scribes seem to have been leagued against the phrase; and what is more, their blunders defile the text of not a few passages of the classical writers. Thus in Pausan. 7, 12, 1. and 14, 4. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως πολέμου ἄρασθα has been retained, and gravely defended by Kuhn. So in Niceph. Hist. p. 13., Paris, the editors retain ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως; as also in Heliod. 2, 241, 2. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως λοιδορουμένη, where the sense is, "bluntly reprimanded." And the εὐθ. is illustrated by the passage of Eurip. above cited, where the sense is, *to speak out the blunt and downright word, love.* Smith has here stumbled upon the true sense of the phrase; but, with his usual ill-fortune, refers the words to the *Corcyreans.*

[9] *For he — security.*] It is truly observed by Dionys. Hal. 782, 14. κρείσσων προνοία τῆς μεταμελείας.

at liberty to accede to whichever alliance it may please. And hard indeed were it if *they* must be at liberty to man their ships both from their confederates and from the rest of Greece (and, in no small degree, from your subjects), but *we* must be excluded both from the alliance we propose[1], and also from every aid elsewhere to be derived. What then, they will, forsooth, account it an *injustice* if you be persuaded to grant our suit! True; but we shall have a much greater cause of complaint if you grant it *not*.[2] For ye will reject our suit who are in danger[3], and are not your enemies; but of those who are your foes, and ready to attack you, ye will not only be no hinderers, but will even suffer them to add to their forces from your own dominions (a thing truly unjust); whereas, perfectly right were it that you should either hinder them from raising mercenaries out of your territory, or else send succours to us, in whatever mode you may be inclined to do it; or rather, and chiefly, that you openly receive us as allies, and succour us. Now many are the advantages (as we hinted at the commencement of our discourse) which we have to show; the principal whereof (and the surest pledge of mutual fidelity[4]) is, that *the same persons are enemies to us*

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[1] *We propose.*] Or *aim at.* Such is, I think, the force of the somewhat uncertain expression προκειμένης, which is rendered by Portus, *præsenti;* by Smith, *most inviting.* The version I have adopted is defended by Plut. T. 9, 96. cited in Steph. Thes. *αὕτη γὰρ αὐτοῖς προὔκειτο ἡ ὁδός*, and Galen, *προκείμενος σκόπος.* See also other examples there adduced from Isocr., Herodian, Polyb., and other writers.

[2] *What then — grant it not.*] I have here seen no reason to deviate from the punctuation of the editors up to Bredov. and Haack, who place a *comma* after *ὠφελείας*, and consequently suspend δήσονται, &c. on the *εἰ* preceding. I do not deny but that instances may be found to countenance this, where *εἶτα* comes in at the close of a train of objections or objurgations. But here the preceding sentence is so evidently *bimembris*, that to tack to, this clause, gives it a very awkward air; whereas, according to the old punctuation, there is infinitely more spirit. The *εἶτα* has the force treated on by Hoogev. de Part. p. 211, 8. on "objections by interruption," *quid enim!* Now here the objection of the adversary is first *stated*, and then *answered.* If the *new* punctuation be admitted, the version of *Smith* will best represent the sense.

[3] *In danger.*] It was thought by the Greeks disgraceful to refuse the request of persons in peril and *supplicants* for aid.

[4] *Surest pledge of mutual fidelity.*] Such seems to be the sense of this difficult clause, which Portus, by rendering *κατὰ πόδα*, contrives to elude. The versions of Hobbes, "which is manifest enough," and Smith, "a point too clear to require proof," are intelligible, but scarcely apt, or worthy of the author. Now *πίστις*, among its other senses, has that of *bond, pledge,*

both [5], and those not weak, but able to make deserters [6] from their alliance feel the weight of their resentment; and when a nautical, and not land alliance is offered you, the consequence of rejection is not alike. Yea, rather, your principal aim ought to be, to suffer, as far as you are able, no other state to possess a navy, or, at least, whoever may be the strongest in that arm [7], such to make your friend.

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assurance, &c.; as 4, 74 and 86.; and that seems to be the true sense here. The version I have adopted, is also confirmed by Gail and Haack.

Ὅπερ, *which thing*, i. e. our having the same common enemy. This sentiment is equally profound and true; for the Stagyrite somewhere says that "there is no surer means to abate enmity, or restore decayed friendship, than to have the same common enemy."

[5] *The same — both.*] Such seems to be the sense of this awkward clause, The reading ἡμῖν is supported by the best MSS., and adopted by all the recent editors; and with reason, since ὑμῖν offers a far weaker sense. The chief difficulty is contained in the ἦσαν, for which one should rather expect εἶσιν. Now Kistem. takes it for ἦσαν ἄν; as, in Latin and German, the imperfect is put for the subjunctive pluperfect. And he assigns the following sense: "foret nobis idem hostis, si inire nobiscum societatem velletis." But this is a very precarious solution. I should rather suppose that the imperfect is used with reference to what went before; q. d. "and as I at first adverted to the *advantages* of this alliance, and showed that the same persons were enemies to us both." Since, however, it is impossible to express this in a translation, I have used the *present* time, by which there is no real alteration of sense.

The argument then, is, that they both have the same persons for their enemies, and therefore ought to stand by each other.

[6] *Deserters.*] The word μεταστάντας does not equally apply to both. The Corcyreans might be called *deserters*, the Athenians *seceders*. It may, indeed, seem strange that a *withdrawing from alliance* should incur such heavy wrath and punishment. But it must be remembered that alliance or confederacy then implied the subserviency, if not subjection, of several small states to the leading member of a league. Now any withdrawing from this was tantamount to a shaking off subjection; and as the retiring member must pass over to another, and perhaps hostile confederacy, it involved enmity. And though this does not apply to the case of the Athenians in respect to the Corinthians, yet in the then state of Grecian politics, any disavowal of alliance, in its proper import, was an avowal of hostility, and little less than a declaration of war. See Book V. throughout.

[7] *Strongest in that arm.*] This seems to be the closest version of ἐχυρώτατος, or, as perhaps we ought to read from the early editions and some MSS. ὀχυρώτ., a word which is found in the best writers of the *Old Attic*, as the dramatists, Xenophon, and others. So Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 79. edits ὀχυροίσι, and rightly remarks on ἐχυροῖσι, "quæ scriptura ubicunque occurrit in alterum reformanda est, quicquid Wass. ad Thucyd. 1, 35. et alii dixerint." The learned editor, of course, means, every where in *the Old Attic writers*. I cannot, therefore, approve of its being brought by Irmisch into Herodian, 1, 8, 6., though he has collected much matter to establish the use of ὀχυρ., which is assuredly the more antient term, and was applied both to things and persons.

XXXVI. " And whosoever shall judge that the course of proceeding pointed out is indeed *expedient*, but fears lest by yielding to it he shall break the treaty, let him consider that his *fear*, if accompanied with strength, will rather intimidate his foes; but that his *courage*, having, if he rejects us, less strength, will be the less an object of fear to powerful enemies [1]; and withal [reflect] that he is now deliberating not so much for Corcyra as for Athens, and that he does not forecast the best for her future welfare, in reference to an approaching and all but present [2] war, when, by considering [3]

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[1] *And whosoever — enemies.*] Such appears to me the true sense of this obscure passage, which has not a little perplexed the translators and interpreters. In determining its meaning, we are to bear in mind that it is one of those acute dicta which not unfrequently occur in the orations of Thucydides; and, consequently, ought not to be too rigorously interpreted, since something of accuracy and truth is usually sacrificed to a witty turn, or a pointed antithesis. Had the commentators kept this principle in view, it might have *assisted* them in more successfully coping with the real difficulty of the passage, with which they have adventured to close. Haack remarks, that τὸ δεδιὸς is " fear lest the enemy avenge the broken treaty," and θαρσοῦν is " self-sufficient confidence." This may be true as far as it goes; yet the commentators all fail in seizing the complete sense, though each may have successfully discovered the truth in parts. Now I apprehend that the chief difficulty centres in τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ, ἰσχὺν ἔχον; and the best mode of removing it will be to consider that in conjunction with its antithetical clause τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὄν. In the latter, the words μὴ δεξαμένου are, I think, exegetical, and meant to disclose the διανοία concealed under the ῥητὸν, or expressed. And therefore the words should be pointed thus: τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν, μὴ δεξαμένου, ἀσθενὲς ὄν. The construction is: τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν (αὐτοῦ) μὴ δεξαμένου (αὐτοὺ ἡμᾶς). " His confidence, if he does not receive us." The sense of the clause is thus apparent, and the only way to make the antithetical one clear also, is to express some similar exegetical words, which being omitted, and left to be understood, have caused all the difficulty. Now these are δεξαμένου ἡμᾶς, which being supplied make all plain, and are only omitted, because they seem *implied* in the words following, ἰσχὺν ἔχον, i. e. if it have the strength resulting from receiving us. Τὸ θαρσοῦν is that self-sufficient confidence which might lead the Athenians so to rely on their strength, as not to break the treaty for the sake of adding to it. Now *that* might well be called weak, as being productive of less strength, and therefore less the object of apprehension, especially to the powerful. Finally ἀδεέστερον, in spite of Haack's demur, must have the sense *non formidandum*, as was pointed out by Gottleb., and long before him by the Scholiast.

[2] *All but present.*] Such is the closest sense of ὅσον οὐ παρόντα, which is probably the true reading; though I cannot dismiss the ὅσον οὔπω with so little ceremony as it is done by Duker, and the late editors; for, to the authority of the Marg. and *one* MS. I have to add that such must have been read by Appian, who almost *copies* this passage at Bell. Civ. tom. 2. 439, 60. and 886, 21. I would observe, that οὐ τὰ κράτιστα is put, by an elegant Atticism, for κακῶς.

[3] *Considering.*] Literally, *looking round at, surveying.* See St. Thes. nov. edit., to whose examples I add Dio Cass. 821, 10.

only the *present*, he hesitates to adjoin to him [4] a state whose friendship or whose enmity must be most critical [5], situated, as it is, so opportunely for the passage [6] to Italy and Sicily, that it can hinder the approach of any navy thence to Peloponnesus, and further [7] the passage of any one hence to that destination; not to mention its commodiousness for many other purposes.

"But to sum up the whole argument, both as to generals and particulars [8], in the briefest compendium, *hence* may you learn not to reject our alliance. There being but three navies of any consideration in Greece, yours, and ours, and that of the Corinthians, if you permit two of those to be united into

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[4] *Adjoin.*] Literally, *adjoin to oneself, gain.*

[5] *Critical.*] Καιρὸς signifies properly a *point* of time, the *tempus opportunum* (from κάω, *pungo*); and thence it denotes a *crisis*, what is most momentous either for good or evil. So 2, 42. καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης, &c.

[6] *Opportunely for the passage.*] Xen. Hist. 6, 2, 9. has almost the same words, and with the same arguments respecting Corcyra: κεῖσθαι ἐν καλλίστῳ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ Σικελίας παράπλου. The passage is also (to omit Abresch's citations from Procop. and Dio Cass.) imitated by Pausan. 3, 2, 7. τὰ πολίσματα—ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ τοῦ παράπλου. and 7, 18, 5. τοῦ παράπλου νομίζων καλῶς τῆς Πάτρας. Menand. Hist. ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσα θέσεως. So also Thucyd. 3, 92. In this and such cases περὶ or ἕνεκα is to be supplied, Angl. *for.* In Latin it is expressed by the dativus commodi; as in Tacit. Agr. 24. "Hibernia — Gallico quoque mari opportuna." I should not have noticed this, but that I wished to rescue the passage from rash emendations, or mistaken constructions.

[7] *Further.*] Literally, *set on its course, convoy.* See the numerous examples in Steph. Thes. At τὸ ἐνθένδε must be repeated ναυτικόν. By ἐνθένδε is meant, not Peloponnesus, as Hobbes thought, but *Athens.* It is observable that the Corcyreans seem to have guessed at the ambitious designs of the Athenians respecting Sicily and Italy, which, indeed, were so much the more excusable, since as their great political rivals were intent upon excluding them from Greece, so they endeavoured to make interest in what might be called a new Greece; and had this purpose been steadily pursued under the prudent guidance of Pericles, and not hurried forward to wild and Quixotic adventures by the democratical party, it might have been well for Athens, and indeed for Greece itself.

[8] *Both — particulars.*] Such seems to be the sense of the clause τοῖς τε ξύμπασι, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον. So our great poet, "To sum the whole, the close of all." The Scholiast, Smith, Poppo, and Haack refer it to *persons*, not *things*, rendering, "for all and each of you." But that is frigid and inept. I agree with the older commentators, who refer it to *things*, i. e. *momenta.* Though I cannot, with Gottleb., understand ἐν. The ξύμπασι is rather a dative of object, *for;* and καθ' ἕκαστον is also an adverbial phrase. There is also an ellipsis of ἵνα λέγωμεν. Κεφαλαῖον signifies a *compendium* or *summary;* as Appian, 1, 426, 2., imitated hence. Ἐν κεφ. often occurs without βράχει. Sometimes the κεφ. is omitted; as in Eurip. Suppl. 566 βούλει συνάψω μῦθον ἐν βράχει.

one, by letting the Corinthians first seize us, you will have to engage with the Peloponnesians and Corcyreans *combined;* but, if you receive us, you will be enabled to maintain the contest against them with a superiority of force."[9]

Thus spake the Corcyreans; and after them the Corinthians, to the following effect: —

XXXVII. " Since these Corcyreans[1] have not contented themselves with haranguing[2] on the subject of your receiving them, but have thought fit to represent that we have treated them injuriously, and now unjustly go to war with them, it is necessary for us first to consider both these points[3], ere we proceed to the rest of what we have to say; and that in order that you may previously become the better acquainted with the nature of our request, and may not unadvisedly, and without good reason, reject their petition.[4]

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[9] *Superiority of force.*] Such is, I believe, the true sense of πλείοσι ναυσὶ, and not merely, as it is rendered by all translators, " with more ships," which would be frigid and inept; and the reading of most MSS. and editions ταῖς ὑμετέραις makes worse of it. The orator did not mean to tell them that, after the addition of the Corcyrean fleet, they would have *more ships* wherewith to fight against the Corinthians, but that they would have a *superiority of force.* For though there were but three navies in Greece, yet it might have happened that two out of the three being united, would *not* have been equal in force to the third. Whereas, by the union of the Athenians and Corcyreans, there *would* be a superiority of force against the Corinthians. Thus at πλείοσι we must understand τῶν Κορινθίων or τῶν Πελοποννησίων; for, by substituting *Peloponnesians* for *Corinthians,* the orator takes for granted that the Athenians will also be at war with the Peloponnesians. I would compare a similar passage of Soph. El. 1370. εἰ δ' ἐφέξετον, Φροντίζεσθ' ὡς τούτοις τε καὶ σοφωτέροις ἄλλοις πλείοσιν μαχούμενοι.

[1] *These Corcyreans.*] The pronoun is here and just after, and indeed often in the best writers, used *contemptim;* and the omission of the *article* tends to the same effect.

[2] *Haranguing.*] Literally, making their harangue. The article is for the possessive pronoun.

[3] *Both these points.*] In which they will show, first, that the Athenians cannot in justice receive the Corcyreans; and, secondly, that they are not treated worse than their deserts. The plural is used, because, though only one was the speaker, yet, since he was accompanied (as we may infer from c. 31.) by several συμπρεσβεῖς who were the representatives of the whole state, both propriety and decorum required that he should use the plural number. Thus at l. 3, 52. fin. the Platæans, requesting to speak in arrest of judgment, are said to have appointed Astymachus their spokesman; yet it is added, καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε, and he in his oration uses the plural, as being the representative of the rest.

[4] *Request—petition.*] Bredow remarks that ἀξίωσιν denotes a *request of*

"Now they say[5] that it was for prudential reasons[6] that they have hitherto declined the alliance of any state; whereas this their practice proceeded from mere villainy[7], not from any laudable motive, but as not caring to have any as aiders in, and therefore witnesses of, their iniquities, nor to be put to the blush at calling them in to do evil.[8] And their city, withal, placed as it is in a situation self-sufficient[9], and independent of foreign aid, makes them judges of those whom

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right and equity; χρείαν, a *petition of necessity.* If so, the former might be rendered *claim;* but as ἀξίωσιν χάριτος occurs a little further on, I have preferred *request.*

[5] *Now they say.*] Or, "they say then." The δὲ has the inchoative sense.

[6] *Prudential reasons.*] This is so evidently (from c. 32.) the sense intended, that one would wonder how Gail could render the term *sagesse.*

[7] *Villany.*] Κακουργία answers to the *malitia* of the Latin (not our *malice*), and denotes, like it, deliberate wickedness, proceeding on plan and principle.

[8] *Nor to be put — evil.*] Such seems to be the sense of this awkward passage, of which the very variety of readings shows how much it puzzled the antients, as it has done the moderns. Of these, however, παρακαλοῦντες is the only one that bears the impress of truth. Indeed upon this the recent editors and commentators are agreed, though not upon the *sense.* The question is, at *what* they would have blushed? At calling in allies, when they had acted as allies to none; say Gottleb., Kistemm., and Goeller. Or, because they would have been put to the blush at their seeing their crimes, and admonishing them to the contrary. But the former is too frigid and feeble; and the latter was already expressed in οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν, nor can it be elicited from the words. The most natural and only justifiable interpretation seems to be that of Bauer and Haack, which I have adopted. The sentiment contained in οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν is illustrated by Eurip. Hipp. 405, 6. ἐμοὶ γὰρ εἴη μήτε λανθάνειν καλὰ μήτ' αἰσχρὰ δρώσῃ μάρτυρας πολλοὺς ἔχειν. And the words οὔτε παρ. αἰσχ. by Eurip. Hipp. 1001. ἐπίσταμαι φίλοις χρῆσθαι — οἷσιν αἰδὼς μήτ' ἐπαγγέλλειν κακὰ (petere inhonesta) μήτ' ἀνθυπουργεῖν αἰσχρὰ τοῖσι χρωμένοις. Where the old reading ἀπαγγέλλειν (which was judiciously restored by Monk, though again thrown out by Matthiæ) is confirmed and illustrated by this passage of Thucydides.

[9] *Self-sufficient, and, &c.*] Such is the full sense contained in αὐτάρκη, which the Scholiast, Portus, Smith, and others strangely misconceive. They assign to it the sense *suitable to, correspondent to.* But this signification of the word is very questionable; for, though it is found in Hederic (*not* in Stephens), yet, in the passage by him referred to, it bears no such sense. I cannot omit to observe, that in the words of the Scholiast there is an error which it is strange should have escaped so many critics. Συμβαίνει is susceptible of no suitable sense. I confidently propose συμφώνει. Or we may supply ἁρμόττων after πολίτων. So further on, ἁρμόττει αὐτῶν τῇ γνώμῃ. Here may be compared 2, 36. where Athens is called πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσιν — καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην.

they injure [10], further than the compacts of civil society permit. For though they very rarely visit the coasts of their neigh-

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10 *Judges — injure, &c.*] There are no less than *three* terms in this short sentence, of which, though they may, nay *must* present difficulty to most readers, the commentators have omitted to treat, except the last, and that very inadequately. These are, δικασταὶς, βλάπτουσι, and ξυνθήκας. The explanation of them is connected with that of the terms κακουργία, and ἀδικήματα, &c., just before. These, it may be observed, are harsh terms, and the charges seem very serious. Yet on all this, the commentators preserve an altum silentium. Now, we are justified in supposing that much of exaggeration, if not of falsehood, is mixed up with, we may suppose, some portion of truth. I am diffident in expressing any opinion on a question where assertion, speculation, and hypothesis are easy, and proof arduous. But, certainly, this shameful injustice and injury, without redress, where the injurers are the judges, cannot be understood of *piracy*, or robbery on the high sea. Though the Scholiast seems so to have taken the passage, since he understands ὑποδέχεσθαι just after, of receiving ships driven thither by stress of weather, and plundering them. This is inconsistent with the context; since, in such a case, it were absurd to talk of δικασταὶς, or ξυνθήκας, and the like. Nor could Corcyra have arrived at nautical power and commercial wealth by such means. It can, then, only, I suspect, have reference to what the *Corinthians* thought *extortions* in the exaction of port dues and customs, considered as taken from states of the same nation. The δικασταὶ probably may allude to a *board of judges*, like our courts of admiralty, in which persons who complained of exaction, or confiscation for some alleged infraction of the commercial laws, had to appeal to have their cause tried. Now as the *judges* were, doubtless, Corcyreans, so the Corcyreans at large might, in the distorted view of rivals and enemies, be regarded as judges in their own cause. They could not truly be accused of fraud and injustice for taking *customs*, since such were required at *all ports* (Corinth, as well as the rest, which may partly be the sense of the οὐ πάντος ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κ. ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς), to defray the expenses incurred in forming or preserving them.

As to the ξυνθήκας, the word properly signifies a compact, covenant, or agreement: and some think there is a reference to arbiters, or umpires, to settle such claims between the government and individuals; but of this there is not a shadow of proof, or even probability. Goeller renders, "potius quam ut fœdera ineant;" but that sense is neither to be elicited from the words, nor is it suitable. I have long thought (and I am supported by the opinion of Gottleb.) that it has reference to those tacit and unwritten, but not less real covenants, which exist by the usages of civil society, and by which man is forbidden to prey upon his fellow man, when he is compelled (it may be) to have recourse to his assistance. Now, in the close intercourse which took place between Greece, Italy, and Sicily, and in the then imperfect state of navigation, it could not be but that many should, either in going or returning, be thrown into the situation described in the words following; from which also it appears that Corcyra had not only much direct intercourse with foreign nations, but served for a commercial depot both for imports and exports, and a sort of naval caravansera for Greece and Italy.

Κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι is compared by Goeller with 2, 21. κατὰ ξυστάσεις γίγνεσθαι.

bours, yet they frequently receive into their ports others [11] who touch there from necessity. And for this [12] they hold out this specious abstinence from alliance; not that they may not be drawn to commit injustice with others, but that they may themselves commit it apart and alone; that whenever they have the upper hand they may (as they do) forcibly plunder, and, whenever they may escape detection, defraud; and that whatever they may lay hands on, they may impudently brave it out.[13] And yet, if they had been, as they pretend to be, persons of integrity, in proportion to their being inaccessible [14], so far would they have cultivated probity by the mutual interchange [15] of justice with others.

XXXVIII. "Such, however, have they *not* been, either towards others or towards us; and, though our colonists, they

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[11] *Neighbours — others.*] There cannot be a stronger proof that πέλας, with the article, signifies *any* person with whom we have to do, than is afforded by the present passage, where it is explained by ἄλλους just after.

[12] *And for this, &c.*] Literally, "in this consists their specious abstinence from alliance which," &c.; "this is the drift and object of it, for they do it." Here must be supplied πράγματι. There is a blending of two phrases. Goeller understands by τούτῳ the *urbis suæ opportunitate.*

[13] *Brave it out.*] Such is, I think, the sense of ἀναισχυντῶσι, which is not, as many think, for πλεονεκτῶσιν, since *that* has been expressed; and this is *another* trait. The sense is, "impudently either deny the charge of peculation, or admit it and brave it out." The word is rare in this *absolute* use; but it occurs in Arist. Thesm. 708. τοιαῦτα ποιῶν ὅδ' ἀναισχυντεῖ; Porphyr. de Abstin. 1, 56. τίς λοιπὸν ἀπολογία — ἀναισχυντεῖν βουλομένοις. Isocr. Plat. 7, 518. οἶμαι δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐ τολμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἀναισχυντεῖν. Liban. Or. 623. Hence Suidas explains ἀπερυθριάσαι in Arist. Nub. 1216. by ἀναισχυντῆσαι. The present passage has been imitated by Heliod. l. 8. λανθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι καὶ ἐρυθριῶσιν, ἁλισκόμενοι δὲ ἀπαναισχυντοῦσι. And Joseph. 169, 26. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες — ἂν ἀναισχυντῶσι περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν. Lucian 3, 55. has the fuller expression ἀναισχυντεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀληθείαν.

[14] *Inaccessible.*] i. e. to those who should attempt to compel them to do them right; namely, from their occupying so commanding and almost impregnable a situation. This has been so fully shown by Bauer, Kistemm., and Haack, to be the true sense, that it is strange Benedict should attempt to support that of the Scholiast, Hobbes, and Smith, which is neither sanctioned by the usus loquendi, nor is suitable to the context; whereas ἀληπτότερος is used in the former sense at c. 82. and 141., and elsewhere.

[15] *Mutual interchange, &c.*] Portus renders, "jure cum aliis disceptando." Hobbes, "by giving and taking what is their due." But nothing of giving and taking seems meant. Perhaps ἀληπτότεροι, διδοῦσι, and δεχομένοις τὰ δίκαια are forensic terms; and then ἀληπτ. will signify *inaccessible to the appeals of justice, unarraignable;* διδοῦσι, doing *justice;* and δεχ., *accepting and acquiescing in what is offered by others.*

have all along withheld allegiance [1], and now make war against us; pleading, forsooth, that they were not sent out to suffer injury; but neither (say we) did we ourselves settle them there [2] to be insulted by them, but to be their rulers, and be treated with all due respect.[3] Our other colonies, at least render us honour, and we are especially beloved by our colonists. It is plain, then, that if to the rest we be acceptable, but to these alone offensive, there can be no good cause for this disaffection [4], nor should we wage war with any colour of reason, unless we had been basely treated. But even had we been in the wrong, it had been praiseworthy for *them* to have

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[1] *Withheld allegiance.*] i. e. been in revolt. The present tense ἀφεστᾶσι, is used to denote continuity of action, and habit. The *all along* is meant to refute the argument, that they only *now* are hostile because they were ill-treated. The διάπαντος is well illustrated by Herod. 3, 49, 5. νῦν δὲ ἀεὶ ἐπείτεν ἔκτισαν (Corinthii) τὴν νῆσον, εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἐοντες (*though they are*) ἐωυτοῖσι συγγένεες.

[2] *Settle them there.*] This adverts to the great expense and pains which the mother country must have been at to settle the colony, on account of which she may justly claim its obedience and respect.

[3] *All due respect.*] The important word τὰ εἰκότα, *fitting, due,* is omitted by Smith. *What* the antients conceived this to be, appears from Dionys. Hal. 142. ult. ὅσης γὰρ ἀξιοῦσι τιμῆς τυγχάνειν οἱ πατέρες παρὰ τῶν ἐγγόνων, τοσαύτης οἱ κτίσαντες τὰς πόλεις παρὰ τῶν ἀποίκων.

[4] *Offensive — disaffection.*] Literally, we ought not, should not, be offensive to these. The difficulty here has arisen from a misconception of the idiom, which has an exact parallel in our own language.

The sense of the next clause has been controverted, partly from a variety of readings, and partly from certain too rigid notions of grammatical propriety. For ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν εὐπρεπῶς the recent editors have given ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς, except that Haack edits ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν ἐκπρεπῶς, which seems inconsistent; for either (I conceive) we must read ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν εὐπρεπῶς, or ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς. Now, of these two readings, I prefer the former. The latter does violence to the construction, which is suspended on δῆλον ὅτι, and yields a sense at once abrupt and inept; not to say that it would be difficult to establish the signification those commentators affix to ἐκπρεπῶς, i. e. *extraordinario modo.* Thucyd. has, I believe, not used the word; and the manner in which he uses the *adjective* ἐκπρεπὴς, at 3, 55., gives no countenance to any such signification. Whereas εὐπρεπῶς he frequently uses, and in the sense which I have assigned in my version. So 4, 60 and 61. οἵ τ' ἐπίκλητοι, εὐπρεπῶς ἄδικοι ἐλθόντες, εὐλόγως ἄπρακτοι ἀπίασι. And though it may seem that in the present passage the antithesis is stronger in ἐκπρεπῶς than in εὐπρεπῶς, yet even *that* principle, in an author so varied as Thucydides, is fallacious. Neither is the objection of Poppo and Goeller, on the score of grammatical propriety, of any weight, since it will only prove that one must not render, "nor should we have carried on war against them;" which will not apply to the rendering, "nor should we now, with any decent reason, carry on war against them, unless we were exceedingly aggrieved."

yielded to our wrath, disgraceful for us to have pressed too far on their forbearance. But, indeed, it has arisen from the insolent license of wealth[5] that they have, in many other respects, done us injury; and now this our city of Epidamnus, when afflicted with calamity, they claimed not; but when we went to its aid, they forcibly seized, and still retain it.

XXXIX. "They say, forsooth, that they were previously ready to have had the cause between us tried by fair arbitration[1]: but *he* ought not to be thought to speak any thing worthy of attention who calls another to this, himself having the upper hand, and being sure of his purpose; but he who, before judicial process, makes alike his words and his actions to tally.[2] Now they, *not before* they besieged the place, but when

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[5] *Insolent license of wealth.*] This is imitated by Demosth. contra Med. 99. Taylor. ἐπ' ἐξουσίας καὶ πλούτου ὑβριστήν. Procop. Arcan. Hist. 36, 34. ἐξουσία πλούτῳ, where I would read πλούτου. Hence may be illustrated a fine sentiment in Aristot. Rhet. p. 53. συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πένησι, διὰ τὴν ἐνδεῖαν, ἐπιθυμεῖν χρημάτων· τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις, διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν (scil. τοῦ πλούτου) ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν μὴ ἀναγκαίων ἡδονῶν.

[1] *Ready — arbitration.*] Literally, "they were ready to be impleaded with us in a suit at law." Hence is illustrated Matt. 5, 40 τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι.

[2] *But he ought not — tally.*] Such I conceive to be the sense of this most obscure and difficult passage. For the true *reading* (and as dependent thereon, the true *interpretation*) we are indebted (*after the Scholiast*) to Bredow and Poppo, who were the first to discover that τηρεῖν was a mere gloss, and that, too, proceeding on a false view of the sense, which, if it could be fairly elicited from the words, is best expressed by Hobbes, *stand to judgment* (supplying δίκην after τηρεῖν). But τηρεῖν is plainly a gloss, and indeed is omitted in most MSS., and among the rest, the Cod. K. Being cancelled, then, the sense will be what I have given in a close rendering, though it may be more fully expressed thus: "But it is *like saying nothing*, for one who has the upper hand, and is safe in possession of any thing, to pretend to refer its property to *judicial decision*. Such are mere words of course." Τι signifies here, as often, any thing *to the purpose*. Τὸν προὔχοντα, the superior in strength; as at 6, 18. The only difficulty rests in ἤν, where there is an ellipsis of εἰς, of which (as the commentators have omitted to do it) I will give some examples. Diod. Sic. 6, 261. προεκαλέσατο τὴν δίκην ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον. Dionys. Hal. 448, 13. προκαλεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον. Xen. Hist. 7, 4. δίκας τῶν φλιασίων προκαλουμένων. The relative is for the pronoun and a particle, ἄλλα ταύτην; an idiom not unfrequent in our author. So just after, οὓς χρῆν. Διαγωνίζεσθαι is also a forensic term (well explained by the Scholiast, δικάζεσθαι), and has reference to the contest between the two pleaders. Thus the whole of the phraseology exactly corresponds to the real state of the case. For an offer

they saw that we would not permit its seizure, then they brought forward this specious offer of judicial arbitration. And now, not content with wronging us there, they are come *here*, and even ask of you to be, I will not say their *fellow-leaguers*, but their *fellow-rogues*[3], and to receive them on the ground of being our enemies.[4] Whereas, they ought *then* to have addressed themselves to you when they were most in security, and not now, when we are wronged, and they are in peril[5]; not when you, who never then partook in their power, must now impart your succour, and though unconnected with[6] their transgressions, will bear an equal share of our blame. Long since, I say, should they have communicated of their power, in order that the results should be common to both. But, as you have not been participants in their crimes, it is not just that you should be sharers in the *consequences* of these crimes.[7]

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to refer any thing to arbitration which has already been forcibly seized, and is still retained, may well seem "saying nothing," especially when, as in the present instance, superiority of power may enable the possessor to resist the decision, if it be unfavourable. By *making his words and actions tally*, is meant, relinquishing the object in dispute pending the time of arbitration.

[3] *Fellow-rogues.*] It is difficult, if not impossible, to do justice to the antithetical cast of the original in any translation. Hobbes renders, "not their confederates, but their conspirators." But *conspirators* does not express the sense of the ἀδικεῖν. *Comrades* and *comrogues* would have been still nearer; only *comrades* is liable to the same objection.

[4] *On the ground — enemies.*] This has reference to that passage of the oration of the Corcyreans, where they urge the arguments of the Corinthians being their common enemy.

[5] *Not now, when — peril.*] This passage seems to have been in the mind of Livy, 4, 24. "Nec adversarum rerum quærere socios, cum quibus spem integram communicati non sint." And Tacit. Germ. 36. fin. "Contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex æquo socii, cum in secundis minores fuissent;" where *minores* answers to the Greek ἥσσονες.

[6] *Unconnected with, &c.*] Literally, apart from, having no hand in. So Herod. 9, 69. ἀπογ. τῆς μάχης. The passage is imitated by Liban. Or. 204. ἁπάντων γὰρ ἀποπώτατον τῆς μὲν ἐγχειρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφεστηκέναι, τῆς αἰτιας τοῖς πεποιήκοσι κοινωνῆσαι.

[7] *But, as you have not — crimes.*] This sentence I have ventured to insert, though it has been condemned by almost all the critics, and cancelled by Bekker and Goeller. We may, I think, more easily account for its *omission*, in something more than one third of the MSS. (and of only one family), than its *insertion* in the rest. The cause of its omission was partly the *homœoteleuton*, and partly since it *seems* not very necessary, and *is* difficult, for the reason which I shall mention. As to the reasons assigned for accounting it a mere *pannum*, they appear to me very weak. The transition and change of person (i. e. from the Corcyreans to the Athenians)

XL. "Thus, then, it hath been shown that *we* are come hither with convincing arguments for the justice of our cause[1], and that *they* are violent and rapacious persons. Now that you cannot with justice receive them, it is proper that you should learn and know. For though it was expressed in the treaty, that 'any of the states who had not subscribed[2] their names to either of the confederacies, should be at liberty to join whichsoever it choose,' the treaty has no reference to those who join either party to *the injury of others*, but applies only to the case of such a state as, not depriving another of its support[3], has need of security and protection; such, I say, as bring not to those who receive them (if they be wise[4]) war

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on which Goeller especially insists, will, in so varied a writer, prove nothing. As to the argument that there is nothing but what has been said before, I ask how, then, can we account for the interpolation, what purpose could it serve? Whereas we may account for its being *in the text* on the principle often applicable in Thucyd. and the best writers, including St. Paul, that it is a sort of *coda*, which, by repeating what had been said before, but expressing it in stronger terms, serves to press the argument more home. Besides, I can prove that it is, at least, as antient as the second century, by the following imitation in Dio Cass. 282, 35. καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεξιῶν οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον φερόμεθα. I cannot but suspect that the real reason why the passage has been abandoned by the critics, is from its extreme *difficulty*. Now this may, perhaps, be entirely removed, not indeed by the method of interpretation proposed by Herman (who would understand the ἀμετόχους not of past, but of future time), but by simply cancelling μόνων, which, being variously read in the MSS., but in none of them affording any tolerable sense, may very well be suspected of coming from the margin, where it seems to have been noted down κατ' ἐξήγησιν, though I think it was meant not for ἐγκλημάτων, but for τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις, scil. μόνων. Or, perhaps, the marginal remarker wrote ποινῶν. Indeed the π and μ are often confounded. The only direct authority I can adduce for its omission (though it is a very strong one), is that of Dio Cass. above cited, who seems not to have read it.

Lest any objection should be made to the word ἀμέτοχος, which is very rare, and of which the lexicographers only adduce one example from an anonymous writer, and that in a physical sense, I add that it occurs in a moral sense in Max. Tyr. t. 2, p. 217. Phil. Jud. 453. D. Schol. on Pind. Olymp. 1, 129 and 131. and Euthym. on Matt. 26, 24.

[1] *Convincing — cause.*] I have seen no reason to desert the old reading, which is strongly supported by the antithesis.

[2] *Subscribed.*] Greece was then divided into *federate*, ἔνσπονδος (that part which had joined either the Lacedemonians or Athenians), and ἄσπονδος, or ἄγραφος, which latter might be called *neutral*.

[3] *Depriving another of its support.*] Literally, of *itself*. There seems to be a *hypallage:* but, in fact, ἀποστ. is used in its primitive sense, *separate*.

[4] *If they be wise.*] This parenthetical clause, which occurs often elsewhere, is here introduced somewhat awkwardly, and has exceedingly per-

instead of peace. But this must now (unless ye yield to our persuasions) be your lot[5]: for ye cannot be *auxiliaries only* to them; ye must likewise be to us, instead of friends by treaty[6], *enemies*. For if ye associate yourselves with them, we must of necessity avenge ourselves of both without distinction.[7] And yet justice clearly requires[8] that you should, at least, *stand aloof*[9] from both parties; or if not, on *the contrary*[10], unite with us against them (for with the Corinthians you are friends by treaty, but with the Corcyreans you have never even been at truce[11]), and by no means establish a rule[12]

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plexed the commentators. Indeed some translators omit it. Its force is only to be perceived by repeating with it part of the conditional sentence preceding, but changed into a declarative one; q. d. " and war it will *not* be allowed to bring, if they be wise;" or, " and who, if they are wise, will not receive them.

[5] *But this must, &c.*] This clause is omitted by Hobbes.

[6] *Friends by treaty.*] Literally, those with whom we are under treaty. For ἔνσπονδοι must not be confounded with ξύμμαχοι. The ally was necessarily an ἔνσπονδος, but the ἔνσπονδος not necessarily an ally. Thus the Lacedemonians and the Athenians were now ἔνσπονδοι, not, as they had once been, ξύμμαχοι. It is plain from the term ξύμμ. that the Corinthians were *subject* allies.

[7] *For if ye — distinction.*] That such is the sense of the passage (which has been strangely misunderstood by the translators), is clear from an imitation of it in Dio Cass. p. 622. 30. Μὴ ἄνευ is an Attic softening for μετὰ.

[8] *Justice — requires.*] This sense of δικαῖος εἶναι, with a verb in the infinitive, is a well known Atticism, on which see Matth. G. Gr.

[9] *Stand aloof.*] Literally, stand out of the footsteps, or *way*, of any one. Hence the word signifies, also, to *give way to* any one, in which sense alone it is noticed by Matthiæ. Here ἀμφοτέρων might be conjectured; but I would observe that the dative is defended by imitations of the passage in Aristid. t. 2. 156, 201, 319, and 435. Procop. p. 121, and 242, and 248. Appian 1, 531, 2. Hence may be emended Dionys. Hal. 327, 22. Τυῤῥήνοι δὲ ἀμφοτέροις ἐμποδὼν ἐγίγνοντο; where it is strange the editors should not have seen that ἐκποδὼν is alone the true reading. The whole passage of Thucyd. seems imitated from Herod. 8, 22, 8. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἕζεσθε. Even *this* (and I have adduced not a few such passages) might refute the scepticism of those critics who assert that Thucydides had never seen the History of Herodotus when he wrote his own.

[10] *If not, on the contrary, &c.*] Such is evidently the sense of εἰ δὲ μὴ τοὐναντίον, where must be understood κατὰ and μέρος, i. e. contrary to that part they would have you take. The τοὐν. is omitted by Hobbes, and by Smith is ill rendered, " if that will not please;" rather it should have been, " if you will take some side, then take a side contrary to theirs."

[11] *Truce.*] Ἀναχώκη signifies, first, a holding back of the hands from blows, as, 1, 66.; secondly, a suspension of hostility; and thirdly, a *truce*.

[12] *Establish a rule.*] The Scholiast denies that the article has here any force; and the same might be said of the τὸν νόμον a little further on.

of harbouring another's deserters. For neither did we, when the Samians revolted from you, and the other Peloponnesians were divided in opinion whether or not it would be proper to assist them, give a vote hostile to you; but, on the contrary, we openly maintained the opinion, that every one should be left to proceed against his own dependents. Nay, more, if you harbour and succour such offenders, it will be found that full as many will come over from you to us; and thus you will establish a precedent which will operate more to your own detriment than to ours.

XLI. "These, then, are the *grounds of right*[1] (valid according to the institutions of Greece) which we have to allege in respect of you. We have also to offer an *admonition*, and *request of favour*, such as we think at present ought to be granted us, in return for the like; considering that we are, if not friends to much benefit you[2], at least not enemies to injure you. For when, before the Median war, you were in want of long ships[3] against the Æginetæ, you

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But the truth is, that the article *has* a force, though it is not such as can easily be expressed in any modern language. In the one case, the reference of the article is *anticipative*, and the nature of it is explained by the words following; in the other, it has the reference of *renewed mention*. On the Samian rebellion, see c. 115, 117.

[1] *Grounds of right.*] The sense of δικαιώματα has not been successfully seized by the translators. Hobbes and Smith render, "points of justice;" but this is too vague. The word often signifies *justification*. That sense, however, it cannot have here, since the preceding matter is not justificatory. The signification I have assigned is agreeable to the context, and completes the antithesis. In this sense it is explained by a Scholiast in Bekker's Aned. 1, 90; and so it seems to have been understood by Valla, and, long before him, by Procop. p. 306, 42. who, has the following close imitation of the passage: δικαιώματα μενοῦν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγωγὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἡμῖν.

[2] *Much benefit you.*] On the sense of ἐπιχρῆσθαι the commentators are not agreed. Its determination depends on the force ascribed to the ἐπι, which the antient commentators explain by *sæpe;* the recent ones, as Reisk, Haack, and Goeller, by *vicissim*. But they seem to err by seeking needless refinements. Yet ἐπι is not (as some affirm) *without* a meaning, but has an intensive force; and ἐπιχρ. signifies to *much use*. The argument is, that the request they have to make, is such as they may claim in return for a similar favour, nor ought it to be refused on the ground that they are no great friends; for they are not enemies to injure them: *such* enemies, indeed, no one could be expected to benefit.

[3] *Long ships.*] So called from their long form as compared with the rotund one of vessels of burden, denominated *round ships*. On the origin of the war with the Æginetæ, see Herod. 5, 82.

received from us twenty sail. And this service, and that in respect to the Samians, (inasmuch as the Peloponnesians did not, by their own representations, assist them), afforded you the means of conquering the former, and chastising the latter; and that, too, at a most critical time [4], wherein men especially rush upon their foes, regardless of every thing but conquest [5] (accounting him a friend who assists them, though he have been previously inimical, and him an enemy who withstands them, if even he chance to have been a friend [6]); nay, when, hurried away by eagerness of contention [7], even matters of the nearest and dearest import are but lightly heeded.

XLII. "Reflect, then, each of you on these benefits, (the younger learning them from the elder), and allow it to be right to requite [1] us with the like. Nor let any one fancy that,

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[4] *And that, too, at a most critical time.*] Such is here, and often, the sense of καιρ. The passage, I would observe, is imitated by Demosth., Synes., and many other writers.

[5] *Regardless — conquest.*] This passage, also, (as I shall show) has been extensively imitated by the historians.

[6] *Accounting him — friend.*] It is strange that the editors should not have seen that this sentence is parenthetical, by which manner of taking it the whole of this involved passage is much cleared.

[7] *Eagerness of contention.*] I cannot agree with Poppo, who would, on account of what precedes, here read φιλονικίας; for, besides that the word is of doubtful authority, it would yield a sense far less general than seems to have been intended. Indeed there seems to be a *climax*, in which are first described the effects of a passion for conquest, and then those of that *contentious doggedness* which excites such persons not to abandon their purpose, even when all chance of success is at an end. As a critic, however, Poppo will be more ready to yield to the argument contained in the *fact* of which I can inform him, that φιλονεικίας was read by Libanius, who, in Orat. p. 497. B. has a close imitation of this passage. Besides, the very same expression occurs in l. 7, 71. πρὸς τὴν αὖτικα φιλονεικίαν.

[8] *Matters of, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of τὰ οἰκεῖα, which is vaguely and feebly rendered *domestic affairs*. Οἰκεῖος signifies *what is one's own*, and, consequently, what is nearest and dearest to us. This signification is too frequent to need proof; and I will only observe, that Dionys. Hal. seems to have taken it in the same sense in the following imitation of the present passage, Antiq. p. 303, 15. προνοίαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν ποιούμενος.

[1] *Requite.*] Such is plainly the sense of ἀμύνεσθαι, which Hobbes strangely renders *defend*. The antient commentators all confirm both the reading and the signification I have adopted; for some MSS. have ἀμείβεσθαι; a manifest gloss indeed, but showing the sense in which the glossographer took the word. So 4, 63. τὸν εὖ καὶ καλῶς δρῶντα ἐξ ἴσου ἀρετῇ ἀμυνούμεθα. The words *repay*, and *requite*, are frequently so employed in the

though what has been said is very *just*, yet should there be a war [2], his *interest* [3] will be quite the other way; for advantage especially follows those actions wherein there is least of injustice. And the eventual occurrence of this war, the terror of which the Corcyreans use as an incentive with you to commit wrong, yet lies in the womb of uncertainty [4]; and, therefore, it is not of sufficient weight to excite you to undertake an open, decided, and not contingent enmity with the Corinthians: it would rather be prudent to diminish somewhat of the jealousy [5] previously conceived with respect to the Megareans. For the last obligation [6], when seasonable, though comparatively trifling, is able to efface a far greater cause of complaint. Nor because they offer a powerful naval alliance, suffer yourselves to be allured by that bait; for not to wrong one's equals is a

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Scriptures. Indeed almost all such words, in every language, are properly terms of middle signification.

[2] *Should there be a war.*] Namely, the war you apprehend, that with the Lacedemonians. This, it may be observed, is suppressed through modest respect. From the same cause, what is applicable to all is ascribed to *one*: πολεμήσει is put for πολεμήσετε.

[3] *Interest.*] i. e. true interest; what is so on the long run, and viewed in its remote consequences, as well as in its immediate effects. A maxim which, for its solid truth and applicability to individuals as well as states, deserves to be written in letters of gold.

[4] *Lies — uncertainty.*] The antithesis here between ἀφανεῖ (which refers to the latent enmity between the two nations) and φανερὰν is very striking, and reminds me of a very similar one in a kindred passage of Eurip. Hipp. 1284. ψευδέσι μύθοις ἀλόχου πεισθεὶς, Ἀφανῆ (i. e. ἀφανῶς καὶ ἀνεξελέγκτως), φανερὰν δ' ἔσχεθες ἄτην.

[5] *Jealousy.*] This is said εὐφήμως, to denote the *enmity* thence conceived. The circumstance referred to is the Athenians supporting the Megareans against the Corinthians, in a war that had arisen on account of limits.

[6] *For the last obligation.*] This pithy dict. is cited by Plut. t. 2. 538. C. Liban. Epist. 248, and 360. and imitated by Agath. p. 73, 4. ἐλπίζοντες τῇ τελευταίᾳ πράξει ἐν καίρῳ γιγνομένῃ τὸ ἔγκλημα διαλῦσαι. Also by Aristid. t. 2, 137. A. ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν, εἰ καὶ πλέον εἶχον τῶν ἀδικημάτων, λελυκέναι πάντα ταῖς τελευταίαις εὐεργεσίαις; and 147. C. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἀδικηθῶσι πραότεροι γίγνονται διὰ τὰς ὕστερον εὐεργεσίας. On the contrary, Soph. Trach. 1231. has, τὸ γάρ τοι μέγαλα πιστεύσαντ' ἐμοὶ σμικροῖς ἀπιστεῖν τὴν πάρος ξυγχεῖ χάριν.

It is well said καιρὸν ἔχουσα, since it is the *timing well* an obligation that makes it peculiarly acceptable. One must *watch*, as Joseph. p. 692. terms it, τὴν τῆς χαρίτος εὐκαιρίαν; or, in those of Æschyl. Agam. 760. μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας καίρον χαρίτος. And, finally, the *return* must be as much *in season* as the favour; for, to use the words of Pindar, Isthm. 7, 23. παλαιὰ γὰρ εὖδει Χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί.

far surer road to power, than the momentarily alluring, but fleeting and perilous, advantages of rapacious ambition.

XLIII. "Having, then, fallen into[7] the very circumstances, concerning which we ourselves formerly maintained at Lacedemon, 'that every state should itself have the punishment[8] of its delinquent confederates,' we now think it reasonable that we should receive the same[9] at your hands, and not that you, who were then benefited by our vote, should now injure us by yours. Render, then, to us a just requital, remembering that this is *that very* critical season wherein he who aids is especially a friend, and he who thwarts, a foe. As to these Corcyreans, we charge you neither to receive into your alliance against our will, nor to aid them in their injustice. By thus acting, you will both perform what is incumbent on you[10], and you will consult the best for your own welfare."

Such was the purport of what was spoken by the Corinthians.

XLIV. Now the Athenians having heard both parties, extending the consideration of the matter to even a second assembly[1], on the former day felt inclined to admit the arguments of the Corinthians; but, on the latter, they came to a different opinion[2], not, indeed, so as to form with the Corcy-

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[7] *Having, then, fallen into.*] So St. James 1, 2. περιπ. τοῖς πειρασμοῖς. where see my note.

[8] *Have the punishment, &c.*] This is the full sense of the phrase ξυμμάχους αὐτοὺς τίνα κολάζειν, on which see Irmisch on Herodian t. 3. p. 18. In the term κολάζειν *delinquent* is *implied.*

[9] *Receive the same, &c.*] Namely, the same treatment which you then received of us.

[10] *What is incumbent.*] Literally, what appertains and belongs to you, and is right for you to do; as 3, 40.

[1] *Even a second assembly.*] This expression shows how very rarely that took place. We have another instance in the deliberation on the Mitylenean.

[2] *Came—opinion.*] This was natural. The arguments of the Corinthians were arguments founded on strict justice only; and, therefore, though they could not but make a considerable impression, yet those of the Corcyreans, being arguments of interest, would be likely at last to predominate. And, perhaps, in the dilemma in which Athens was placed, and considering the deep-laid plans for her destruction by the Peloponnesians, it was natural for her to adopt a measure which should prevent any acces-

reans an alliance offensive and defensive (for then, if the Corcyreans had required of them to join in any naval attack upon Corinth, the treaty with the Peloponnesians would have been violated), but a *defensive* one, which should provide for the mutual assistance of either party in case of invasion. For it seemed that even *thus*[3] the war they looked forward to with the Peloponnesians would take place; and it was their policy[4],

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sion of strength to an already too formidable alliance, and, moreover increase her own.

It is remarkable, that our historian has recorded no orations addressed to the people on *that* occasion. Hence some have thought that Pericles (whose orations our author was accustomed so regularly and carefully to record) took no part in the business. And yet Plutarch tells us that he actually delivered an oration, to promote the step which was finally taken; and of this opinion, I find, is Mitford. For my own part, I cannot but think that, had that been the case, our historian would have recorded the speech, as he has done others of the same unrivalled orator. As he has not done so, I would rather infer that Pericles did not deliver any thing which might be called an *oration*, and, indeed, that none deserving that name were pronounced; for those who afterwards displayed their oratory were, as yet, scarcely come forward. Some of the most able statesmen of that time were too business-like to care much about speech-making; and the demagogue, Cleon, did not venture on his democratic bellowings as long as Pericles lived. I cannot but suspect that Pericles was scarcely very decided in opinion on the line of policy then to be pursued by Athens, but that, seeing the people bent on the alliance, he acquiesced; and, by *guiding* a measure which he could not avert, impressed upon it not a little of his characteristic wisdom and discretion.

As to the distinction between the terms ξυμμαχίαν and ἐπιμαχίαν, on which some of the earlier commentators perplexed themselves, and others fancied a transposition, it has been clearly shown by Bauer that, properly, the former denoted the *Defensiobundniss*, and the latter, the *Offensiobundiss*, but that *in usu*, ξυμμ. came to denote the *genus*, comprehending treaties of every kind, both for defence and offence; and επιμ., the species or form, q. d. ἐπιβοήθεια, implying an obligation to render succours against an invading enemy, yet not so as to make them at war with the invaders. The above distinction is plain from 5, 27 and 47. Yet, in Xen. Cyr. 3, 2, 23. we have καὶ συμμαχίαν δὲ κοινὴν, εἴτις ἀδικοίη ὁπετέρους οὖν. where Zeunius edited from MSS. ἐπισυμμαχίαν, which Schneider was half inclined to adopt. But there is no good evidence of the existence of any such word; and there is every appearance, there and elsewhere, of its being merely a blending of two readings into one. The ἐπιμ. seems to have arisen from the emendation of those who thought that propriety required the term. But the name of the genus may stand for that of the species, when something is *subjoined* which will serve to limit it to the species; just as in Thucyd. 5, 27. πρὸς Ἀργείους ξυμμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι, ὥστε τῇ ἀλλήλων ἐπιμαχεῖν.

[3] *Even thus.*] i. e. even *with* that precaution which they had taken, of making the alliance with Corcyra defensive.

[4] *Their policy it was.*] Literally, their *meaning* or *intention*. The above version is required by the second part of this sententia bimembris sus-

not to abandon Corcyra, which possessed so powerful a navy, into the hands of Corinth, but to wear both states out as much as possible one against the other [5], that if they should be thrown upon a war with Corinth and the other naval states, they might find them so much the weaker combatants; and, moreover, the island seemed to them favourably situated for the passage to Italy and Sicily.[6]

XLV. With this design and intention the Athenians received the Corcyreans into alliance, and not long after the departure of the Corinthians, sent ten ships [1] to their aid, commanded by Lacedæmonius, the son of Cimon; Diotimus, son of Strombichus; and Proteas, son of Epicles. They charged them, however, not to come to any engagement with the Corinthians, unless they should attack Corcyra, and

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pended on the verb, and also by the words a little further on, τοιαύτῃ γνώμῃ, &c.

[5] *Wear them, &c.*] Such is the sense of the expressive term ξυγκρούειν, which is ill-rendered "*break* them," by Hobbes and Smith. It literally signifies to dash things one against the other, and thus shatter and wear them out. The term often occurs in the historians, orators, and other writers, and I shall consider it at large in my edition.

[6] *Favourably situated—Sicily.*] See supra, c. 36. and notes. There is little doubt but that even then many harboured those madly ambitious projects respecting both these countries, on which they afterwards rushed to their destruction; but we may be assured, by what we learn in the sequel, that Pericles was far from participating in them, and, therefore, he would have the less reason for furthering the present measure so zealously as some suppose.

[1] *Ten ships, &c.*] Plutarch absurdly thinks that the force was made thus small on purpose to show contempt of the Corinthians. Far more reasonably may it be supposed from this paucity, that Pericles (who probably regulated the amount) was not very hearty in the cause. His wisdom and political *long-sight*, could scarcely fail to discern into what trying situations the war would lead them, and into what temptations to embroil themselves too much in the affairs of distant countries, to the neglect of their own.

Lacedæmonius, the chief commander, was, I suspect, one of the aristocratical party (as may be inferred from what the Schol. on Aristid. says, when he tells us that he was thought to *Laconise*); and so, probably, were the others. And as these would be appointed by Pericles, we have some insight into his views of the measure.

Diodorus tells us that the armament was accompanied with a message, that a greater force would be sent, if necessary. But it should rather seem, that if any message were sent at all, it was to announce that a fresh force was coming; and, indeed, a reinforcement did soon follow.

attempt a landing either there, or in any dependency[2] of theirs: in that case to do their utmost to hinder them. These instructions were given in order that the treaty might not be broken. So these ships arrived at Corcyra.

XLVI. But the Corinthians, after having completed their preparations, proceeded to Corcyra with a fleet of 150 sail[1], of which ten were furnished by the Eleans, twelve by the Megareans, ten by the Lacedemonians, twenty-seven by the Ambraciots, and one by the Anactorians. The other ninety were their own. Of these the commanders were, of the auxiliary quotas, one from each state; of the Corinthians, Xenoclides, the son of Euthycles, at the head of a board of five.[5] Having then set sail for Leucas, and made the coast[3]

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[2] *Dependency.*] What is meant by this the commentators have not informed us. The Scholiast thinks that *Epidamnus* is to be understood, which certainly was now a dependency of Corcyra. But we are not to suppose that that alone is alluded to. The Corcyreans (as we learn from the Scholiast a little before) had some dependencies at Zacynthus, and, no doubt, (as I think it is somewhere said by Thucyd.) territory on the opposite coast of the continent.

[1] *Fleet of one hundred and fifty sail.*] On comparing this with the former armament, it is observable that several states, which before contributed ships, now seem to have sent none, as the Epidamnians, Hermionians, and Trœzenians. Others, as the Megareans, Eleans, and Ambraciots, sent more than before; the Corinthians themselves three times as many. Now as to the former circumstance, it may be explained by supposing that in the number of Corinthian ships (especially as that would otherwise be incredibly large) *theirs* are *included.* The latter circumstance may be accounted for from the exasperation which had been excited by the ravages so long carried on against those states by the Corcyreans; and this may also account for the Anactorians now contributing one. Anactorium, it must be remembered, was a colony of Corinth.

[2] *At the head, &c.*] Or, with four others. Such is the true force of the idiom πέμπτος αὐτός. Thus, just before, I have given the sense, though not the letter, of the idiom κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων. It is remarkable, that Matthiæ and others, who treat on this idiom, have omitted to bring forward a passage of Thucyd. 1, 57. which throws light on the ratio locutionis: Ἀρχεστράτου — μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγοῦντος.

It may be imagined that the number *five* was chosen (as odd numbers usually were) in order to avoid the inconvenience of equal votes on any question. When the numbers were *not* odd, we may suppose that the president of the board had the casting vote.

[3] *Having — coast.*] The translators here (Latin, French, and English) commit a most egregious blunder, by rendering, "Having met together, or rendezvoused on the part of the coast opposite to Corcyra, they set out for Leucas;" for at Leucas they were by no means on the coast over against Corcyra; not to say that this sense cannot be elicited from

over against Corcyra, they came to anchor at the Chimerium of Thesprotia. Now there is here a port, and above it, remote from the sea, is a city called Ephyra, situated on the Eleiatis [4] of Thesprotia. By it the Acherusian lake [5] disembogues itself into the sea; a lake deriving its name from the river Acheron (which runs through Thesprotia) issuing into it. The river Thyamis also runs [into the sea [6]], dividing Thesprotia and Cestrine, between which rivers juts out the promontory of Chimerium. At this part, then, of the continent the Corinthians took up their anchorage, and made their encampment.

XLVII. But the Corcyreans, as soon as they heard of

προσμίξαντες. In short προσμ. must here have the sense which Stephens, in his Thesaurus, truly says is frequent both in Thucyd. and the other historians, i. e. *appellere, succedere;* as προσμίξαι τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ and προσμ. τῷ Ἰκάρῳ: and then he cites this passage, and renders, *tenuerunt continentem.* The construction is, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλέοντες ἀπὸ Λ. προσέμιξαν.

[4] *Eleiatis.*] A district of Thesprotia, so called (as Palmer, Duker, and Cellarius think) from a port mentioned by Ptolemy of the name of *Elaias:* but Portus would read Ἐλειάτιδι, q. d. the *marsh-land;* and Bekker, Ἐλαιούντιδι, from Elæus, a town situated on the confines of Thesprotia, but that is surely too far off to be meant. The conjecture of Portus is the most probable, and it is confirmed by Valla and the Cod. Grævii, and indeed by the nature of the country; for what is more likely than that the country round the *Acherusia palus* should be fenny and marshy, and that hence the district should obtain that name; as we find from 1, 110. that the Delta in Egypt was called *Marshland?* The same name, too, is given to a tract in Norfolk between Wisbeach and Lynn. That there was a marsh in this part of Thesprotia, is plain from Athen. l. 3, 1. Hence, then, (I think) may be emended Scylax, ἐνταῦθα ἐστι λιμὴν ᾧ ὄνομα ΕΛΕΔ, where read, not ΓΑΥΚ, as Palmer conjectured, nor ΕΛΑΙΑ, as Vossius, but ΕΛΕΑ or ΕΛΕΙΑ. It was often also called γλυκὺς λιμὴν (and now *Glykia*), Strabo says, from the freshness of its water, occasioned by the rivers which run into it.

If, indeed, it could be proved that there was such a city as Ἔλαια in this very part of Epirus, the common reading might be tolerated. Many cities there were named Ἔλαια, which seem to have derived the appellation from the olive grounds in which they were situated.

Ephyra (of the same signification with the modern *Perga*) I derive from ἐφύρη, *a strong hold.* See Hesych. on Ἐφύρη and ἐφύρους.

[5] *Acherusian lake.*] On the *Acherusia palus* my learned readers will call to mind Virg. Æn. 6, 107. "quando hic inferni janua regis Dicitur, et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso."

[6] *Runs—sea.*] Or, "runs in the same direction, and with a parallel course." It is evident that at ῥεῖ something is left to be supplied. And this it is which had caused the difficulty.

Here I cannot omit to observe, that the river Thyamis is, in some of the common maps and plans, most incorrectly placed only *five* instead of *forty* miles from the Chimerium.

their approach, having manned 110 ships [1], commanded by Miciades, Æsimides, and Eurybates, encamped [2] on one of the islands which are called *Sybota* [3], accompanied by the ten Athenian ships. Their land forces, together with 1000 Zacynthian auxiliaries, were encamped on the promontory of Leucimme. The Corinthians, too, had the aid of large bodies of the Barbarians, who assembled on the continent adjacent; for the people on that part of the continent have ever been attached to them.

XLVIII. The Corinthians, after all due preparations, and taking on board three days' provisions [4], weighed anchor by night from the Chimerium, and put themselves in readiness for battle [5]: then proceeding onward, they at dawn of day

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[1] *One hundred and ten ships.*] Hence we may suppose that these were not all their ships; indeed as they had at first 120, and had suffered no defeat, they must have had several in reserve.

[2] *Encamped.*] It appears from what follows that by those who *encamped* we are to understand the *sailors*. This may seem strange to us, who see ships accommodate, besides their crew, large bodies of marines, and sometimes convoy troops, many thousands of miles. But, to use the words of Mitford, 3, 31. "the necessity among the antients for debarking continually to encamp their crews, arose from the make of their ships of war. To obtain that most valuable property for their manner of naval action, swiftness in rowing, burden was excluded; insomuch that not only they could not carry any stock of provisions, but the numerous crews could neither sleep nor even eat conveniently aboard." It is to be considered, too, that the ships' decks were crowded with archers and slingers (see infra); therefore that the antients should have been always anxious, if possible, to second the operations of their fleet by the aid of land forces, is not surprising.

[3] *Sybota.*] These were, as we find from the Scholiast, Strabo, and Steph. Byz., three small islands with a port, without which, indeed, they would not have been proper for the purpose of the Corcyreans. They received the name *Sybota* from having been then, or formerly, used as *hog pastures*. Indeed the Scholiast speaks of them as, in his time, feeding many swine. This is a sort of grazing very little used in the west, though it seems to have been frequent in the east, as we learn both from the Scriptures, Josephus, and many other writers.

[4] *Three days' provisions.*] Mitford thinks this circumstance is noticed, because the Athenians, when action was expected, scarcely incumbered themselves with a meal; and he refers to 7, 39 and 40: but *there* the circumstances were very different. Here the Corinthians might expect that the Corcyreans would not face them, but retreat to the port of Corcyra or to Leucimme; and then three days' provisions would be very serviceable.

[5] *Put themselves—battle.*] Literally, were bent on engaging the enemy. On this phrase see Valckn. on Herod. 8, 96. and my note on Acts 17, 1.

descried the Corcyrean ships at sea [6], and making towards them. As soon as the fleets came in view of each other, they respectively formed in line of battle. On the right wing of the Corcyreans were stationed the Athenian ships; the rest of their line was composed of their own, ranged in three squadrons[7], each led on by one of their commanders. Such was the order of battle adopted by the Corcyreans. On the side of the Corinthians, the right wing was occupied by the Megareans and Ambraciots; in the centre were placed the other auxiliaries separately [8]; the left (which was opposed to the right of the Corcyrean and the Athenian squadron [9],) was occupied by themselves with their best sailing vessels.

XLIX. On the signals [1] being respectively raised, they engaged in close combat, both sides having their decks crowded with men at arms [2], archers, and lancers, the ships too being even yet, after the antique mode, equipped [3] very rudely. As to the battle, it was, in point of courage, well maintained [4], but, in respect of skill, less so, being more

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[6] *At sea.*] It is plain that this cannot mean *at anchor*, as the Scholiast supposes.

[7] *Squadrons.*] All of these must be understood to have been in one line; though the wing must have been slightly curved, to answer to its name κέρας.

[8] *Separately.*] i. e. in separate bodies, each quota by itself. Such was required by the *esprit du corps* of antient times.

[9] *Opposed—Athenian squadron.*] For they not only believed that the Athenians would take part in the action, but they justly feared their well-known skill. One may observe that both parties placed their best ships and most trust-worthy forces in the wings, and those less so in the centre.

[1] *Signals.*] On these, which were usually red, like banners, see Potter's Archæol., or Robinson's Gr. Antiq.

[2] *Men at arms.*] These were, doubtless, used for *boarding;* and the archers and lancers for distant annoyance.

[3] *Equipped.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of παρεσκευασμένοι, which is usually referred to the *accoutring* of the soldiers. But *that* never underwent much change during the whole of the Peloponnesian war, nor was it capable of much; so that the term ἀπειρότερον would be very unsuitable. Besides, though the participle is put in the masculine, as accommodated to the masculine noun preceding, yet as there the sailors are put for the ships, so here the παρεσκ. must be explained suitably thereto, and be understood to refer either to the *making* or *fitting up* of the ships, or the management or *manœuvring* of ships in action with skill, and on tactical principles.

[4] *Well maintained.*] As the καρτερὰ must be repeated at ὁμοίως, so there must be an *accommodation* of the term to both sentences.

like a *land engagement* than a *sea fight*.[5] For when once they had laid each other close abreast, they were, both from the crowd[6] and throng of the ships, not easily separated, but placed their chief reliance for victory on the men at arms on the decks, who maintained a stationary combat[7], while the vessels remained motionless. There was, too, no cutting the line[8], [or charges and tacks,] but each fought it out rather with passionate vehemence and brute force[9], than with skill. There was every where a great tumult, and the

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[5] *More like — fight.*] This passage has been imitated by Herod. 7, 2, 4 and Procop. p. 356. ἦν δὲ ναυμαχία ἐσάγαν ἰσχυρὰ, πεζομαχίας ἰσχυροτέρα οὖσα; where I would read ἐμφερωτέρα οὖσα, which is confirmed by the Marg. ἐμφερὴς οὖσα and πεζομαχίᾳ.

[6] *Crowd.*] *Turba*, throng, tumult; as Luke, 22, 6. and Acts, 21, 18.

[7] *Men at arms — combat.*] Καταστάντες denotes maintaining the *pugna stataria*, fighting hand to hand. This passage seems to have been in the mind of Hesych., καταστρώματα. τῆς νέως μέρος ἐν ᾧ ἑστῶτες ναυμαχοῦσιν. See Scheffer de re navali, 2, 5. Neither he, however, nor other antiquaries, give us any account of the *number* of these *marines* (as we should now call them), nor am I able myself to afford much information thereupon. Only two passages are known to me which bear on this point. From Plutarch, in his Themist. c. 14., we find that the number of soldiers on deck at the battle of Salamis was but sixteen, four of which were archers, the rest men at arms. That the number was afterwards increased, I find from his Cimon, c. 12., ναῦς πλατυτέρας ἐποίησεν, καὶ διάβασιν τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ἔδωκεν, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὁπλίτων μαχιμώτεραι προσφέροιντο τοῖς πολεμίοις.

By the ἠσυχαζουσῶν is meant, that the ships were *moored* alongside of each other, and not kept in motion by the practice of the ἐμβολὴ or διέκπλους, or any other nautical evolution.

[8] *Cutting the line.*] This seems to be the best interpretation of the διέκπλους, which is very superficially treated on by the commentators. It is explained by the Scholiast, *charge and tack*. But *that* seems rather to designate the ἐμβολή. In the διέκπλους the purpose of the charge was not, as in the former case, to break away the oars, break in the hull, disable or sink any *one* ship; but to cut through the line, and attack it in the rear, and so separate one part from the rest, that it might be attacked in detail, and overpowered. Thus the Schol. on 2, 89. excellently explains it τὸ ἐμβάλλειν καὶ διασχίζειν τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τάξιν. So also Suidas on περιπλεῖν (I suspect from some very antient Scholiast on Thucyd.): τὸ διεκπλεῖν, τὸ τεμόντα τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς τοὐπίσω γένεσθαι. This very manœuvre was revived, and used with great effect, in gaining most of our naval victories for the last fifty years, by Rodney, Nelson, and others. The earliest mention I find of it is in Herod. 6, 12. ὅκως τοῖσι ἐρετῆσι χρήσαιτο διέκπλοον ποιεύμενος τῇσι νausὶ δι' ἀλλήλων, i. e. that he might exercise the rowers in the use of the diecplus. The word occasionally occurs in the historians; and I shall treat on it more at large in my edition.

[9] *Passionate — force.*] This version is confirmed and illustrated by an imitation in Appian, 1, 75. οὐδὲ λογισμῷ, ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ τινι, ἀλλὰ θύμῳ χρώμενοι, καθάπερ θηρία, and Livy, l. 5, 49. "irâ magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt."

engagement was desultory, during which the Athenian ships, coming up to the Corcyreans when they were hard pressed, kept the enemy in awe, but did not commence any attack; the commanders observing the charge they had received from the Athenians. As to the Corinthians, their right wing was most pressed.[10] For the Corcyreans, with twenty ships, routing and chasing them in disorder to the continent, advanced up to their camp, and disembarking, burnt the empty tents, and plundered the baggage.[11] *Here*, then, the Corinthians and their allies were worsted, and the Corcyreans had the advantage. But where the Corinthians themselves were, on the left, they were decidedly victorious, those twenty ships of the Corcyreans (out of a smaller number[12]) not being returned[13] from the pursuit [of the beaten right wing]. The Athenians, however, seeing the Corcyreans hard pressed, now rendered them assistance with less hesitation; at first, indeed, abstaining[14] from making a charge with the beak; but after the defeat became manifest, and the Corinthians kept hanging upon their rear, then indeed, every one fell heartily to the work, and

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[10] *Most pressed.*] Πονέω, in this use, has nearly the same sense as πιέζομαι. And so *laboro* is employed by the Latin writers, especially Cæsar; as in a similar passage of Bell. Gall. l. 7, 85. "Maxime ad superiores munitiones *laboratur*."

[11] *Plundered the baggage.*] This is but feebly rendered by Hobbes and Smith, "*took* away their baggage." Διαρπάζειν signifies to search through (διὰ) any articles, and carry off (ἁρπάζω) what we please, as 8, 31 and 36. Here the Corcyreans could not take the whole; therefore they snatched up whatever seemed most valuable, and left the rest a prey to the flames.

On the sense here of χρήματα (namely moveable property) I have before treated.

[12] *Smaller number.*] This is a remarkable, but, perhaps, the primary, sense of πλῆθος, by which it denotes simply a number, without reference to great or small. See Luke, 23, 1.

[13] *Not being returned.*] It is probable that they were too long occupied on the plunder, by which some precious time was lost, and all chance gone of retrieving the fortune of the day.

[14] *At first, indeed, abstaining, &c.*] Such is the sense of these words, which has been strangely misconceived by Hobbes, Smith, and Gail; indeed no interpreter has attended to the true force of ἐμβάλλειν, which signifies to *assault with the beak*, or of ἔργον, which denotes battle. By πᾶς is denoted every one, both Corcyrean and Athenian; and the words following are exegetical of the preceding, and signify that there was no longer any distinction between Corcyrean and Athenian. St. Luke (Acts 15, 9.) says very similarly, καὶ οὐδὲν διέκρινε; where see my note.

Smith, with singular stupidity, renders it, "there was no longer any time for discretion."

there was no longer any distinction, for things were brought to such a pass, that the Corinthians and Athenians must of necessity [15] attack each other.

L. The rout having now commenced, the Corinthians did not take in tow [1] and haul off the hulls (for mere hulls they were),

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[15] *Of necessity.*] Namely, in the confusion of a running fight.

[1] *Did not take in tow — men.*] There are few passages that have given more trouble to the commentators than this. The English readers of Hobbes and Smith may think it unnecessary to be told that the Corinthians "did not tow off the vessels they had sunk." For, if sunken, it is difficult to imagine how they *could* have been towed off. Duker notices the difficulty, but makes no attempt to remove it. Bauer will not acknowledge it, in order to be excused from engaging with it. Others, indeed, as Kistemm. and Matthiæ endeavour to avoid the *embarras* by taking ἂς καταδύσειαν the sense, "which they *might* have done, if they had chosen:" but this force in of the optative is so precarious, that to resort to it here would seem a mere shift employed "for the nonce;" besides, one cannot suppose that the most important fact of the sentence would be left lurking under a mere sign of the optative. In considering this difficulty of *towing sunken ships* (in which the wits of the commentators are themselves well nigh sunken), it is strange that they should have been so slow in laying hold of the *rope* which has been kindly thrown out by the Scholiast on c. 54., and which, I think, is the only clue to guide us through this difficulty. He tells us that the term signifies τιτρώσκειν, i. e. to put *hors de combat.* By being pierced in various parts, and bruised by the shocks, they would be so leaky as to become *water-logged,* and therefore *unfit for use*; though they might, if no time were lost, be towed to some near port. Sometimes, however, the miserable wretches who could find no boats, or any thing whereon to commit themselves to the sea, remained on board; as we find from a kindred passage of Xen. Hist. 1, 6, 36. πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκνίας ναῦς, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους. and 1, 7, 35. σωθεὶς ἐπὶ καταδύσης νέως. and Herod. 6, 17, 5. γαύλους δὲ ἐνθαῦτα καταδύσας, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν πολλά. The same sense (which may be proved also from c. 54. where κατ. again occurs) is sometimes found in the kindred term διαφθείρω (as Thucyd. 1, 54. and 2, 92.), and ἀπόλλυμι in Xen. Hist. 1, 1, 7. Hence is placed beyond doubt, a timid conjecture of Schweigh on Appian. T. 1. 575, 74. καὶ διεφθάρησαν — ἐλήφθησαν. where, had the learned editor remembered this sense, he would have propounded his conjecture with more confidence.

Thus, I trust, the above sense, which has also been espoused by Abresch, Reiske, Heilman, Gottl., and Goeller, has been fully established.

As to the σκάφη τῶν νεῶν, which has also occasioned some trouble, the most effective mode of treating the difficulty is, to suppose, as I have done (after the Schol., Kistemm., and Coray), that the term is used, to show the miserable plight to which the ships had been reduced, having become, as it were, *mere hulls.* Such is the sense adopted by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 425. σκάφη τῶν νεῶν. It is true that the examples there adduced by the learned editor are not *all* of them to the purpose; for in the passages of Euripides νέως σκάφη is a mere pleonasm for ναῦς. Yet this is apparent both from the etymon of the word (which is exactly like that of *hull* and *hold*), and from Pollux, 1, 9. who reckons up, among other parts of the ship,

of the ships which they might disable, but turned their attention to the *men*, cruising[2] up and down among the floating fragments, intent rather to butcher than to capture; and, not perceiving that their right wing was beaten, they unknowingly killed some of their own friends. For the ships on both sides being numerous, and occupying a great extent of sea, it was not easy, when they were mingled in combat, to distinguish who were conquering, or who defeated. This sea-fight, indeed, was, of all that had preceded it, of Greeks against Greeks, by far the most considerable.

The Corinthians, having pursued the Corcyreans to the shore, turned their attention to the wrecks and their own slain[3], most of whom they succeeded in bringing to Sy-

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κοῖλον σκάφος, ἔδαφος νέως. also Eurip. Iph. Taur. 742. ναὸς εἰσβήσω σκάφος. Troad. 543. ναὸς ὡσεὶ σκάφος κελαινόν. Polyæn. 3, 11, 3. whence is illustrated Polyæn. 1, 48, 4., and Dio Cass. 629, 69., to omit numerous other passages which I could adduce, many of which are ill understood.

As to the εἶλκον ἀναδούμενοι, it signifies *lashing to* and *hauling off*, and the expression may (as Bauer thinks) be taken as if one word. Ἀναδεῖσθαι often is used in this sense by the historians, though it is not unfrequently misunderstood by the commentators, and corrupted by the scribes. Among the many passages I have at hand I select the following: Dio Cass. p. 212, 2. (evidently imitated from this passage), καὶ τὰ σκάφη τὰ μὲν ἀνηρῥηγνύντο ἐμβαλλομένα, τὰ δὲ κατεπίμπραντο ὑφαπτόμενα· ἀλλὰ, ἀναδυόμενα, ὥσπερ κενὰ ἀνδρῶν, εἵλκοντο, where read ἀναδούμενα, and at 291, 90. for ἀνεδύσαντο, ἀνεδήσαντο.

[2] *Cruising — fragments.*] Such seems to be the sense of διεκπλέοντες, which ought to be pointed off. They cruised, it seems, *through and through* the scene of action, and the ναυάγια, in order to sink all that was yet floating, whether boats, masts, yards, or timber; and thus effectually destroy the men who clung to them. Of this atrocious cruelty (for which nothing can be pleaded but *retaliation*) the historian shows his abhorrence by the term φονεύειν, *butcher*. From the air of the sentence, we may presume that it was rather more *usual* to cruise about among the wrecks in order to *make captives*, than to *kill*.

[3] *Attention to — slain.*] i. e. to save them, and what they could from the wrecks, and remove the slain for burial. Hence may be emended a passage of Liban. Or. 173. D. διώκοντές τε τοῦ ζωγρεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φυγεῖν εγίγνοντο, where read φωνέυειν.

Ναυάγια. Here may be compared a beautiful passage of Æschyl. Agam. 643. ὁρῶμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς Ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ναυτικῶν τ' ἐρειπίων., and Pers. 491. where the sea is said to be ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν. This passage is imitated by Lucian Ver. Hist. § 42. t. 2, 103. τραπόμενοι πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια, τῶν πλείστων ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀνείλοντο Indeed he has, throughout that *battle of the islands*, copied our author; just as *he*, probably, had in mind Herod. 8, 18, 4. ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον.

bota[4] (a desert port of Thesprotia), whither the Barbarian land forces had rendezvoused to their assistance. Having accomplished this, they again assembled, and made sail against the Corcyreans, who, with the remaining ships, and such as were at all seaworthy[5], together with the Athenian ones, advanced to meet them, fearing lest they should attempt to effect a landing on their territory. Now by this time it was evening, and the pæan had just been sounded[6] for the attack, when the Corinthians suddenly rowed to prow[7], having de-

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[4] *Sybota.*] It is observable that the *port* has here and always elsewhere the article, and the *islands* a little before mentioned, as regularly have it not. The use of the term *with* the article appears to come nearer to the original one, and therefore it may be presumed that the islands obtained their name from the continental Sybota, not vice versa, as Cellarius fancied, who also mistakes the meaning of the next term λιμὴν ἔρημος. It is not so called, because few or none visited it, but because it had no town. The port seems to have been partly formed by a small river which there has its outlet.

One may remark the pious care with which they attended to the preservation, or at least recovery for burial, of their countrymen; for the historian records their turning back for this purpose, after having chased the enemy to their shores. And having recorded this duty, he adds, "And *after having done this*, they again collected and made towards the enemy." I mention this, because Mitford seems to do injustice to the Corinthians.

[5] *Remaining ships — sea-worthy.*] Such is plainly the sense of ταῖς πλοίμοις καὶ ὅσαι ἦσαν λοιπαὶ, which must not be too rigidly interpreted. There is a hysteron proteron; and by λοιπ. is meant, left uninjured; as the Scholiast perceived.

Mitford is wrong in saying that the Corcyreans quitted *their port*, when they advanced to meet the enemy. They had not gone to *port* in Corcyra, but only, as appears from the next chapter, to the promontory of Leucimme, where there was, it seems, anchorage, and convenience for disembarkation and encampment.

It certainly evinced the courage of the Corcyreans, that they so soon rallied, and mustered their forces for a renewal of the combat. A similar instance occurs in the conduct of the Spaniards after their defeat off Cape Trafalgar. This may, with Mitford, be ascribed partly to the encouragement and assurances of Lacedemonius.

[6] *Pæan — sounded.*] On this I shall treat at large in my edition; for the present referring my readers to Blomfield on Æschyl. Theb. 254. ὀλυλυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῆ παιανίσον; to whose learned remarks I will only add, that though there were in later times two Pæans, one before the battle in honour of Mars, the other after victory, to the honour of Apollo, it seems at first to have been only a *shout*, of which the earliest vestige is found in 1 Sam. 17, 20. "and shouted for the battle," a phrase exactly parallel to this of Thucyd. And so Livy, 9, 32. "expectantes ut ab adversariis *clamor* et pugna inciperet." This is also countenanced by the ὀλυλυγμὸν of Æschylus. What was the exact sound, philologists and antiquaries do not tell us. I have, however, been enabled to discover from Plut. Thes. 22. that it was ελελε, the original of our *halloo*.

[7] *Rowed to prow.*] This is, I conceive, the most literal and correct version of the difficult phrase πούμναν ἐκροῦοντο, on which so many philolo-

scried twenty sail of vessels advancing, which the Athenians had sent out after the ten as a reinforcement, fearing (what actually happened) lest the Corcyreans should be defeated, and those ten ships should be too few to render any material assistance.

LI. The Corinthians first descrying them, and suspecting that they came from Athens, and that there were more of them than they saw, gradually retreated. By the Corcyreans, however, they were not yet discerned, for they sailed in a course which kept them more out of their ken.[1] Hence

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gists have exercised themselves to little purpose. Grævius and Gottleb. explain it *inhibere remos*. But *that*, which our sailors call *backing water*, is quite another thing, and only keeps the vessel still, does not make it go backward. The same objection applies to Smith's version, "slackened their course;" and when he tells us in his note, that the phrase signifies to *knock the hind deck*, that is, explaining ignotum per ignotius. As to the version of Gail, "firent partir la poupe la premiere," it is yet more obscure than the original. I apprehend that the misconception, and the difficulty, have been occasioned by not considering carefully enough the *ratio significationis*. The expression is (as the Scholiast saw) elliptical, and we must supply εἰς, ἐπὶ, or πρός. Now the complete phrase occurs in Herod. 8, 84. οἱ Ε. ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο; and a little further on, where for ἐτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθαι, read, with Port., ἐπὶ πρυμ.; for Valckn. was mistaken in supposing that the preposition had no place in this phrase. It occurs also in Appian 2, 866. τὴν ναῦν κρούοντες ἐπὶ πρύμναν, and Onosander, p. 29. The elliptical one is found in Dio Cass. 571, 73. Arrian Exp. Al. 5, 7, 6. and 17, 12. Appian t. 1, 751., Lucian t. 2, 103. It occurs in the *active* in Appian 2, 866. Polyb. 16, 3, 8. Eurip. Andr. 1097. and many other passages which I shall adduce in my edition. I will only observe that the Scholiast here well explains it ἐπὶ τὴν πρύμναν κωπηλατεῖν. He has not, indeed, described *how* it was done. Of that, however, we are fully informed by the Schol. on Aristoph. Πρύμναν κρούσασθαι, he says, is used when μετακαθίσαντες οἱ ἐρέται ἐλαύνοιεν ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τήν πρύμναν, ὡς ὅταν εἰς λιμένα εἰσέρχονται, ἵνα τὴν πρύμναν εἰς γῆν ἔχωσι νεύουσαν, i. e. when the rowers, sitting the contrary way on their benches, rowed backward, i. e. to poop, &c. This, however, was done not only in coming to shore, but (as we have seen) in retreat. Thus there are two expressions, κρούειν, or κρουσάσθαι, ναῦν ἐπὶ πρύμνην, and κρούεσθαι ἐπὶ πρυμ. The first is used *proprie*; for it must be remembered that κρούω not only signifies to *knock* or *beat*, but to *row*, which is beating the water. 2. We have the *passive*, as here; and then what is only proper to the *ships* is, by a common figure, applied to the *men*.

I will only add, that this antient custom, like many others, is still retained in the East, as I find from the words of Major Symes, in his Travels to Ava, p. 500., Pinkerton's Collection, vol. 9. "The Birman rowers are expert in rowing the ships backward, and impel the vessel with stern foremost. This is their mode of retreat."

[1] *Out of their ken.*] The Scholiast explains, "behind their backs;" but the Athenian squadron could not well be in that direction to either fleet:

they wondered at the Corinthians rowing to prow, until some of their number discerned and gave notice of the approach of those ships. Then they themselves retired (for it began now to grow dark), and the Corinthians turned their backs, and put an end to the battle.[2] Thus they parted from each other, and the engagement terminated at night. To the Corcyreans, as they were encamping at Leucimme, these twenty ships from Athens (commanded by Glauco, son of Leager; and Andocides, son of Leogoras), holding on their course through the wrecks and carcasses, made the shore in no long time after they were descried. Now the Corcyreans (for it was now night) were in fear lest they should be enemies; but, on recognising them, they also came to anchor.[3]

Mitford says they were doubling a headland, which is yet more improbable. It should seem that they sailed in *flank* of the Corinthians; and the course they took would bring them sooner under their observation. Here the Scholiast might have compared a kindred passage at 4, 36. ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὁρμήσας ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους, &c. Here again I have to notice an egregious blunder in some of the common maps and plans. According to *their* position of the two fleets, the *Corcyreans* must have seen them first.

[2] *Put an end to the battle.*] Such is the sense of διάλυσιν ἐποιήσαντο, which is simply for διελύθησαν, and does not signify (as the Lex. Thucyd. explains) "made a dismissal of their fleet." It is strangely rendered by Hobbes, "dissolved themselves," which Smith certainly has not improved upon in his version, "had dissolved their order." Surely he might have remembered, that the ships of a fleet did not *dissolve their order*, when they received a signal for retreat, like a company of recruits at the end of drill, but went in perfect order, and took up their anchorage, or station, on shore, one by one, with the same regularity. A still worse blunder is committed by Hobbes, who renders εἶπον ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσιν, "said they were enemies." He fell into this by supposing that the Corcyreans retired taking them to be enemies: but they retired, as it is added, because it now grew dark. The punctuation is, τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν (ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἤδη) καὶ οἱ Κορ. I would observe that this clause ξυνεσκ. γὰρ ἤδη has been borrowed by most of the later historians. On the impersonal use of the word, similar to our idiom, see the grammarians, who have, however, missed a singular *plena locutio* in Polyb. 31, 21, 9. συσκοτάζοντος ἄρτι τοῦ Θεοῦ.

[3] *Came to anchor.*] Portus, Gottleb., and one of the Scholiasts render, "brought them to anchor;" and such was formerly the mode in which I myself took the passage: but that sense would require the *article;* as in Hom. Od. γ. 11. τὴν δ' ὥρμισαν; Lycoph. 872. ὁρμίσας σκάφος; Herod. 6, 107. καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μ. τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε. The common mode of interpretation is defended by all the MSS., and by the usus loquendi; for I am not aware of any instance of ὁρμίσασθαι in an *active*, whereas it often occurs in a *reflected*, sense with the subaudition of ἑαυτάς. So in a kindred passage of Xen. Hist. 1, 1, 15. ἐπείδη ὡρμίσαντο; and so Procop. 116, 13. 172, 26. Appian 2, 854. and 855.; and at Appian 1, 479. αἱ νῆες — μετωπηδὸν ὡρμήσαντο, I would restore ὁρμισ., which Schweigh, without reason, changed to ὁρμησ. On the contrary, in Arrian E. A. 6, 19, 1. ἐνταῦθα ὁρμισάντων, I conjecture ὁρμησάντων, which occurs in our author just after. Thus

LII. On the following day, the thirty Athenian ships, and such of the Corcyreans as were fit for sea, set sail for the port of Sybota, occupied by the Corinthians, in order to see whether they would fight. But those, putting off from the shore [1], and ranging their ships in the deep sea, kept quiet, not meaning of their own accord to commence battle; considering, as they did, the accession of fresh strength from Athens, and in what numerous difficulties they were involved, both respecting the custody of the prisoners they had on board, and the want of materials for refitting the fleet in so desert a place. Nay, indeed, their thoughts were rather occupied about their passage home, and how it might be accomplished; for they were afraid lest the Athenians, considering the treaty as broken because they had come to blows, might not allow them to pass unmolested.

LIII. They determined, therefore, to embark some persons in a skiff [2], and send them without the heraldic in-

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ὁρμίζειν, the active, signifies to "bring to anchor," as a pilot does; ὁρμίσεσθαι, "to come to port, or anchor," to take anchorage. Here, therefore, we must understand αἱ νηῆς from the preceding, and not take the nearer nominative κερκυραῖοι. A harshness, indeed, but Thucydidean.

[1] *Putting off from the shore.*] This may be more technically rendered, "weighing anchor, or heaving off." And, indeed, the critics exceedingly object to the word τὰς ναῦς, as being at variance with the true ratio phraseos, which requires τὰς ἄγκυρας. They, therefore, would cancel the words ναῦς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, and substitute τὰς ἀγκυρας. But are we to suppose that such exalted minds as that of our historian, must ever have in remembrance the *Philologorum atque Grammaticorum dicta?* Now the word ἄρειν is found in our author even without any thing being added; and as he has *no where* expressed ἄγκυρας, it is by no means an inconsistency that he has here expressed ναῦς, which, though the other be more usual and correct, yet may be tolerated, especially if we consider that the operation was, according to the nature of antient shipping, effected by boats more than by weighing anchors. And our own seamen have the very phrase *heave ship*, which implies the operation in question, and the Romans said *navem solvere*. See my note on Acts, 27, 13., where, however, I have spoken minus cogitanter.

To show how unreasonable critics can be, I would answer to the objection of Duker, to ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς after ἄρειν, that our author himself at 3, 91. says ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Μήλου, and that one of no inconsiderable skill as a *writer* (St. Luke, 5, 3.) has ἐπαναγεῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, as also other authors cited by Wets. and Schleus., in all which passages ναῦν must be supplied.

[2] *Skiff.*] The word denoted generally a small bark attendant on a ship, as its Mercury, so called from the speed with which it carried messages.

signe[3] to the Athenians, so as thereby to sound their intentions. The persons despatched spoke to the following effect: — "Ye do us wrong, Athenians, in thus commencing war and breaking treaties, by hindering us, forcibly and violently, from avenging ourselves on our enemies. If, however, it is your purpose to prevent us from proceeding to Corcyra, or wherever else we please, why then at once destroy the treaty, and take us first, and treat us as enemies." Thus spoke they.

Now such of the Corcyrean camp as were within hearing, shouted out "Seize them, and put them to death[4]!" But the Athenians returned for answer, "We neither are commencing war, O Peloponnesians, nor are breaking the treaty, but we come as auxiliaries to these Corcyreans. If, therefore, ye choose to proceed any where else, we hinder you not; but if ye sail against Corcyra or any of its dependencies, this we will, to the utmost of our power, prevent being done."

LIV. On receiving this answer from the Athenians, the Corinthians made preparations for their voyage homeward, and erected a trophy on the continental Sybota. As to the Corcyreans, they applied themselves to take up the wrecks

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From its being the diminutive of κέλης, we may suppose it to have answered to our *cock-boat*.

[3] *Insigne*, or *Caduceus*.] I make use of these words for want of one in our own language, and, moreover, because the wand or caduceus, encircled with snakes, ascribed to Mercury, is the very one here meant. The term κηρυκίον is of frequent occurrence in the best writers. The more satisfactory account of it is to be found in the Scholiast here and on 1, 146., who says that the κηρ. was a straight stick encircled around with two serpents having their crests opposite to each other. Pollux and the Etym. Mag. add, that it was of moderate length, and bore the form of the letter Φ. From Lucian, t. 2. 537. I find that they were sometimes of gold, for though Du Soul suspects the reading κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν, yet it is confirmed by Timæus ap. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 54, 35. κηρύκια σιδηρᾶ καὶ χαλκᾶ. The Scholiast says, that the straight stick was a symbol of the straight forward language which becomes an ambassador; and that the opposite serpents denoted the two parties at enmity. Be that as it may, it is evident that the *not* bearing this symbol was a mode of showing that they did not consider themselves as enemies.

[4] *Shouted — death*.] These were doubtless the mob, who are usually not tardy in the commission of such atrocity. Thus in the case of our Lord Jesus, some cried out, "Crucify him, crucify him!" See Luke, 22, 21. Many similar exclamations I could cite from the classical writers; as Eurip. Rhes. 885. παῖε, παῖε. and especially from Aristoph.

and corpses that had been driven to them on the shore by the surge and the wind, which, rising during the night, scattered them about in every direction. And they too set up, in opposition, a trophy on the insular Sybota, in quality of conquerors. Now the following were the grounds on which each party claimed the victory: — The Corinthians erected their trophy as having been victorious in the sea-fight up to the night [1], so as to carry off very many wrecks and carcasses; and as having made prisoners to the amount of upwards of a thousand [2], and as having disabled about seventy [3] ships.

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[1] *Up to the night.*] Such is the sense assigned by all the translators; and it is perfectly agreeable to the general use of the word, but not very consistent with *facts*. For to say that they had been victors throughout the day and up to the night, were plainly false, their right wing having been completely defeated, with the loss, as we afterwards find, of thirty ships. They must have meant that up to the night of the day of the battle they were victors, inasmuch as the rout of their right wing did not lead to a total defeat of the whole fleet; that, as they were *at night* victors, and as their left and centre were decidedly victorious, and the day *terminated* in their favour, so far they had a right to set up a trophy.

By *very many* wrecks we may understand, as is said at c. 50., *most* of them. It seems that after a sea-fight, the taking up of wrecks, &c., was similar to removing the dead for burial in a land engagement, which usually decided who had been the victors.

[2] *Upwards of a thousand.*] It appears from c. 55. that there were 1050.

[3] *Seventy.*] This is so very considerable a number, that one might almost suspect an error in a figure. For the *whole* of the ships of the left wing could not have amounted to so many. It seems, however, that the defeat reached to the centre, and extended itself to the whole of the fleet except the right wing, which was gone in pursuit of the routed enemy, and by whose delay in returning all chance of retrieving the day was lost. But still seventy out of, perhaps, eighty-five, is so considerable a number to be *sunk*, that we cannot but suppose, with almost all the commentators, that καταδύειν must here be taken in the sense *mettre hors de combat*. Otherwise, indeed, we cannot account for the Corcyreans immediately making head "with their remaining ships, and those that were sea-worthy;" for then such language would not be applicable. And though it may be said, that if these seventy ships were ever put *hors de combat*, they could not have formed part of those described as *sea-worthy;* yet it must be remembered that this is the representation of an enemy, and, as usual, an exaggeration; for though seventy ships might be very much shattered, yet it should seem that several of them were still sea-worthy for present service. Upon the whole, the difference, in point of loss, between the victors and vanquished, might not be so great as the respective loss in ships would induce us to imagine. For although the Corcyreans had seventy ships disabled, yet a no inconsiderable number of them, it may be supposed, were not wholly unserviceable; whereas the thirty lost by the Corinthians appear to have been, for the most part, quite disabled, as being dashed on the shore; while the others seem to have been in a better state, by having sustained their damage *at sea*, and not

The Corcyreans erected their trophy because they had destroyed about thirty ships, and on being joined by the Athenians, had taken up the wrecks and corpses which were driven to them; and because the Corinthians had the preceding day, at sight of the Athenian ships, rowed to prow, and retreated before them; and when they went to them at Sybota, they came not out to fight them.[4] Thus each party claimed to itself the victory.

LV. The Corinthians then sailed away homeward, and on the way took by deceit Anactorium [5], which is situated at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, and which was a common possession of theirs and the Corcyreans; and fixing here some Corinthian colonists[6], they returned home. Of the Corcy-

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having been *stranded*. This difference seems to be denoted by the use of the term διαφθείραντες in the case of the Corcyreans. Hence we are enabled to see why the Corinthians refused battle the next day, which otherwise would be inexplicable.

[4] *When they went to them—them.*] I have here seen no reason to desert the common reading ἐπείδη ἦλθον, though Bekker and Goeller edit from the greater part of the MSS. ἐπειδὴ ἦλθον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. My reason is, 1st. because the sense thus arising is frigid and feeble; whereas the other, though it involves some harshness in the omission of the nominative, and the inconvenient change of the subject, yet, as such, is perfectly Thucydidean. 2dly. Because it is far easier to account for the insertion than the omission of Ἀθηναῖοι. Nothing was so probable as that some attempt would be made to supply the nominative, which seemed wanting. And yet there is no such very great harshness; for the ἦλθον takes its nominative from αὐτοῖς, which, though placed first in the clause preceding, yet in the natural order comes last, and is therefore nearest.

In this last particular there is certainly exaggeration. They *came forth*, as we have seen, and arranged themselves in order of battle; though it was doubtless as near shore as possible, in order to have the aid of their barbarian allies, and they had evidently no mind to fight.

[5] *Anactorium.*] Anactorium is here said by our author to be situated at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf; and yet he elsewhere describes *Actium* as such. Thus (as Poppo observes) it is impossible to determine from Thucydides which was nearest to the mouth. In D'Anville's Atlas, and many others, as Dr. Butler's, *Anactorium* is so placed; though, as Poppo (after Palmer) remarks, the contrary is proved by Strabo, p. 451. In justification of our author, it may be noticed, that the Sinus Ambrac. has a *double* neck or entrance, on the *second* of which Anactorium is situated, which Pouqueville thinks occupied the place of the present Vonitza. It was originally a colony of Corinth.

By ἀπάτῃ is meant not so much a *stratagem* as a *deceiving* of the people, by seizing a place where they had been received as friends.

[6] *Colonists.*] i. e. fresh colonists, properly ἐποικήτορας. Such seems to be the true sense. As to the version of Smith, " put it into the hands of the

rean captives, eight hundred, who were slaves[7], they sold; but the remaining two hundred and fifty, they kept in custody, treating them, however, with studied kindness[8], in order that, on their return home, they might gain over Corcyra; for it happened that most of them were persons among the most powerful of the city.

Thus Corcyra survived its dangers in the war with the Corinthians, and the Athenian fleet left it and returned home. *This*, however, was the first cause of the Corinthians going to war with the Athenians; namely, that they had, though at peace with them, united with the Corcyreans in taking up arms against them.

LVI. Immediately after these transactions, it chanced that the following occasions of difference, tending to war[1], arose between the Athenians and Peloponnesians:—The Corinthians were contriving[2] how they might revenge themselves on the Athenians; and they, suspecting their enmity[3], ordered the Potidæans, who inhabit the isthmus of Pallene[4], and are

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Corinthian inhabitants," it is not admitted by the words. Of course it is *implied* that the government was put into the hands of the Corinthian inhabitants.

7 *Who were slaves.*] From the great disproportion between the freemen and the slaves, there is reason to think that the Corcyreans chiefly manned their fleet with the latter. Indeed considering the smallness of their territory, it would not have been possible to man so large a fleet from the freemen only. Indeed I suspect that slaves were employed more or less in all the navies of Greece, even the Athenian. So in 7, 13. the Athenian seamen are said *ἀνδράποδα Ὑπερικὰ ἀντεμβεβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν.*

8 *Studied kindness.*] Literally, attention and care. The *custody* here mentioned was not the common *durance* usual in such cases, but (as we find from 3, 70.) the *libera custodia*, which provided only for their safe keeping, and committed them to the care of certain individuals who were bound to the state for their ransom. The phrase is borrowed by Zosim. l. 4 56.

1 *Tending to war.*] Ἐς denotes the *issue* or *end.*

2 *Contriving.*] Literally, practising, devising, scheming. So, 1, 132. *πράσσειν τι ἐς τοὺς Εἵλωτας.*

3 *Suspecting their enmity.*] i. e. shrewdly guessing that they would seek occasion to show their hatred.

4 *The Potidæans — Pallena.*] Potidæa I derive from *ποτὶ* (Doricè for *πρὸς*) and *δαΐος*, expressing it to have been founded in a hostile country. Of kindred derivation is *Potidania* in Ætolia.

This city, situated at the very isthmus of the fruitful peninsula of Pallene formerly Phlegra (*mythologically*, the seat of the battle of the gods and giants; but, *in reality*, as I suspect, the seat of extensive volcanic convulsions) was distant sixty stadia from Olynthus. As to its *fortunes*, it was

colonists of the Corinthians, but their tributary allies [5], to pull down the wall facing Pallene[6], and give hostages; and, moreover, to send away the Corinthian Epidemiurgi [7], and for the future not to receive those whom the Corinthians regu-

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one of the earliest colonies of the Corinthians; was summoned to render obedience and military service to Xerxes; and soon afterwards, on refusing to surrender, was assaulted by Artabazus, whose troops, for the most part, perished in the attempt. Afterwards it was connected with the two great powers, Corinth and Athens; with the former by colonization, and with the latter by more intimate and commercial intercourse, which led to political subjection. This, however, being too rigidly exacted by the Athenians, became odious; and the solicitations of Corinthians and Perdiccas so worked upon their dissatisfied and restless minds, that the commands issued by Athens, proved the signal to immediate and universal insurrection.

[5] *Tributary allies.*] These were among those of the allies who did not furnish military or naval quotas to the Athenian alliance, but a certain equivalent in money. See supra, c. 19. and infra.

[6] *Wall facing Pallene, &c.*] As the city of Potidæa occupied so very narrow an isthmus, it seems probable that the city walls were chiefly confined to the north and south, and were drawn across the isthmus. Thus the Scholiast seems right in explaining this of demolishing that part of the city wall which faced the Peninsula, which is confirmed by c. 54. init. The *other*, which served for defence against the Thracians, the Athenians would not *desire* to have destroyed; whereas *this* could only be meant for resistance to the masters of the sea, the Athenians, and therefore they required it to be demolished.

The other requisitions tended to annihilate all connection with Corinth, except the giving of hostages, which was indeed a most humiliating, and, as it seems, ill-judged demand; since it compelled those principal families from whom the hostages would have been taken to adopt decisive measures for averting the danger which hung over them.

[7] *Epidemiurgi.*] I have retained this name of office, because we have nothing corresponding to it in our language. The commentators, indeed, are not agreed as to the nature of the office, and the extent of its authority. It appears from 5, 47., from Hesychius, Etym. Mag., Livy, and from the authorities cited by Turnebus and Spanheim, that δημιουργὸς was the name given in all the *Doric* states to the magistrate who superintended all *public business*, (hence its derivation,) and which answered to the *tribunus* of the Greek-Latin colonies, and the *demarchus* of the Athenians, and has some parallel in our *mayor* or *boroughreeve*. But why, it may be asked, should such magistrates be here called ἐπιδημιουργοί? And, indeed, we find by the Scholiast that Asclepius, a grammarian as antient as the time of Pompey the Great, thought the ἐπὶ superfluous. That, however, may be doubted; at least, to *cancel* the ἐπὶ, with some critics, cannot be thought of. To the Scholiast's testimony for its existence in that writer, I add that of one almost his contemporary, *Liban.* (who refers to this passage in his Orat. Potid. p. 492. B.), as confirming the undeviating authority of our MSS. It must, therefore, be retained; and the force of the ἐπὶ may be not merely that of *prefectura*, as Abresch supposes, but may refer to the officer being a legate sent out ἐπὶ, to (govern) *colonies*. Thus, we find the *home* magistrates are never so called.

larly sent over every year. These measures they took, fearing lest the Potidæans, at the solicitations of Perdiccas and the Corinthians, should revolt, and draw over as associates in the insurrection their Thracian allies.

LVII. These precautionary measures the Athenians took against the Potidæans immediately after the sea-fight at Corcyra. For not only were the Corinthians now manifestly at enmity with them, but Perdiccas, son of Alexander, king of Macedonia [1], who had before been their friend and ally, was become inimical to them. This enmity arose from the alliance which an Athenian had formed with Philip his brother, and Derdas [2], who were united in hostility to him. Alarmed at which, he contrived, by an embassy to Lacedæmon, how he might set them at variance with the Peloponnesians; and he courted the good-will [3] of the Corinthians, in order to bring about the revolt of Potidæa. He was also practising [4] with the Chalcideans of Thrace, and the Botticæans, to induce them to take part in the revolt; thinking that with the alliance of countries so adjacent, he should carry on the war with the greater advantage. All this coming to the ears of the Athenians, they, anxious to *anticipate* the revolt of the cities, gave orders to the commanders of the armament of thirty ships and a thousand heavy armed, (under Archestratus, son of Lycomedes, and nine others,) which they happened to be now preparing against the territories of Perdiccas, to take hostages [5] of the Potidæans, to demolish the wall, and

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[1] *Perdiccas — Macedonia.*] See the summary view of Macedonian history in Mitford's Greece, 1, 37. et seq.

[2] *Philip his brother and Derdas.*] The hostility arose, it seems, from some attempt made on the part of Perdiccas to deprive his brother and cousin of certain districts, their appanages in Upper Macedonia. It appears that the Athenians had, with intent to strengthen themselves in Thrace, taken part with these princes. Hence Perdiccas, indignant at this interference, and jealous of their ambition, set on foot every political machination to work their destruction.

[3] *Courted the good-will.*] Or, "endeavoured to bring them over to his interest." It is strange Hobbes should have rendered, "reconciled himself to." There is no reason to suppose that he was at enmity with them. On the above sense of προσπ. see Valckn. on Herod. 6, 66, 15.

[4] *Was practising with.*] Literally, was making proposals to, or holding communications with.

[5] *Take hostages.*] i. e. compel them to give hostages.

withal to keep a watchful eye over the neighbouring cities, that they might not revolt.

LVIII. The Potidæans having, on the one hand, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, to try if they could persuade them to adopt a change of policy [1] with respect to themselves; and, on the other having gone to Lacedæmon with the Corinthians, in order to procure their assistance should they need it; and when, after long negotiating the business, they could obtain no favourable [2] answer, but the ships destined against Macedonia and themselves sailed just the same [3]; after, too, the authorities [4] at Lacedæmon had promised them to make an irruption into Attica, if the Athenians should proceed against Potidæa —then indeed, they seized the opportunity to *revolt*, in conjunction with the Chalcideans and Bottiæans, binding themselves by a mutual oath of confederacy. Perdiccas, too, induces the Chalcideans to abandon and demolish their cities on the coast and remove up to Olynthus [5], making this their ~~own~~ strong city; and to the people thus emigrating he assigned part of his own territory about the lake Bolbe in Mygdonia, to one (μίαν)

[1] *Adopt a change of policy.*] Hobbes and Smith here very imperfectly represent the sense. The version which I have adopted is confirmed by Liban. Orat. Potid. 493. 6. ἐδέοντο δὲ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὴν πόλιν· ἐᾷν τὸν ἔνοντα κόσμον τῆς πολιτείας. The measures in contemplation would really have been a change of constitution.

[2] *Favourable.*] Or, friendly, pacific. So in a kindred passage of 1, 29. ὡς δὲ ὁ κήρυξ ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον παρὰ τῶν Κ. Smith incorrectly renders it *ineffectual*.

[3] *Sailed just the same.*] i. e. as if they had never made any solicitation. Both the sense and the construction are mistaken by the translators. The words should be pointed thus: ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες, αἱ ἐπὶ Μ. καὶ σφᾶς, ὁμοίως ἔπλεον.

[4] *Authorities.*] i. e. official persons. The original τέλη is explained by the Scholiast προάρχοντες, a name, he says, applied to Lacedemonian officers of state, because they bring business *to an end*. Duke, however, who refers to Meurs. Misc. Lacon. 2, 4. and 3, 7., observes, that it was a general name of office. And he quotes the phrase from Xen. Hist. l. 5. init., and notices the kindred phrase οἱ ἐν τέλει. See Valckn. on Herod. 9, 106, 7.

[5] *Olynthus.*] This city, it appears from ch. 63., was situated on a high spot. Its name is absurdly derived by Steph. Byz. from one Olynthus, a son of Hercules. Such derivations are usually a cloak for ignorance. I cannot but conjecture that it received its name from the growth of the ὄλυνθος, or *wild fig*, in its neighbourhood. See Pausan. 4, 20, 1. and Steph. Thes. in v.

occupy[6] during the continuance of the war with Athens. Accordingly they destroyed their cities, made a removal, and then prepared themselves for war.[7]

LIX. Meanwhile the thirty ships of the Athenians are arrived at the parts of Thrace[1], and find Potidæa and the other places already revolted. And now the commanders, judging it impossible with their present forces to contend both with Perdiccas and the revolted places, bent their course to Macedonia, to accomplish[2] the business on which they were primarily sent; and set themselves to[3] co-operate with Philip

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[6] *To occupy.*] i. e. for occupation, not possession. The phrase ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι is elsewhere so applied, of which several other instances occur in the course of the Peloponnesian war.

By those *emigrating* are to be understood such as could not be accommodated at Olynthus.

[7] *Destroyed — war.*] This destruction and removal were evidently made from apprehension of the naval power of Athens. It was certainly politic enough in Perdiccas to urge this measure. Doubtless he took care to enlarge on the little service these peninsular lands would render, exposed as they were to the ravages of the Athenians, for whom they would be, in fact, cultivating the land. A desperate course, however, it was; and involved such severe sacrifices, that one may suspect that nothing but oppression of the most galling nature could have driven them to it.

[1] *The parts of Thrace.*] Such is the literal rendering of the appellation then bestowed on that tract of southern and maritime Thrace, which embraced the three peninsulas of Pallene, Chalcidice, and Acte, and extended as far beyond as Amphipolis. Though this was properly situated in Macedonia or Thrace, it was not reckoned a part of either, having been peopled by Greek colonies, which had become independent of both those countries. Sometimes it bears, from the principal colonists, the name of Chalcidice, though the other was the one usually bestowed upon it.

As to the *ratio phraseos*, it is expressed at 2, 29. more fully by τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χώρια. Some participle is wanting, as συνωκισμένα; and the whole signifies *the Grecian colonies in Thrace.*

How the Chalcideans came to possess this tract of country, we learn from Herod. 8, 127.

[2] *To accomplish — sent.*] Such seems to be the most exact representation of the somewhat irregular language of the original, τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐξεπέμποντο, where must be understood πράγμα, or ἔργον. The same ellipsis occurs at 6, 47. Some examples are adduced by Goeller from Sallust, and by Abresch from Greek authors, but not very apposite ones. Out of many which I have noticed, I select the following: Eurip. Bacch. 454. οὐκ ἄμορφος εἶ, ξένε, ὡς εἰς γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὅπερ εἰς Θήβας πάρει; Zosim. p. 215. s. m. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥρμητο, κατὰ Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑῴαν ἐστέλλετο; and 4, 13, 1. Οὐάλης, ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥρμητο, κατὰ Π. ἐστέλλετο.

[3] *Set themselves to.*] Or, engaged themselves in. The force of καταστάντες is either neglected or misunderstood by the translators. It neither

and the brothers of Derdas, who had made an irruption in force from the upper country.[4]

LX. In the meantime the Corinthians, on the revolt of Potidæa and the departure of the Athenian fleet to Macedonia, being apprehensive for the safety of the place, and regarding the danger as their own, send out a force, composed partly of volunteers of their own city, and partly of Peloponnesians whom they had taken into pay, in all 1700 heavy-armed, and 700 light troops, commanded by Aristeus, son of Adimantus, who had ever been well affected to Potidæa, and by their attachment to whom most of the Corinthians had been chiefly induced to join the expedition, which arrived in Thrace on the fortieth day after the revolt of Potidæa.

LXI. The news, however, of the defection of the cities soon reached the Athenians, who on hearing this, and the troops repairing[1] under Aristeus, sent off 2000 heavy armed of their own citizens, and forty ships, under the command of Callias, son of Calliades, with four others, against the revolted places.

These, on arriving at Macedonia, found the 1000 first sent had already taken Therme, and were besieging Pydna; and they also first of all sat themselves down before the place; but afterwards having made a composition[2] with Perdiccas, and

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means, "having come thither," nor, "there staying," as it is rendered by Smith and Hobbes. It stands, by a common atticism, for καταστάντες; and there was no occasion for Reiske to have here conjectured κάτω στάντες, or Palmer καταστᾶσις on Æschin. de falsa Legat. p. 32, 27. There is here an ellipsis of εἰς ἔργον, which is *supplied* at 1, 32. So καθ. ἐς πόλεμον at 5, 82., and often elsewhere.

[4] *From the upper country.*] Namely, "into the lower." These appanages were evidently in the highlands of Macedonia, called *Upper* Macedonia.

[1] *Repairing.*] Literally, "and that those under Aristeus had gone thither." Smith incorrectly renders, "heard of the *arrival*." *That* had not yet taken place, as appears from the next chapter.

[2] *Composition, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν, which has been misunderstood by the interpreters. Ἀναγκαῖος is used of what is highly necessary (7, 6.); or absolutely expedient (6, 37.); and in 7, 69. we have οὐχ ἱκανὰ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναγκαῖα. And it is often used of what is necessary and *unavoidable*. Hence may be understood Eutrop. 10, 17. Si *fœderis necessitatem* mutare voluisset. That the state of

treaty of alliance, on the best terms that the emergency would admit, (for Potidæa and the arrival of Aristeus demanded despatch,) they evacuated Macedonia, and proceeded to Berœa; and in their way from thence, turning back on the place, and first making an unsuccessful attempt on it, they then went forward to Potidæa[3] by land, with 3000 heavy armed of their own citizens, besides a considerable number of troops furnished by the allies, and 700 Macedonian horse under Philip and Pausanias. They were accompanied along the coast by a fleet of seventy ships. Proceeding forward leisurely, they arrived on the third day[4] at Gigonus, and there encamped.

Athenian affairs rendered this accommodation necessary is obvious; but it is not so clear how Perdiccas should be so readily induced to conclude, not a treaty of *peace* only, but of *alliance* with Athens. He *may* have been (as Mitford supposes) not over-scrupulous; but neither, I imagine, were the *Athenians* so; and, therefore, we may conclude, that the interests of Philip and Derdas were not very studiously consulted: and yet we cannot suppose them to have been *neglected*, for otherwise Philip would not have just afterwards joined the Athenian army.

[3] *And proceeding — Potidæa.*] I have endeavoured to ascertain the true sense of this tortuous and obscure passage, in which there are four participles with a καὶ. Now the difficulty centres in κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες. Portus renders, "in Berœam profecti et inde reversi." But that involves somewhat of incongruity. As to the version of Smith, "and turning from thence," that the words will not admit. And still less that of Hobbes, who, moreover, by supposing them to have turned back to Pydna, and to have thence gone by land, throws them, I conceive, out of the regular road, which seems to have been through Berœa and from thence to Pella, Gephyra, Therme, and Gigonus, and so on to Potidæa. Many recent commentators, indeed, as Reiske, Gottl., Haack, and Bredov., take ἐπιστ. in the sense "turning their attention to." And they connect κἀκεῖθεν and ἐπορεύοντο, assigning the following sense: "venerunt Beroeam, indeque postquam ad oppidum conversi illud tentaverant frustra, Potidæam iter fecerunt." But the construction of the words is thus broken up, the καὶ in κἀκεῖθεν must be cancelled, and the sense assigned to ἐπιστ. is frigid and not very apt. It is plain that ἐπιστρ. must have the sense ascribed to it by the old translators, "turning back." And yet to go to a place, and then turn back upon it, has appeared so perplexing, that Bauer supposed by *Berœa* was meant the *district*, and by χωρίον the *city itself*. And he thinks that, in passing through the district, they affected to leave the city in the flank, or rear, and then suddenly turned upon it. But the road passed *through Berœa;* and to take Berœa for the *district* is so intolerably harsh, that it cannot at all be thought of. Neither is this device necessary. We need only suppose that on their way from Berœa, and at a short distance from it, they, either from sudden thought, or premeditated design and deep-laid plan, turned back upon the city, hoping to surprise it off its guard, and carry it by a coup-de-main.

[4] *Third day.*] The first day's march seems to have been to Pella, the second to Thermæ, and the third to Gigonus.

LXII. Now the Potidæans and the Peloponnesians with Aristeus, were encamped, expecting the Athenians at the isthmus near Olynthus, and having their market for the supply of the troops out of the city. The allies chose as general of the whole of the infantry Aristeus; and of the horse Perdiccas, (for he had immediately again forsaken[1] the Athenian alliance, and attached himself to the Potidæans,) who appointed Iolaus his lieutenant. Now it was the purpose of Aristeus to have his own army at the isthmus, and watch the approach of the Athenians; but that the Chalcideans and the allies from beyond the isthmus, and a body of 200 horse sent by Perdiccas, should remain in Olynthus; and when the Athenians should proceed towards them, to make an attack on their rear, and thus place the enemy between them. But Callias, the Athenian general and his colleagues detached the Macedonian horse and a small party of the allies to Olynthus, in order to hinder any sally from thence. So they, breaking up their encampment, marched towards Potidæa. On arriving at the isthmus, and seeing the enemy ranging his troops for battle, they also placed themselves in opposite array, and speedily came to action; and that wing where Aristeus and his colleagues were (being the flower of the army) put to flight the wing opposite to them, and pursued the enemy to a considerable distance; but the rest of the Potidæans and Peloponnesians were worsted by the Athenians, and compelled to take refuge within the city walls.

LXIII. Now when Aristeus had returned from the pursuit, and perceived the rest of his army defeated, he was in doubt which course he should venture to take; whether towards Olynthus, or to Potidæa? At last he resolved to contract his troops into the smallest compass, and force pellmell into Potidæa: and this he effected by dashing through the water

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1 *Forsaken, &c.*] The reason for this sudden change we are not told: but after making all due allowance for the levity and unprincipled disposition of the man, may it not have been caused by the attack on Berœa, and the close union between the Athenians and his brother Philip, which he might think augured no good to him?

below the pier[1], with difficulty, indeed, and amidst a shower of darts, as also with the loss of a few men, though with the safety of the greater number. But those of Olynthus who were to co-operate with the Potidæans, as soon as the signals were raised and the battle commenced, (for the place is but about sixty stadia distant, and plainly visible,) proceeded forward some little way, in order to give succour, and the Macedonian horse advanced in battle array to oppose them. But as the victory was speedily decided in favour of the Athenians, and the signals lowered, they retreated back again within the walls, and the Macedonians returned to the Athenians: so that the cavalry on neither side took part in the engagement. After the battle the Athenians set up a trophy, and by truce granted to the Potidæans their dead.[2] Now there fell of the Potidæans and their allies somewhat less than 300[3]; of the Athenians themselves 150[4], and their general Callias.

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[1] *Pier.*] There is a very similar passage in Xen. Anab. 7, 1, 17. ἔϑεον παρὰ τὴν ϑάλατταν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν χήλην τοῦ τείχους ὑπερβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Hence is illustrated Aristid. 1, 101. παρὰ τὴν χήλην τῆς ἠϊόνος. The word χήλη is derived by the Scholiast and Suidas from its being like the χήλη βοός. Another derivation is attempted by Dorville on Chariton, with as little success. The Scholiast (from some antient authority, it seems,) tells us that the χήλη was a projecting piece of rough stone-work, to protect the wall.

The exploit here recorded was doubtless performed at ebb tide. I cannot omit to observe, that this passage is imitated by Appian. 2, 859. ὤδευεν — βαλλόμενος τε καὶ χαλεπως, and 2, 674. where Schweigh. has edited from one MS. ἐχεῖτο δρόμῳ. The other editions and MSS. have ἐφεῖτο; a most corrupt reading, for which I propose the mild emendation ἔϑει τε.

[2] *By truce — dead.*] i. e. gave them permission to fetch away their dead for burial. This permission was accompanied by a sort of armistice concluded, which assured those friends who went on this mournful errand, of their personal safety: and as all *permission* implies *superiority*, so the asking this permission was tantamount to an acknowledgment of defeat; insomuch that when the victory was undecided, the dead were demanded, or fetched away by force. This truce, being never denied, was *so far* regarded as a matter of course, that it was sometimes taken for granted by tacit consent. See Turneb. Adv. 5, 7. Herald. Adv. 1, 9. Kirchmann de funer. Append. c. 4. and the commentators on Ælian. V. H. 12, 4. referred to by Duker in loc.

[3] *Somewhat less than* 300.] Diod. Sic. says πλείους τῶν τρ. by an error, it should seem. Perhaps the true reading is μείους.

[4] *Of the Athenians themselves* 150.] The *epitaph* on the Athenians who fell in this battle has been recently discovered and illustrated by Thiersch.

On *Callias*, see Plut. Nic. ch. 6. He seems to have read Καλλιάδας. But that was the name of the *father*, as it was also of a *son* of Callias, who,

LXIV. The Athenians then proceeded to throw up and garrison works of circumvallation against that part of the city wall which faced the isthmus. That towards Pallene [1] was left without circumvallation; for they did not think themselves able to maintain their garrison at the isthmus, and to go and raise works on the side towards Pallene, being apprehensive lest the Potidæans and their allies should attack them when thus divided. The Athenians, at home, however, hearing that Pallene was not circumvallated, afterwards sent out 1600 heavy armed of their own citizens, with Phormio, son of Asopius, as general, who proceeding thither, and making his advances [2] from Aphytis, led his forces against Potidæa, going on leisurely, and ravaging [3] the country in his course. But when no one came forth to engage with him, he threw up a circumvallation to the wall on the side of Pallene.[4] And thus was Potidæa closely [5] besieged, both on the land sides, and to the seaward by the fleet, which also blockaded the place.

(as appears from Dio. Chrysost. de Servit. p. 238.,) was taken prisoner in this battle, and long remained in captivity.

[1] *That towards Pallene.*] Gottleb. most erroneously supposes that by the Pallene here mentioned is to be understood the *city*, not the *peninsula*. It would, indeed, make no difference whether it were taken of one or the other, but of the *former* I find no mention in Thucydides. Into this mistake Gottleb. seems to have been led by Portus, who just after renders ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην by "in *urbem*, P."

The ἀτείχιστον is put for οὐκ ἀποτειχ., as just after τειχίζειν for ἀποτ., the genus for the species. This wall of circumvallation was usually formed of the materials dug from a deep ditch, mostly fenced with a strong pallisado. A full account of this may be seen in Wessel. on Herod. 6, 36, 6. and Goeller de Situ Syr. p. 90.

[2] *Making his advances.*] i. e. making that his head-quarters, or seat of war to sally from. So in a kindred passage of 2, 69. ὃς ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Ναυπάκτου, &c. The same phrase, indeed, is found very frequently in our author; so that I am surprised all the translators should have missed the true sense, which is that above expressed. This, too, seems implied in his *landing* at Aphytis, which as being a place of some strength, and within a convenient distance of Potidæa, would be very well adapted for the purpose intended.

[3] *Ravaging.*] The original κείρειν signifies properly to *cut down the trees*. It is often used in the Historians, both by itself and with λεηλατεῖν, λωβήσασθαι, and similar terms; and therefore denotes such wasting destruction as lays every thing bare.

[4] *On the side of Pallene.*] This sense of ἐκ, though not perceived by the commentators, is very frequent, and is here required by the context.

[5] *Closely.*] Or, strongly, with a great force. See my note on Acts 19, 20.

LXV. But on the place being blockaded, Aristeus having no hope of preservation unless some succour should arrive from Peloponnesus, or other unexpected [1] event occur, gave it as his advice that all except 500 should seize the first favourable wind and sail off, in order that thus the provisions might hold out the longer; and he was ready to be of the number of those who staid behind. Failing, however, to persuade them, and being desirous of providing for what might seem the next advisable step, and with a view to promote, as effectually as he could, the welfare of affairs *outside* of the place [2], he contrived to elude the vigilance of the Athenian guardships, and make away by sea. Taking up his abode among the Chalcidæans, he, in conjunction with them, achieved several warlike exploits, and, moreover, laid an am-

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[1] *Unexpected*, παράλογον.] i. e. παράδοξον. For I cannot receive the reading παρὰ λόγον, edited by Goeller purely on the conjecture of Krueger, who denies that the adjective is ever used by Thucyd., though in the face of this passage, and 2, 90. 7, 71. and others, because in all these we *may* read παρὰ λόγον. But what *proof* is there that we *must?* The adjective is indeed rare, and no example is given by Steph. Thes., but it *does* occur; as Diod. Sic. T. 4. 215, 8. μὴ γένηταί τι παράλογον, *aliquid adversi*. Plut. de Is. § 73. ξυμφορὰς παραλόγους καὶ ἀλλοκότους. And it ought to be restored to Aristot. Eth. l. 9, 7. ὡς παρὰ λόγον ἐπιζητεῖται, on the authority of Andron. Rhod.; as also to Heliod. t. 1. p. 100, 3. ξίφος ἐπανετείνετο ὡς πατάξων, εἴ τι παρὰ λόγον ἐγχειρείη, where it is well rendered "si quid *temerarium* aggrederetur." At Jambl. Vit. Pyth. § 182. εἶναι δὲ τὸν καιρὸν μεχρὶ μὲν τίνας διδακτὸν καὶ ἀπαράλογον, I conjecture οὐ παρ.

By the *something unexpected* seems to be meant, not, as the Scholiast fancies, an *earthquake*, but some adverse occurrence to the enemy, as pestilential disease, the death of some of the superior officers, and the ruin of the army by neglect, or some other event in, what is familiarly called, the *chapter of accidents*.

[2] *Desirous of — place.*] Such appears to be the true sense of these words, which seems to have been ill understood by the translators. As to the versions of Hobbes and Smith, they entirely desert the original. Now the difficulty centres in τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, which have no very tangible sense; yet, aided by the context, we may ascertain it. Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις, scil. πράγματα signifies in the best writers matters or affairs which come next in succession to others; and, figuratively, such as are *next to be done*, are *next in importance*, a sense very applicable here. As Aristeus could not induce them to adopt what he thought the *best* measure under present circumstances, he was yet willing to have recourse to the *next* best measure; and to provide as effectually *as he could* for the good of the city outside of it; for had they consented to leave it all but 500, greater good might have been done.

By his proposing to maintain the defence with 500 men, we may suppose that the place must have been very strong. Indeed it is to be remembered, that this was not so much a *siege* as a *blockade*.

bush near the city of Sermyla[3], and slew a considerable number. He opened also a correspondence with the Peloponnesus, in order to procure some succours thence. But Phormio, having completed the blockade of Potidæa, went with 1600 heavy armed, ravaged the Chalcidæan and Bottiæan territories[4], and took some of their towns.

LXVI. Now the following are the accusations which the Athenians and Peloponnesians reciprocally brought against each other. The Corinthians complained that the Athenians were besieging Potidæa, their colony, and the Corinthian and Peloponnesian persons therein. The Athenians retorted upon them that *they* had drawn over into revolt their confederate and tributary city, and had gone and openly fought against them with the Potidæans. The dispute had, however, not yet broken out into a *war*, nor had the parties proceeded to blows[1]; for the Corinthians had done what they did acting only in their private capacity.[2]

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[3] *Sermyla.*] Or Sermylia, or Sermilis, or Hermyla; for Goeller has rightly edited from MSS. Ἑρμυλίων. But if Hecatæus, as we are told by St. Byz., wrote Σερμ., the common reading must be the true one. Be that as it may, in Scylax, p. 26, 19. for Ἰσμύρια, I would read Ἑρμύλια.

[4] *Chalcidean and Bottiæan territories.*] The situation of the Bottiæan territory is found in scarcely any of the maps, and in those few it is fixed very erroneously. The cause of this has been that the Bottiæans occupied two different situations at different periods. The original one was, as we find from Herod. 7, 123 and 127., a long and narrow strip of country running from the head of the Thermaic gulf, and bounded towards the sea-coast by the rivers Axius and Haliacmon, and extending a considerable distance upland. But from this their *parent country*, they had been driven away by the Macedonians even before the time of Herodotus, since he mentions their expulsion at 8, 127. Thucyd. also, 2, 99., notices it, and describes them as occupying a district bordering on that of the Chalcideans, with whom they are in our author generally mentioned together. We find, too, from Herod. 8, 127. that they occupied Olynthus, in the time of Darius Hystaspes, whose general, Artabazus, having taken the city, exterminated their race, and gave it to the Chalcideans. What exact situation they at *this* time occupied, is not certain; but as it seems pretty clear that Spartolus (called by Thucyd. a Bottiæan city) was to the west of Olynthus, and certainly at no great distance, *there* the Bottiæan territory must be placed. It was probably bounded by the river Olynthus on the *east*. Its other boundaries cannot be fixed.

[1] *Proceeded to blows.*] Literally, had yet kept their hands off each other. For ἀνακωχὴ is here to be taken in its primary sense. See note, supra, 1, 40.

[2] *Private capacity.*] And not as a member of the Peloponnesian confederacy. This sense of ἰδίᾳ occurs in 7, 48. 5, 42. 2, 67.

LXVII. But on Potidæa being besieged, they, alarmed for the safety of the place and of their countrymen within it, could no longer keep quiet [1], but exhorted the allies to proceed without delay to Lacedæmon; and going thither themselves, they inveighed bitterly [2] against the Athenians, saying that they had broken the treaty, and were doing shameful injustice to Greece. The Æginetæ [3], too, though they did not openly send ambassadors for fear of the Athenians, yet secretly did not a little to foment the war, alleging that they were not left to enjoy that political independence which the treaty had assigned them. Then the Lacedæmonians, having summoned their confederates, and, besides them, such of the allies as had any other injury to complain of [4] at the hands of the Athenians,

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[1] *Keep quiet.*] Or, make a private affair only of it, but resolved to make it a public one, and seek redress at the hands of the confederacy.

[2] *Inveighed bitterly.*] The cause of this exacerbation may be found in the check given to their ambition in former wars, in the hinderance which their commerce met with from the rising power of the Athenians, and, finally, in that interference with their colonies by which they were at least deprived of almost all *benefit* from them, in consequence of the tribute and political subjection claimed by the mistress of the sea.

[3] *Æginetæ.*] This once powerful state had now sunk into insignificance, having been so completely humbled by the defeat recorded infra, 6. 108., and which had taken place twenty-four years before; so that they could not have maintained any real independence. That they should have nourished animosity against the authors of their humiliation, was natural; but, in reality, they were a conquered country; and in the terms of their treaty of submission mentioned, nothing is said of leaving them even nominal independence. The Scholiast would untie the knot by reminding us that those states whose names were not subscribed to the treaty, were regarded as independent. And thus he would take "according to the treaty," to mean "according to the spirit of the treaty." But considering that the conquest of Ægina by Athens took place six years before that treaty, it would seem highly improbable that the name of Ægina should not have been inserted in the Athenian list. And yet, from the expressions at the beginning of the chapter, there appears reason to suppose that the Æginetæ were regarded as forming part of the *Peloponnesian* alliance. They were, too, of the Doric race; and both affinity and amity would draw them that way. After all, the Scholiast is probably right. It seems that, in consequence of their being so much in the power of Athens, their name was not actually affixed to the Lacedemonian confederation, to which affinity and good-will would have inclined them; but yet they had just so much power as to avert the humiliation of being entered on the Athenian list, and therefore might be said to have a nominal claim to independence, though their being subject and tributary to Athens prevented them from being really so.

[4] *And besides them — complain of.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this awkward passage, in which the recent editors have done well in cancelling

and having convoked their own accustomed assembly, desired them to speak. Accordingly they each of them brought forward their accusations, and among the rest especially the Megareans, who stated many other occasions of difference, and particularly this, that they, contrary to the treaty, had been excluded from the ports [5] of the Athenian territory, and from the use of the market at Athens. Last of all, and having let the others first exasperate the Lacedæmonians, came forward the Corinthians, and spoke to this effect: —

LXVIII. "The good faith, Lacedæmonians, which characterises your political conduct and private intercourse towards each other, makes you the less disposed to hearken to what may be said to the prejudice of others [1]; and from this,

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τε. Kistemm. (as some others before him, and among them Smith) assign the following: "summoning not only their allies, but whoever else had any charge to prefer." Others, as Haack and Goeller, render thus: "Lacedæmonii vero sociorum præterea advocatis si qui alia quapiam in re se ab Atheniensibus injuriam accepisse dicerent, legitimo suæ gentis concilio facto, qui vellent, eos dicere jusserunt." But according to the former of these two interpretations, the τε can hardly be dispensed with, and ἄλλος would be necessary. The chief objection, however, is in the *sense;* for it is not probable that they would summon any but their allies. The latter seems to represent the true meaning of the passage. And the editors who support it might have observed that the καὶ signifies *nempe,* and the whole of the clause καὶ εἴ τις —Ἀθηναίων is exegetical of the preceding.

I must not omit to observe, that the persons sent on the part of the allies are called by Herod. 5, 91, 10. ἄγγελοι, also πρόξουλοι at 6, 72. At 7, 172. both appellations are used.

[5] *Excluded from the ports, &c.*] Some light is required to be thrown on this subject. History, however, affords none; and the Scholiast, our substitute for it, only retails the silly story which Diodorus and that arch scandal-monger Plutarch have not blushed to perpetuate. More to the purpose would it have been to have remarked that the terms denote a forbidding of all commercial intercourse both by sea and land. But what our Scholiast has omitted to do may be supplied from the Scholiast on Aristoph. Ran. p. 273. D. ἔγραψε γὰρ ψήφισμα τοιοῦτον ὁ Περικλῆς. Μεγαρέας μητ' ἀγορᾶς, μήτε θαλάττης, μητ' Ηπείρου μετέχειν., where there is somewhat of corruption, which may be easily removed by reading μή τοι ἀγορᾶς, μήτε θαλάττης μήτε ἠπείρου, μετέχειν. This is the best commentary on the words of Thucyd., where, by the ἀγορᾶς is meant the *market by land,* the deprivation of which inflicted very great distress on the Megareans, as appears from Aristoph. Acharn. 729. 752. and 758. See also the Schol. on p. 410, 6. F.

[1] *The good faith — others.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this difficult passage. Or it may be expressed thus: "renders you the more disposed to question any representations which are made to the prejudice of others." Τὸ πιστὸν, "good faith;" as in a very similar passage of Soph.

indeed, you derive[2] a sober-minded moderation, but you labour under the greater ignorance in your views of foreign affairs.[3] Thus when we repeatedly told you beforehand what injuries we were about to suffer from the Athenians, ye derived no instruction[4] from the representations which from time to time we made, but rather suspected the speakers, as if they had had merely their own private interest[5] in view. And thus it happens, that not *before* we have suffered the wrong, but when we are already groaning under it[6], you have summoned these your allies, among whom *we* are not the least privileged to speak[7], inasmuch as we have the greatest complaints to prefer — wronged[8] as we are by the Athenians, and by you neglected. Now if, indeed, their injuries to Greece

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Trach. 398. τὸ πιστὸν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὁμιλίας. Ἄπιστ. in the active sense, for μὴ πειθομένους is somewhat rare; yet it occurs in Æschyl. Theb. 873. ἰὼ δύσφρονες φίλων ἄπιστοι., Proverb. 28, 25. ἄπιστος ἀνὴρ κρίνει εἰκῇ., and St. Joh. 20, 27. μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πιστός. In ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους — καθίστησι rests the chief difficulty. Kistemm. would construe ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους after ἤν τι λέγωμεν, in the sense, "speak against them." But this would not be good Greek; and as the words are antithetical to καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, they must be taken with καθίστησι ἀπιστ. By λέγωμεν is meant, per euphem., λέγωμεν κατὰ. By the τοὺς ἄλλους is meant, "*the* other Greeks." And for λέγωμεν there is a change to the first person plural, to *accommodate* what is said in a general way, to the present speakers; and thus also brevity is consulted. For otherwise it would have been ἤν τι λέγωσι, ὡς ἡμεῖς νῦν λέγωμεν. The sense of the passage has been completely missed by Smith. On the *sentiment*, see note on 1 Cor. 13, 7.

[2] *Derive.*] Or, acquire. The translators understand this of acquiring the *praise of*, &c. But that seems an unnecessary licence of interpretation.

[3] *You labour — affairs.*] i. e. your views of foreign affairs are so much the less correct. By *foreign* is meant all that was not Lacedemonian.

[4] *Derived no instruction.*] i. e. ye made no information, were not the wiser for them.

[5] *Interest.*] Portus and Hobbes, in rendering this "private differences," forget the *idiom* in the words, which is also found at 3, 42. ἢ ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῷ διαφέρει, where see the note. Smith (to make surety more sure) expresses *both* the above senses.

Goeller denies that τῶν λεγόντων is governed of ὑπονοεῖτε. But I rather acquiesce in the common opinion, which is not only confirmed by a Scholiast in Bekk. Anecd., but also by a close imitation of the passage in Joseph. 399, 29.

[6] *Groaning under it.*] q. d. in ipso articulo perpessionis. So 7, 71. μᾶλλον τῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδουλοῦντο. See Dr. Blomf. on Æschyl. Choeph. 156.

[7] *Privileged to speak.*] Or, have a right to speak. So 3, 40. 6, 16. καὶ προσήκει μοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ἄρχειν.

[8] *Wronged.*] Ὑβρ. denotes a mixture of injury and insult.

had been perpetrated in a lurking and secret [9] manner, then it might be necessary to show the fact for the information of those who knew it not. But now, what need of long speeches to you who see yourselves, some of you, enslaved, and others (and those, too, your allies,) whose liberty is aimed at by those who have long been prepared to maintain their aggression, if perchance they should be resisted [10]? For otherwise they would not have laid hands on [11] Corcyra, and held it fast in spite of us, nor have besieged Potidæa; of which the one is most opportunely [12] situated for constant use in our intercourse with Thrace, the other would have supplied a most powerful navy to the Peloponnesians.

LXIX. "Now of these evils, you, Lacedæmonians, are the authors, by suffering them first to fortify their city after the Median war, and afterwards to erect the long walls; by so doing continually depriving of liberty not only those then enslaved by them, but now even your allies.[1] For not he who actually enslaves is the sole agent, but *he* may more truly be said to effectuate it, who, having the power to prevent, looks on and permits it; and especially if he affects a reputation of virtue, as a liberator of Greece. Tardily[2], and with much

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[9] *Lurking and secret manner.*] Hobbes well seizes the literal sense, "lurking in some obscure place." Yet the epithet is evidently meant for the *action*, or place of action. And ἀφανεῖς is for ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ, and that for the adverb ἀφανῶς. So in a passage of Dionys. Hal. A. R. p. 150, 24. imitated from hence: οὐδὲ εἰς ἀφανές που καταδὺς χώριον, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδόν. Thus also ἐν γωνίᾳ κάθημαι, and *in angulo jacere*. See my note on Acts 26, 26.

[10] *What need — resisted.*] Such is, I conceive, the full and real sense of this contort sentence, which hardly admits of being rendered literally. A bitter sarcasm is couched in εἴποτε ἄρα πολεμήσονται, which, if Bekker and Goeller had perceived, they would not have cancelled ἄρα.

[11] *Laid hands on.*] Steph. and Duker think that there is here, as in some other passages, an adjunct notion of *underhand*. In which view might be compared the "privy paw" of Dryden. But the thing really was *not* "done in a corner."

[12] *Most opportunely — Thrace.*] The words πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης are somewhat vague; but there seems to be a reference to the purposes of commerce and dominion, which their great rivals had so successfully carried on with that and other countries peopled by Grecian colonists.

[1] *Your allies.*] The Æginetæ, Megareans, and Potidæans.

[2] *Tardily.*] The translators render as if they read μόγις. But the common reading is not only supported by all the MSS., but by 1, 141. χρόνιοί

ado, are we brought together, and not even now for any clear and definite object.[3] Surely it ought not to be made a question for consideration whether we have been injured or not — but how we may avenge the wrong. For now the active, the decided, and the undelaying, advance against those who are yet unresolved what to do.[4] Aye, we well know in what a crafty way, and by what silent approaches, the Athenians encroach upon their neighbours! And so long, indeed, as they fancy they escape detection, through your unobservance[5], they are the less courageous; but when they find that you know and permit, they will vigorously press on their attacks. Yes, Lacedæmonians, you alone of the Greeks repel your foe[6], not by force of arms, but by dint of procrastination; you alone seek to destroy, not the incipient increase[7], but the *doubled*

τε ξυνιόντες, ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν. Perhaps, however, the other notion may be admitted as an adjunct.

[3] *Definite object.*] Such as would be the case, if the injury were acknowledged: for then the only object would be how to avenge it. The next words are exegetical.

[4] *The active — do.*] This seems to be the true sense of the place, which has been miserably handled by the translators. The best commentary on it will be found in the following passages of Æschyl. Agam. 1222. σὺ μὲν κατεύχει (you are praying); τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει (and they are taking measures to destroy you); and 1327. χρονίζομεν γάρ, we delay; οἱ δὲ τῆς μελλοῦς κλέος Πέδον πατοῦντες, οὐ καθεύδουσιν χέρι, which is well rendered by Dr. Blomfield, "illi vero tarditatis gloriam conculcantes (aspernati, et celeritatem præferentes) manu non quiescunt."

[5] *Your unobservance.*] To render the ἀναίσθητον, *stupor* or *stupidity*, were as ill-judged as in Acts 17, 22. to assign to δεισιδαιμονεστέρους the sense *too superstitious*. In neither case could it be the intention of the speaker to insult those whom he was addressing. For the same reason I cannot approve of the versions of Heilman *unempfindlichkeit*, and of Goeller *inertia*. Indeed the sense which I have adopted is one of the most natural of which the word is susceptible.

[6] *Repel your foe.*] It is strange that Hobbes and Smith should understand this of *succouring their friends;* which implies an ignorance of one of the most common idioms of the language.

[7] *Increase.*] The editors have certainly done right in preferring αὔξησιν to the other reading δύναμιν, which is evidently a mere gloss. I cannot, however, but suspect that αὔξησιν itself is a gloss, and that Thucydides wrote αὖξην, an old Attic word, recommended in preference to αὔξησιν by the old grammarians, and which occurs (though little noticed by Steph. Thes.) in Aretæus, Philo, Hermes ap. Stob. Ecl. Phys. t. 2. p. 800., Zozim. 1, 24, 1., and Ælian An. 9, 60. However, I must not dissemble that αὔξησιν is defended by an imitation of this passage in Plut. Rom. 25. οὐκ ᾠοντο δεῖν περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐνίστασθαι τῇ αὐξήσει, καὶ κωλούειν τὸν Ρωμύλον. And yet if δύναμιν be a gloss, it is a most antient one, since it was read by Joseph., who, p. 98, 33. writes thus: οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένην δύναμιν ἐχθρῶν πειρώμενοι κατα-

strength of your enemies. Ye have, forsooth, the reputation of being *safe and sure*[8]; but truly the *report* of you exceeds the *fact*. For well we know that the Mede had proceeded from the remotest parts of the earth[9] before the quotas to be furnished by you were properly ready to meet him. And now the Athenians (not far *removed* as *he* was, but *near at hand*,) you look upon with quiet indifference[10], and instead of yourselves advancing upon them, you choose rather to repel their attacks, and rather to expose yourselves to the dubious chances of war[11], by contesting with them when stronger; knowing as you do, that the *Barbarian* owed his ruin chiefly to himself; and that we, in our contests with the Athenians, are indebted for our safety more to their blunders than to any succours from you. For indeed *some* have there been[12] whom the hopes of such, and the reliance thereon, have hurried unprepared for resistance to their ruin. Let none of you, however, suppose that these animadversions are made out of *enmity* — nay, rather by way of *expostulation*.[13] For expostu-

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λύειν ἀγαθὸι συνεῖναι μᾶλλον, ἢ οἱ προκόψασαν μείζω κωλύοντος γένεσθαι. And also, perhaps, by Dionys. Hal. 104, 17. οὐχ ἀρχομένην τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχην ἐκώλνσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μέγα προηκούσῃ συμφέρεσθαι ἔμελλον. And it is somewhat countenanced by Herod. 1, 46, 7. καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν ἀνξανωμένην τὴν δύναμιν.

I agree with Haack, that the μελλήσει just before must not be interpreted, with some commentators, of *threatening what we will do*, nor, with Bauer, of *attempt* only, but of that *procrastination* which was so characteristic of the Lacedæmonians, who thought, with Fabius, *cunctando rem posse restitui*. This signification, indeed, is required by what follows. It is rightly observed by the Scholiast, that this is said between wheedling and rebuke.

[8] *Safe and sure.*] This seems to have reference to some antient adage. The above sense of ἀσφαλὴς is found in the best writers, as Soph. Œd. Tyr. 617. φρονεῖν γὰρ οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς; Eurip. Phœn. 608. Ἀσφαλὴς γὰρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης; Timocl. ap. Athen. 238. A. φίλος γενναῖος, ἀσφαλὴς θ' ἅμα.

[9] *From the remotest, &c.*] See my note on Matt. 12, 42.

[10] *Look upon with quiet indifference.*] i. e. as unconcerned spectators; so in 2, 43. It is strange that Hobbes should render *connive*.

[11] *Expose yourselves to, &c.*] The Scholiast truly remarks (I suspect from some antient author), that he who contests with his superior in strength, calls in fortune as his helper. And so our author, in the Dialogue of the Melians and Athenians, infra, l. 5.

[12] *For some have there been.*] It should seem that the orator especially adverts to the conquest of Ægina; though the words are applicable to other events which had happened since the rise of the Athenian power.

[13] *Let none — expostulation.*] This is imitated by Dio Cass. 814, 74. ταῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐπετιμήσω, ἀηδῶς μὲν ἀναγκαιῶς δὲ, οὐκ ὡς ἐχθρὸς, οὐδὲ ὡς μισῶν

lation is such as we employ with offending friends; accusation, [14] with injurious foes.

LXX. "And, moreover, we deem ourselves, if any, privileged [1] to administer rebuke to our neighbours; especially since great are the interests at stake [2]; concerning which ye seem, to us at least, not to have been aware, or ever yet reflected, against what formidable persons in the Athenians, and how widely different from yourselves, the contest will have to be sustained. *They* are projectors [3] of novelty [4]; quick to devise, and rapid to carry into execution [5], their schemes. *Your* aim

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ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ φιλῶν. Dionys. Hal. 1, 146, 30. δέξασθε δὲ αὐτὸ μὴ ὡς ἐπὶ διαβολῇ καὶ ὀνειδισμῷ λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ, &c. Aristid. 1, 430. B. μηδὲ τῶν ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ παριόντων μόνον τὴν παραίνεσιν εἶναί νομίσητε. And Isocrates de Pace, § 25. opposes the τοὺς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ λοιδοροῦντας to τοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ νουθετοῦντας. And he also has, ἐξεστι — τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιπλῆξαι, καὶ τοῖς ἔχθροις ἐπίβεσθαι ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἁμαρτίαις. So, too, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, in a most interesting passage (Gal. 4, 16.), ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; see also Ps. 3, 11. and 12.

[14] *Expostulation — accusation.*] Similar passages, by imitation of the present, are found in Clem. Alex. 121, 6. Ἐπιτίμησις δὲ ἔστι ψόγος ἐπ' αἴσχροις, οἰκείων πρὸς τὰ καλά. — μέμψις δὲ ἔστι ψόγος ὡς ὀλιγωροῦντων ἢ ἀμελοῦντων; and Themist. 277. A. πάμπολυ διαφέρει νουθεσία μὲν λοιδορίας, ἐπίπληξις δὲ ὀνείδους.

[1] *We deem — privileged.*] Namely, from their great power, which gave them, as our author has already said, a very considerable influence with the Lacedæmonians.

By *neighbours* are meant *confederates;* q. d. do not neglect this censure, as if it came from a mean quarter.

[2] *Great are the interests at stake.*] It is strange that Haack should interpret this of the *points of difference* between the two nations, by which there would be a putid anticipation of what is just after brought forward; not to say that the context would not permit that sense *here.*

[3] *They are projectors, &c.*] It is the least praise of this portion of the work, that it affords the finest example of the continued antithesis and parisosis to be any where met with. Thus it has been in every part the subject of numerous imitations, among which may be instanced Max. Tyr. Dissert. 20, 204. One of the finest parallels in our own language that occurs to me is in Cowper's "Truth," p. 60., where he contrasts the condition of the lace-maker and that of Voltaire.

[4] *Projector of novelty.*] The word νεωτεροποῖος is said to be very rare; yet I have noted down many examples from the Historians. On the thing itself, see Aristoph. Concion. 580—589. who also in his Acharn. 630. describes the Athenians as ταχυβούλους. So also in Conc. 247. ἦν ταῦθ, ἅπινοεῖς, κατεργήσῃ.

[5] *Carry into execution, &c.*] To the examples of imitation adduced by the commentators, I add Procop. p. 51, 56, 77, 132, and 175. The ὀξεῖς, by Dilogia, must be taken in the second part of the sentence with an *accommodation.*

is only to preserve what you already have; to devise nothing fresh [6] in *plan*, and in *execution* not even to accomplish [7] what is barely necessary. Again, *they* are enterprisers even beyond their strength, and venturers beyond the limits of prudence [8], and in adversity ever hopeful. Your characteristic is ever to accomplish what rather falls short of your ability [9] — to even distrust the surest deductions of reason — and in adversity to fancy there will be no end to your troubles. Furthermore, they are bustlers, as opposed to you procrastinators — roamers, while you are homekeepers [10] — for they think that by their absence they may gain something more; you imagine that by aiming at further acquisitions you may injure your present possessions. They, when victorious, pursue their advantages to the farthest; and when defeated, are found the least to fall back.[11] Their

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[6] *Devise nothing fresh.*] Such is the sense of ἐπιγνώναι, in which the ἐπὶ signifies *besides*.

[7] *Accomplish.*] The sense of ἐξίκεσθαι is missed by the Scholiast, and not cleared by the commentators. It signifies *exsequi;* as in Soph. Aj. 1045. ἃ δὴ κακοῦργος ἐξίκοιτ' ἀνὴρ., and Æschyl. Ag. 272. καὶ τις τοδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος. And there is an ellipsis of εἰς or ἐπὶ, which is *supplied* by Dio Cass. 289, 53. Arrian. Ind. 11, 6. Ex. Al. 7, 30, 1.

[8] *Enterprisers — prudence.*] On this passage also I shall have to indicate numerous imitations by the classical writers. No one is neater than the following of Livy, l. 45, 23. "Athenienſium populum fama est celerem et supra vires audacem esse ad conandum."

[9] *Falls short of your ability.*] This is imitated by Plut. Sol. ἐνδεεστερὸν τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδὲν ἔπραξε.

[10] *Roamers — homekeepers.*] Thus Aristoph. describes the Athenians as φιλοέκδημοι. See his close imitation of this whole passage, t. 2, 174. The word ἀποδημήτης is so rare, that I know no other example; though ἀποδήμιος occurs in Pind. Pyth. 4. s. 1. Its compound ἀναποδημητὴς I have found in Phil. Jud. 359. B. where he thus imitates the present passage: ἀναποδημητὰι πρὸς ἐνδημοτάτους. Ἔνδημος is rarely used in the sense it is here. The nearest to it is that of being *at home;* as Æschyl. Choeph. 562. So the Lacedæmonians might justly be described, since they were proverbially homekeepers. Nay, perhaps it was from this circumstance that their coins had stamped upon them the figure of a tortoise, as a *symbolum* οἰκουρίας. By the *home*, of course, is meant their own country. In this respect they have their exact counterpart in the present Chinese and Japanese.

[11] *Fall back.*] Or *despond.* Bauer would take ἀναπίπτουσιν in the sense *recedunt, retreat,* [and so our *fall back.*] But for that use of the word I can find no authority; whereas the other is found in good authors, as Demosth. ap. Steph. δέδοικε μὴ νῦν ἀναπεπτωκόες ἦτε; and Eurip. Iph. Aul. 503. μεταπίπτειν. And it is confirmed by the Schol. on Athen. p. 23. B. who explains it by ἀθυμοῦσι. But it is strange that he should call this the *proper* sense of the word. *That* is rather *fall back*, by ceasing from action, whether walking, rowing, &c., as in the passages he cites from Cratinus and Xenophon. The other is metaphorical. After all, it may be

bodies, too, they employ for the state, as if they were any one's else but their own [12]; but with their minds completely their own, they are ever ready to render it service. And as to whatever they may devise, and not accomplish, they regard themselves as deprived of what was their *own* [13]; but what they may pursue and acquire, they esteem trifling compared to what they shall in future attain.[14] And if, indeed, they be any where foiled in an attempt, they make up the deficiency by expecting something else, as if in *compensation* of *their loss.*[15] For they alone place the possession, and the expecta-

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questioned whether the true signification be not something between the physical and figurative, i. e. *desist from their attempt.* And this is what that Scholiast meant who explains it by *ἀναπαύονται.* That this interpretation is very antient, is plain from an imitation which I have noted in Liban. Orat. 717. E. where he opposes *ἀναπίπτειν καὶ παύεσθαι* to *σπουδῇ προστιθέναι.* The same, too, is adopted by Hobbes.

[12] *As if — own.*] Of all the passages adduced to establish or illustrate the sense of this almost lyrically bold expression, the only apposite ones are those of Lucian, t. 6. p. 483. *τῷ τραύματι ὡς ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐπέβαινον*; and Greg. Naz. there cited by De Soul, where he says that the martyrs bore their tortures with cheerfulness, *ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις σώμασιν.* To which, among many that I have collected, may be added the following: Joseph. 1253, 10. *καὶ τὰς ψύχας χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων, ἀμφοτέροις ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις ἔχρωντο.* Isocrat. ap. Plut. de Glor. Athen. *τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνέυοντας, ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίαις ψύχαις φήσας ἐναγωνίσασθαι.* Chrysost. *καθάπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ἀγωνίσασθαι σώμασι.* Theophyl. Sim. 79. A. *δοκεῖτε —ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ τῷ σώματι τὰς τῶν ἀντιπάλων βολὰς προσιέμενοι.*

[13] *Deprived of — own.*] This passage is imitated by Aristid. t. 1, 231. B. *τὴν δὲ τῶν ὄντων στέρησιν ἀφορμὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ποιησάμενοι.*

[14] *What they — attain.*] Such seems to be the real sense of this passage, which has been best treated by Portus and Bauer; though the construction is so irregular as not easily to be reduced to any rules of grammatical propriety. This view of the sense, I would observe, is confirmed by a passage of Pollux 6, 132. imitated from the present: *ὃς μικρὸν πᾶν ὃ πεποίηκεν ἡγεῖται, πρὸς ἃ βούλεται. ὃς ὃ πέπραχε δοκεῖ μικρότερον, οὗ πράξει.* Bredov. and Goeller assign the following as the sense: "Si vero quæ laboribus consecuti perfecerint, perexigua se forte fortuna peregisse judicant, si cum illis conferantur, quæ postea se consecuturos sperant." But this *forte fortuna* seems not at all to accord with the undoubting confidence of hope which characterised the Athenians.

[15] *And if — their loss.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense. The force which I have ascribed to *ἀντελπίσαντες*, is required by the preceding *οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται*, and the sentence following, which is exegetical. I would observe, too, that this clause and the two preceding should be taken together, as forming one sentence. In *ἐπλήρωσαν* there is the sense of *custom* or *habit*, as often in the first Aorist. Of the present passage may be noticed the following imitations: Plutarch in Pyrrho. 30. sub init. *ταῖς μὲν εὐτυχίαις ἐπ' ἄλλας χρωμένος ἀφορμαῖς, ἃ δὲ ἔπταιεν ἑτέροις βουλομένος ἀναπληροῦν πράγμασιν*; Liban. Orat. 307. B. *πόσοι δημεύσεις γενναίως ἐνηνόχασιν ἀντελ-

tion of what they meditate, on the same footing, and that from their celerity in setting about what they determine upon. And thus do they drudge on [16], amidst toils and perils, through the whole of their lives. And least of all men do they enjoy what they possess [17], being always occupied in making fresh acquisitions. No holiday know they [18], nor esteem they aught save that whereon they may perform some necessary business. For they [19] deem inactive quietude a no less evil than toilsome occupation. So that if any one were to sum up the whole, by saying that they were born neither to enjoy rest themselves [20], nor let others enjoy it, he would speak but the truth.

LXXI. "And yet though such a state, Lacedæmonians, be arrayed against you, yet ye procrastinate; supposing (as ye do) that undisturbed tranquillity is longest theirs, not who in the tenour of their lives and conduct do indeed what is

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πισαντες πλοῦτον ἕτερον; Dio Cass. 571. τὴν φυγὴν τῆς μάχης μᾶλλον φοβηθέντες, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταύτῃ καὶ κρατήσειν ἀντελπίσαντες κ. τ. λ. Aristoph. Vesp. 308.

Hence it was well said by Eubulus ap. Athen. p. 47, 6. of the Athenians, κάπτοντες αὔρας, ἐλπίδας σιτούμενοι.

[16] *And thus, &c.*] So Eurip. Supp. 323. (of Athens) ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πόνοισι ἄυξεται; and 577. κηρυξ. πράσσειν σὺ πολλὰ εἴωθης, ἥτε σὴ πόλις. Θησ. το γὰρ πονοῦσα πολλὰ, πόλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ.

[17] *Enjoy what, &c.*] Thus the Tarentines (as appears from Athen. 166. F.) said that other men were always preparing to live; they alone were not only *going to live*, but *did* live. And so the line of Manilius: "Victuros agimus semper, nec vivimus unquam." But after all, none will doubt that the Athenians were the wiser of the two, whom (to apply the words of our great epic poet) "the clear spirit did raise to scorn delights, and live laborious days." And well has Cooper sung, "From strenuous toil man's hours of sweetest ease." How this is applicable to *life* in a yet *higher* sense may, to the Christian, furnish matter of edifying reflection. And here I cannot but advert to, perhaps, the finest epigram which our language possesses, struck out by the genius (sanctified by piety) of a Doddridge. See my note on St. John, 4, 34.

[18] *No holiday, &c.*] To the imitations of this sentiment pointed out by Abresch, I add Dio Cass. 179. 19., and Liban. Ep. 580. τῶν πόνων ἀνάπαυλαν αὐτοὺς νομίζων τοὺς πόνους.

[19] *For they deem, &c.*] This is imitated by Aristid. 1, 389. D. (of the Romans), ὥστε ἅπαντας μὲν ἀργίαν συμφορὰν ἡγεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ πράξεις ἀφορμὰς ὧν εὔχονται νομίζειν.

[20] *They were born neither, &c.*] So Xenophon, Mem. 2, 1, 9. says of the Athenians, βουλομένους πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ ἄλλοις παρέχειν.

right—yet, at the same time, evidently evince a mind resolved not to put up with wrong if it should be offered; but who place their notions of justice in doing no injury to others, and in hindering them from offering it.[1] This, however, you would scarcely attain, if you were neighbours to a state having a polity *similar to their own*[2]; but now, as we have already told you, your institutions are obsolete[3], antiquated. Now it cannot but be that, as in the *arts*, the new will be superior[4]; and to a state, indeed, in tranquillity, unchanged institutions are the best; but to those compelled to meet danger at many

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[1] *Supposing — it.*] Such seems to be the sense of this perplexed passage, of which the difficulty is partly occasioned by a breaking off of the construction, and partly by the *insinuating* rather than *asserting* what is esteemed to be truth. The orator gently admonishes them what opinion they *ought* to hold, when he tells them that they hold not *that* but the *contrary*.

At ἐπὶ πλεῖστον must be understood μέρος. And ἀρκεῖν signifies to *hold out*. Τῇ παρασκευῇ signifies *in tota vitæ institutione*, a rare signification, indeed, but of which something like is found in Steph. Thes. In ἴσον νέμετε the general sense *tribuo* may be discerned. So Æschyl. Agam. 74. ἰσχὺν νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκήπτροις. The sense is, "you think it enough to forbear injuring others, and to be ready to repel violence when brought to your door; but you should show a spirit that shall not repel actual violence by acting on the *defensive*, but shall adopt such measures as may show that you are resolved not to put up with meditated wrong."

[2] *Polity similar to your own.*] Such seems to be the sense of ὁμοίᾳ, and this is what the Scholiast meant when he explained it τὰ ἴσα ζηλούσῃ. But he should have added ἤθη or ἐπιτηδεύματα. The preceding word ὁμογνωμόνι came from *another* Scholiast, who meant by it ὁμοιοτρόπῳ, i. e. of similar temper, disposition, &c. as in 3, 10. init. Now this may be *included*, but it is only to be considered as an under sense.

[3] *Obsolete.*] Literally, *old-fashioned*. The word ἀρχιότροπος is of rare occurrence; yet I have noted it in Dio Cass. 935, 67. Jambl. de vita Pyth. § 167. and Procop. de Ædif. p. 53, 8. who thus imitates the present passage: ἀρχαῖαι δὲ οὖσαι (scil. αἱ πόλεις) καὶ τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀρχαιότροπα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχουσαι. So also Æschyl. P. V. ἀρχεῖ ἴσως σοι φαίνομαι λέγειν τάδε, where see Stanley and Blomfield.

[4] *The new will be superior.*] The Scholiast thinks that our author had in mind Hom. Od. 1, 351. and 2. τὴν γὰρ— ἀμφιπόληται, where Clarke compares Pind. Ol. 9, 73. αἶνει δὲ παλαιὸν Μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων νεωτέρων. And not a few of the present age are of the same opinion, which is also extended, and with more reason, to the sister art; for it may well be said in the words of Xenophon, Cyr. 1, 6, 38. σφόδρα ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς καὶ νέα καὶ ἀνθηρὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ. And such as are admirers of *every* new school, may say in the words of Eupolis ap. Athen. 623. F. μουσικὴ Πρᾶγμ' ἐστι βαθύ τι καὶ καμπύλον, 'Αεί τι καινὸν ἐξευρίκει τι τοῖς ἐπινοεῖν δυναμένοις. Those who take an interest in knowing the antient state of the most attractive of all the τέχναι, will do well to consult Athen. ubi supra.

quarters, there is need of many added devices.[5] Wherefore, also, the customs of the Athenians have undergone greater change than yours, from their having been exercised in a multiplicity of affairs.[6] Enough, then, of this slow-moving policy — here let it find its close[7], proceed now to succour both the other allies, and (conformably to your engagement) the Potidæans, by making a speedy irruption into Attica, that ye betray not those, bound to you alike by kindred and amity, into the hands of their deadliest foes, and cause the rest of us, in despair, to resort to some other alliance.[8] Thus, indeed, we should be guilty of no injustice, either in the sight of the gods, who preside over oaths, or in that of men[9], who witness

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[5] *And to a state — devices.*] This has been for some time the very principle on which our legislators and governors have acted in this country, notwithstanding what might be opposed on no less than the authority of Alcibiades, l. 6, 18. fin. *καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλέστατα τούτους οἰκεῖν, οἳ ἂν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἤθεσι καὶ νόμοις, ἢν καὶ χείρω ᾖ, ἥκιστα διαφόρως πολιτεύωσι.* *Here*, surely, if any where, the *μέτρον ἄριστον* of the Grecian sage applies; and it is the boast of our glorious constitution that it *admits* of that *prudent* and *cautious* use of this *ἐπιτέχνησις*, without endangering its safety.

Out of numerous imitations of the present passage which I have noted, I select the two following: Liban. Epist. 650. *οἷα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ πολέμῳ, καὶ μῆκος ἔχοντι, πολλῶν δεῖ τῶν ἐπιτεχνήσεων*; Procop. p. 2, 12. *σέβονται μὲν καὶ τεθήπασι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιτεχνήσεσι διδόασι πλέονα.*

With respect to the phrase *πρὸς πολλὰ εἶναι*, that above adopted is usually the sense assigned to it; and it is very suitable to the *subject*. But how it can be elicited from the *words*, I know not. The subaudition *pericula* seems too arbitrary and bold. We may more simply supply *πράγματα*, (as at Luke 10, 41. *τυρβάζῃ περὶ πολλά*, where see my note,) and take the phrase to denote "going about, engaging in many undertakings." This interpretation is confirmed by an imitation in Plut. Themist. c. 3. *τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι, καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας.*

[6] *Wherefore also — affairs.*] Such seems to be the sense of the passage which the translators have missed, and the commentators have not chosen to explain.

[7] *Here — close.*] A phrasis prægnans; q. d. "Let it suffice for your dilatoriness to have advanced thus far; here," &c. I know not why this should have been placed by Aristides among examples of harshness. It is frequently found in the best writers, from whom I shall adduce examples in my edition. See also 1 Pet. 4, 3.

[8] *Other alliance.*] i. e. (as the Schol. has well seen) to the Argives, who were hostilely disposed to the Lacedæmonians.

[9] *Sight — men.*] See my note on Acts, 24, 16. To the examples there adduced I add Xen. An. 2, 5, 20. The classical usage, it may be observed, arose from Hom. Il. *α*. 338.

them.[10] For not those are truce-breakers[11], who through destitution have recourse to others, but such as fail to succour those whom they have sworn to defend.[12] If, however, you are disposed to act zealously in our cause, we will continue with you. For otherwise, were we to change, we should trample on religious obligations, and no where should we find others more congenial to our habits and manners. Deliberate, then, well on these matters; and be it your endeavour that the Peloponnesian supremacy, once transmitted to you from your forefathers, may not in your hands suffer diminution."[13]

LXXII. Thus spoke the Corinthians: to whom the Athenians made reply; for it chanced that an embassy from them had previously gone thither on some other affairs, and were then present. Having heard the addresses delivered to the assembly, they judged it proper to come forward to the Lacedæmonians[14], in order, not indeed to *reply* to the charges

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10 *Witness them.*] Literally, "listen to them." It is strange that both Scholiasts and commentators should have mistaken the sense of so plain an expression as τῶν αἰσθανομένων. The Scholiast proposes three interpretations, two of which are perfectly anile; and the third far from satisfactory. Gail makes the *best* of it; but it is sufficient to say, that no such signification is found in the writers of early Grecism. The one which I have adopted is so natural and simple, that it is surprising no one should have thought of it but Hobbes.

11 *For not those are truce-breakers, &c.*] This is closely imitated by Procop. 50. and 136.

12 *Whom — defend.*] Literally, "between whom and themselves have passed oaths binding each to mutual assistance."

13 *And be — diminution.*] Such seems to be the true sense, which has been missed by Hobbes and Smith. Ἐξηγεῖσθαι has somewhat perplexed the commentators, some of whom stumble at the unusual construction, others assign new, but unauthorised, senses. The signification *rule*, however, is required both by the context, and by similar passages, where ἐξηγ. has the very same sense and syntax, 1, 76. 3, 93. 6, 85. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that the author intended some sense which should be peculiarly applicable to the case in hand; and as it is used of confederates where some kind of equality may be supposed to have existed, it imports not so much *dominion*, as *leading* and *directing*. I suspect it to have been a proverbial form, since it not only occurs in Aristot. Pol. l. 5, 11. (where the wife of Theopompus, king of Lacedæmon, asks her husband, εἰ μηδὲν αἰσχύνεται τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλάττω παραδιδοὺς τοῖς υἱέσιν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβεν), but also in the oath sworn to by the Ephebi, as preserved by Lycurg. Contr. Leocr. p. 203. ἀμυνεῖν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἀμείνω παραδώσειν.

14 *To the Lacedæmonians.*] By these are undoubtedly meant the *magistrates*, i. e. the Ephori, &c. as opposed to the τὸ πλῆθος, just afterwards

urged by the states, but to show, in a general way, that it was not fitting to determine hastily on a matter of such moment, but to consider it more at large. It was their aim, withal, to display the great power of their city, and offer certain hints, such as should remind the elder of what they already knew, and inform the younger of what they were as yet ignorant of; thinking that their minds would by these representations be turned to quietude rather than war. Accordingly they presented themselves to the Lacedæmonians, and said that *they* also wished, if there should be no hinderance [15], to address something to the assembly. Being then desired to come forward, the Athenians advancing, spoke to the following effect:—

LXXIII. "Our embassage [1] to you was, indeed, not for the purpose of entering into wordy debates with your allies, but to negotiate the affairs for which the state sent us hither: but perceiving no little clamour against us, we have come forward, not with any intention to reply to the accusations of the states; for we should thus be addressing you who are neither our judges nor theirs; but to prevent you from being, at the persuasions of the confederates, drawn away to decide lightly [2], and therefore, erroneously, on matters of great moment; and, withal intending, in reference to the whole matter respecting ourselves, to show that we hold what we possess not undeservedly; and that our state is indeed worthy of praise and glory.[3] Now as to affairs of remote antiquity [4], what avails it to speak

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mentioned, which was composed of ἄγγελοι or πρόβουλοι deputed from the people at large.

[15] *If there—hinderance.*] For ἀποκώλυμα ἐστι. So Plato, Rep. p. 238. εἰ δὲ αὖ βούλεσθε— οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει.

[1] *Our embassage.*] There is a similar commencement to a similar address of the Athenians at 6, 82.; and in both our author seems to have had in view Herod. 9, 27. Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε, &c.

[2] *Decide lightly, &c.*] The Scholiast remarks, that this is meant to apply to the two chief reasons men have for going to war, either a sense of injustice, or a contempt of the party to be attacked, neither of which, it is shown, here apply.

[3] *Worthy—glory.*] Such is the sense of ἄξια λόγου, which is well explained by the Scholiast ἀξιεπαίνου.

[4] *Affairs—antiquity.*] This is imitated by Joseph. 1173, 7. καὶ τι δεῖ τὰ τῶν προγόνων λέγειν; and Livy, l. 28, 42. Externa et nimis antiqua repeto? and 9, 34. Quid ego antiqua repetam? On these πάνυ παλαιὰ (which the Scholiast explains somewhat too limitedly of the history of the Amazons,

of things evidenced by reports on hearsay, rather than by the ocular testimony of those who should hear us relate them? But our deeds in the Median war — and matters which you know as well as ourselves—even though it be somewhat irksome to us always to bring them forward, speak of them we must.[5] [And why not?] for when we performed them, they were hazarded for some *benefit*[6]; of which, as ye have been partakers in the substance, let us not then be wholly deprived, if *that* can do us any good, of the commemoration.[7] Our recital, however, shall not be by way of deprecation, but rather to testify and show against how powerful a state, unless you use prudent counsel, you are going to enter into the lists. For we affirm, that at Marathon it was only *we* that adventured to commence the combat against the Barbarian[8]; and when he again came, as we were not able to withstand him by land, we embarked on board our ships with our whole population, and took part in the sea-fight at Salamis, which prevented him from sailing against and destroying in detail the cities of Peloponnesus; for against so numerous a fleet they would

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Thracians, and Heraclidæ), I would refer the reader to Isocrates in his Panegyric, and to Aristides in his Panathenaic., who also similarly uses the term τὰ μέσα.

[5] *Even though — must.*] Such is the sense according to the punctuation adopted in all the editions up to Goeller, who, with Bredow, places a comma after ἔσται, not προεβαλλομένους, thus supposing an ellipsis of ὑμῖν after δι' ὅχλου. This, indeed, yields a good sense, but at the expence of the construction, which seems utterly violated; and it is quite at variance with the ἀεί. Nor do I find any thing to countenance it in the numerous examples from this eminent author which I have collected, but rather the contrary. So Aristoph. Conc. 888. κεἰ γὰρ δι' ὅχλου τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῖς θεωμένοις. and Philostr. p. 810. fin. τὸ ἀπέριττον καὶ μὴ δι' ὅχλου εἶναι αὐταῖς.

[6] *For some benefit.*] i. e. the common benefit of all the allies.

[7] *Of which as ye have — commemoration.*] A different sense is assigned by Bredow. See Goeller; but the one I have adopted seems required by the words and the context, and is confirmed by an imitation of the thought adduced by Hudson from Demosthenes.

[8] *It was only — Barbarian.*] Smith, with most translators, renders, "we alone adventured to engage the Barbarian." But that were a manifestly false assertion. By the force of μόνος which I have assigned, the words are completely reconciled with the truth of history. Πρὸ here signifies *first*. This is defended by the celebrated passage of Demosth. de Cor., cited by Longinus, οὐ μὰ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων. The present syntax with the *dative* is very rare; and as no examples are adduced by the commentators, the following will be acceptable. Dio Cass. 176, 59. τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας προεβάλετο προκινδυνεῦσαι σφίσιν; Polyb. 6. 3. 113, 9. προκινδυνεῦσαι τοῖς Ἰβηρσι καὶ Κελτοῖς.

have been unable to have mutually succoured each other. The strongest proof of this [9] the Barbarian himself afforded; for when defeated at sea, then, as if no longer equally matched [10], he hastily retreated with the greater part of his army.

LXXIV. " Now, on the occurrence of this wonderful event, by which it was plainly shown that the fortunes [1] of Greece were seated in her ships, we contributed the three things most conducive to its welfare; — the greatest number of ships, a commander the most able and skilful, and a zeal and alacrity most unwearied: for as to ships, we contributed to the four hundred [2] little less than two thirds, and Themisto-

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9 *This.*] Namely, that the defeat of the Persian fleet saved Peloponnesus.

10 *As if — matched.*] Such is, I conceive, the force of the somewhat difficult words ὡς οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίης οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως, to which all the translators assign the sense, " and having no more such forces." But though that would be *true*, it would here be little to the purpose. Such a version, too, lies open to grammatical objections; and assuredly the *article*, which is found in every MS., would not then have been used. The sense I have assigned can be shown to flow naturally from the words, and is worthy of the author; namely, " as if the Barbarian thought that there was no longer an equal match of power between him and the Grecian; as if his force was now an under-match."

1 *Fortunes.*] Literally, *affairs*, whether for weal or woe. Nor does it signify *vis* or *opes*, as Bauer explains. Ἐγένετο ἐν, " depended upon."

2 *Four hundred.*] I have here followed the reading adopted by all the editors; but a very considerable difficulty presents itself, which no editor or commentator has ventured fairly to meet, either here, or in the highly important passage of Herod. 8, 46. That τῶν δύο μοιρῶν must signify *two-thirds*, is now universally agreed. The idiom is of frequent occurrence in the best writers. But this involves the difficulty, that estimating the whole number at what the text has, 400, the quota furnished by the Athenians would be 266; and yet Herodot. only states them at 180. Now, the common device of reconciling discrepancies, by saying that an author uses a round number, cannot *here* apply; though if *this particular were not mentioned*, we might thus account for the *four hundred* of our author. The difficulty, therefore, still remains in all its force, and the discrepancy is too great to be accounted for on *any* principle; unless, indeed, we might be allowed to adopt the estimate of Tzetz. on Lycoph. 1432., whose words are these: σοά πλοῖα ἔχοντες τὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν πάντα. But that number would be incredible, considering what was the one recently furnished at the battle of Artemisium, 127. There is, no doubt, an error. Σόα seems to be a word formed out of the *literal figures* by blundering scribes. The true reading seems to be ροα, the ρ having been mistaken for ϛ. What then is to be done? We are, I think, to suppose that the orator has chosen to adopt a calculation of the total number, such as we find in many good authors, namely, *three hundred*. So Æschyl. Pers. (with an eye to whom Demosth. de Cor. c. 70, who seems to have had this passage of

cles, the commander, who was the most instrumental[3] in having the battle fought in the narrows; which most evidently decided the day, and for which you conferred on him greater

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Thucyd. in view), τριακοσίων — παρέσχετο. But then, it may be asked, how can this be reconciled with the number which Herod. fixes for the Athenian quota, namely, 180, since *that* will not be two thirds of 300. But the laxity of the term ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους might admit as great a difference. Yet, in reality, the Athenian ships *are* reckoned, as we see by Demosth., at 200: as they also are by Diodorus, Plutarch, Nepos, and an antient writer ap. Suid. v. Ἀδείμαντος, all of whom must have been well aware of the number put down in Herodotus. They differ, then, from him by following some other mode of calculation; nay, we find that even in *Herod.* 8, 81. the Athenians are said to have furnished 200 ships. The discrepancy may, I think, be accounted for thus: — The Athenians, indeed, might be said to furnish 180 ships, since that was the number manned and sent into action. But they might also be truly said to furnish 200, since, as I find from Herodot. 8, 1. (unaccountably neglected by the commentators), the twenty Chalcidean ships were furnished by the Athenians, though manned by the Chalcideans, their allies. Now this will exactly make up the two thirds. It is true Thucydides speaks of ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους; but that difficulty may be removed by taking into account the five Pentecontores which are mentioned *over and above* the sum total by Herodotus. Thus, then, it clearly appears, that we are in Thucydides to read τριακοσίους, for which we luckily have the authority of four MSS. In the rest, the τε in τετρ. seems to have arisen from the τὰς preceding; for ϛ might be easily confounded with an abbreviation of τάς (τ$^{\text{ς}}$). Still, however, the problem remains to be solved, how Herod. could reckon the total number at 378, or rather 366; for twelve Æginean ships are reckoned as part of the fleet, though not present in the action, being employed in guarding their own island, as we find from Herodot. himself. Indeed, I can make out no more than 363. Upon what principle, then, are we to account for this discrepancy of 63? I confess I know not, unless on the very one which caused Herodotus to put down 378 for 366; namely, that no more *took part* in the engagement than about 300. Now, it is no where said by Herod. that the total number, which he reckons, all *took part* in the battle, or were even all assembled. For though at c. 49. Mr. Beloe is pleased to render, "when *all* these nations were assembled," yet there is no *all* in the original, which only signifies, "when the commanders from the said cities had assembled." Granting, however, that all were assembled, except the twelve Æginean ones, which we *know* were absent, then the question is, did all take part in the engagement? I suspect *not;* and I found my suspicion on what Herodotus says at c. 57., namely, that when the Greeks, at Salamis, had heard of the capture of the acropolis of Athens, they fell into such consternation that *some* of the commanders hurried on board, (not waiting the decision of the business,) καὶ ἱστία ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποδευσόμενοι τοῖς δὲ ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη. Now it seems that some of them, with their squadrons, *did really set sail*, under the pretence of defending their countries. These were probably the Ionians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, Epidamnians, Trœzenians, and perhaps partly Ægineans.

There is manifestly the very same mistake in the Schol.; for no one ever reckoned them at 480.

[3] *Instrumental.*] Αἴτιος is a word of middle signification, and denotes being the *cause* of a thing, whether good or evil.

honours [4] than you ever had done on any other foreign visitant. We, moreover, evinced alacrity the most adventurous; inasmuch as when no assistance came to us by land, all the rest [5] of the states as far as our own having bowed to the yoke, we resolved, though abandoning our city and destroying our goods [6], not even thus to betray the cause of our allies, nor, by being scattered abroad [7], become useless to them; but to embark, and encounter all hazards, and that without harbouring any resentment against you for not having given us timely succour. So that we may aver that we rather *conferred* benefit on you, than *received* it.[8] For ye [9], indeed, came forward to our aid, but it was from cities yet inhabited, and in order that ye might continue in possession of them; since it was for *yourselves* ye feared, rather than for *us*. Thus when we were yet in safety, ye came not up to our aid; while we, sallying forth from what was no longer in existence [10], and adventuring for what was suspended on but a slight thread of hope, con-

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[4] *Honours.*] i. e. (as we find from Plutarch) they presented him with a branch of olive, and a chariot, the best of the city; besides many personal attentions, as convoying him over the borders with a guard of honour composed of noble Spartans.

[5] *All the rest.*] Namely, the Macedonians, Thessalians, Locrians, Bœotians, Phocians, &c.

[6] *Destroying our goods.*] i. e. such as could not be removed, including such cattle as could not be driven away. To extend it, with the Scholiast, to the *dogs*, appears to involve something ludicrous; though there is little doubt but that they would have chosen rather to destroy than leave such. And to take διαφθ., with a certain Scholiast, of *leaving* to be destroyed, is surely in bad taste, and robbing the Athenians of an honour which may remind us of the glorious sacrifice of Moscow.

[7] *Scattered abroad.*] i. e. to other countries; for they meant to have colonised some part of Italy.

[8] *We rather — it.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage, which the interpreters could not have missed, had they considered the Attic use (so frequent in our author) of οὐχ ἧσσον for μᾶλλον. Besides, the sense assigned by the translators will not bear examination; for *what* was the service which the Athenians afterwards received from the Greeks?

[9] *For ye, &c.*] The sentence which follows serves (as the Scholiast observes) to establish the preceding.

[10] *What was — existence.*] There is something poetic and oriental about this τῆς οὐκ ὄυσης (well explained by the Scholiast, ἐφθαρμένης), with which I would compare a similar elegance of Isaiah, 25, 2. "For thou hast made of a city an heap, of a defenced city a ruin; a palace of strangers to be *no city*." Perhaps our author had in mind Herod. l. 8, 57, 5. οὗτοι ἄρα ἦν ἀπαίρωσι τὰς νῆας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται. See also 8, 81, 3.

tributed to save both you (in some degree [11]) and ourselves. If, on the contrary, fearing as others did for their country, we had in the first instance gone over to the Mede, or afterwards had not ventured to embark on board our ships, as persons already ruined, you would no longer have been justified in hazarding a battle, not having a sufficiency of force, but things would have taken the very turn which he wished.[12]

LXXV. "Do we then deserve, Lacedæmonians, considering the zeal and prudence of decision which we then displayed, to labour under such a load of envy from the Greeks, on account of the rule which we hold[1]? For it came into our hands, not by violence, but[2] because you would not stay to accomplish the remainder of the Barbarian war, and the allies came and themselves intreated us to become their leaders. From the very nature of the thing itself[3], we were at first compelled to advance our empire to what it is, chiefly through fear, next for honour, and lastly for interest[4]; and *then* it

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[11] *In some degree.*] Goeller explains this, "quantum in nobis." But this sense does not occur in Thucydides, whereas the other is not unfrequent.

[12] *Taken the very turn.*] Literally, "gone with him." Our author seems to have had in view Herod. 7, 139. init. Ἐνδαῦτα ἀναγκαιῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην — Πέρσῃσι.

[1] *Do we — hold?*] Such, according to the opinion of the ablest interpreters, is the sense of this passage. Reiske, Abresch, Gottl., and Kistemm., however, take the sentence *declaratively;* which indeed makes no difference in the sense, but has less spirit, and lies open to grammatical objections. Γε for τε is *rightly* edited, from three MSS., by Bekker and Goeller. I formerly was of opinion that τε should be retained; and that for τοῖς should be read τοιστ, in the sense, that "they are worthy both of the rule they hold, and should not be objects of envy to the Greeks." And this is countenanced by a kindred passage of 6, 83. ἀνδ' ὧν ἄξιοί τε ὄντες ἅμα ἄρχομεν., and of Herod. 9, 27., which seems to have been in the mind of our author: ἆρ οὐ δίκαιοί εἰμεν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν. It is, however, partly founded on conjecture, and is also liable to exception. The version above adopted yields the best sense, and is most agreeable to the context.

[2] *Not by violence, but, &c.*] i. e. by the course of events.

[3] *Nature of, &c.*] i. e. dominion, or rule; since, as the ruler is exposed to hatred, he must fortify himself against it. Thus, the *fear* just afterwards mentioned, is not that from the Barbarian, but from those who might think themselves aggrieved by them in the exercise of rule.

[4] *For interest.*] Since the contributions of the allies were become necessary to support the dignity of rule. Upon the whole, this may be applied, mutatis mutandis, to the empire acquired and held by this country in the east.

seemed no longer safe for us, who had become objects of hatred [5] to most, (some even having revolted [6] and been subdued, and you no longer friends, as before, but suspicious and at variance with us,) to venture to let go the reins of government; for the revolters would have gone over to you. Now surely none can justly be censured [7] for consulting best for their own interests in matters which involve imminent danger.

LXXVI. "Nay, *you* [1] Lacedæmonians use your supremacy, by regulating the affairs of the Peloponnesians in such a way as is promotive of your own advantage. Now if you had, after staying throughout the business, incurred odium in government as *we* did, well we wot that ye would not have been less obnoxious; and compelled you would have found yourselves, either to hold tight [2] the reins of government, or yourselves to encounter danger. Thus [3] neither have we committed any thing to excite amazement [4] — any thing out of the

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[5] *Hatred.*] For, as the Schol. observes, man is fond of freedom, and rulers are hated. So Eurip. Phæn. 549. τῷ πλέονι δ' ἀεὶ πολέμιον καδίσταται Τοὔλασσον, ἐχθρᾶς δ' ἡμερας κατάρχεται.

[6] *Some — revolted.*] As the Samians.

[7] *None can — censured.*] Compare a similar use of ἀνεπίφθονος in a similar context at 6, 83. 7, 77. 8, 50. So also Eurip. Hippol. 499. νῦν δ' ἀγὼν μέγας, ζῶσαι βίον σὸν, κοὐκ ἐπίφθονον τόδε.

[1] *Nay you, &c.*] Here (the Scholiast observes) the orator retorts the charge of subjecting their allies upon the Lacedæmonians themselves. By *advantageous* is meant the oligarchical form of government. See above, 6. 19., and the notes.

[2] *Hold tight.*] This sense of ἐγκρατῶς, *vigorously*, is remarkable, though unattended to by the commentators. It occurs also in 1, 118. and 6, 92.; and sometimes in other authors, as Dionys. Hal. 344, 44. ἀρχεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ἔιδοτας, and Dio Cass. 180, 80. (where he imitates our author), and also 1125, 91. 1336, 56., where ἐγκρ is ill rendered "*temperanter* iis imperabat." And so in Joseph., Dionys. Hal., and Appian, frequently, and Aristid. Orat. in Rom. καὶ μεγάλου τε καὶ οὐ κένου (I conjecture κοίνου) ἄρχειν ἐγκρατής, I conjecture ἐγκρατῶς; as t. 1, 362. A. ἐγκρατῶς ἄρχοντες. The same emendation ought to be applied to 1, 372. A., and Plut. de Is. 2, 356. A.

[3] *Thus.*] Literally, *and so;* as at 1, 82. and 6, 92. A rare use, on which see Steph. Thes., and Lex. Xen. The most apposite example I can remember is Æschyl. Agam. 1600. οὕτω κάλον δὴ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοὶ.

[4] *To excite amazement.*] Portus renders, *animadvertendum.* The term denotes what may excite wonder, from its *unfrequency* (as Xen. Cyrop. 4, 6, 2. Thiem.), or a wonder mixed with *censure*, as Xen. Œcon. 2, 9, 8. οὐ θαυμαστὸν δοκεῖς τοῦτο ποιεῖν; and so Jerem. 5, 30. "a wonderful thing is committed." And this is confirmed by an imitation in Aristid. t. 2, 48. A. ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔξω εἰωθότων, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φυσέως ποιεῖν.

This

usual course of human action — if we have accepted a dominion offered to us, and slacken not the reins [5] of government, swayed by the strongest impulses — honour, fear, and interest; especially since we are not the first who began the custom, which has ever been an established one, 'that the weaker should be kept under by the stronger [6];' and withal, thinking ourselves *worthy* of it — and having been so esteemed by you until now, when by calculations of interest, ye resort to the argument of *justice* [7] — which no one ever yet, when opportunity offered of acquiring any thing by dint of power, so far followed as to be diverted from any purpose of *interest*. We deem, too, those worthy of *commendation*, who following the bent [8] of human nature to rule over others, are more observant of justice than for their power they need be. If *others*, we think, were thus to receive our power, *they* would best show whether or not we use it with moderation [9]: but for *ourselves*, the result of this mildness has only been that obloquy rather than commendation has (most undeservedly) been our portion.

LXXVII. "Thus, for instance [1], when cast [2] in suits of contracts and conventions, and in the decisions made by our-

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This whole passage seems to have been had in view by Philostr. Vit. Ap. 35. p. 218. init., and hence is defended the new reading there διδομένην.

[5] *Slacken not the reins.*] So the Scholiast ἐλαττοῦμεν. This is the contrary to the ἀρχεῖν ἐγκρατῶς just before.

[6] *That the weaker, &c.*] See a kindred sentiment in l. 5, 105. Several similar passages also from Democr., Plato, and Plutarch, are adduced by Rittershus. on Oppian. Halient.

[7] *Argument of justice.*] Namely, that it is just that the Greeks should be free.

[8] *Following the bent.*] Literally, having that feeling implanted by nature which prompts men, &c. So Cicero, Off. 1, 4. cited by Haack, "Huic veri videndi cupitidati adjuncta est appetitio principatus."

[9] *If others — moderation.*] The γ' ἂν οὖν serves to prove *a signo vel exemplo;* as in Xen. and Arist. cited by Hoog. de Part. p. 124., to which I add Thucyd. 1, 38. and 74, and 144. The repetition of the ἂν indicates the emotion of the speaker.

By the *others* are meant the Lacedæmonians; and the augury proved true. See Isocrat. Paneg. p. 86. et seq. It must be observed, that by the mention of using moderation, there is an *anticipation* of a charge.

[1] *Thus, for instance.*] The γὰρ here, as often, serves to introduce a proof from example. The reasoning now employed is this: — In our commerce with our allies we indulge them in many things which we could not be compelled to; and especially by not dealing with them by violence, but by law and equity, and by submitting to be impleaded with them in

selves according to equal laws, we are thought to be litigious, because it is not considered why those who elsewhere exercise dominion, and are *less* lenient to their subjects than we, do not experience the same reproach. For they who have the power to compel, have no need to implead.[3] But those who

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causes arising out of certain compacts and conventions entered into by both."

The nature of these συμβολαίαις δίκαις has been ably treated by Vales. ap. Harpocr. p. 334., and, recently, by Creuzer, Jacobs, Boeck, Platner, and others referred to by Goeller, who has, from them, detailed the most important information. I have myself also collected much on this subject; from whence, together with a few observations from the above sources, the following statement may be not unacceptable to the reader: — Σύμβολον signifies a mark, a token, and a pledge, by which any one engages himself to perform something. These συμβολαίαι δίκαι, therefore, denoted *contracts* and *conventions*, either *private*, between individuals, or *public*, between states. That the word chiefly denoted the latter, appears from Pollux, 5, 143., and Æschyl. Suppl. 715. Ξενοισί τ' εὐξυμβόλοις, where see the commentators ap. Butler. That it might signify the *former*, appears from Polyb. 20, 6, 1., and Diod. Sic. 7, 196. Now, to facilitate mutual commerce between different states, or cities, these *conventions* were made, binding the contracting parties to render strict justice, both as regarded national, and individual claims; in the former case, by adhering strictly to the conditions of the treaty, and in the latter by causing judgment to be awarded according to the laws of the country of the person complained of. Hence the causes here in view might be *private* as well as public, i. e. *private suits arising out of public conventions.* Such causes were called δίκαι συμβόλαιαι, or ἀπὸ συμβόλου, or συμβόλων, or κατὰ συμβόλαιον (see Hesych.), on all which forms I shall treat at large in my edition. Suffice it to say, that the expression is often used by the historians. So Dionys. Hal. p. 245, 38. (with the present passage in view) ἐλάπτοντο περὶ τὰ σύμβολα. By these conventions we may suppose, it was lawful for a citizen of any state to be impleaded before the judges of that city to which his adversary belonged, according to certain forms mutually agreed on between the cities; though the mode of exercising judgment might vary, as also the mode of carrying on the suit. Certain it is, that one custom was common to all; namely, that he who was cast in a foreign court, might appeal to the judgment of that of his own city. Now, at *Athens*, the judges were the Thesmothetæ. Moreover, among these δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων were included *the suits which the allies might have one with another*, and which had to be judged at Athens; though Boeck thinks, that even the subject allies were not obliged to bring them *all* thither, but that some lesser and private ones, not involving more than a certain sum of money, were tried at home. Be that as it may, the causes here meant must have been public suits between Athens and the allied states, or individuals of those states.

[2] *Cast.*] It is strange that the Schol., and many commentators, nay even Dionys Hal., should take ἑλασσούμενοι to mean *wronged;* whereas it is forensic term only denoting *worsted, cast at law.* By παρ' ἡμῖν — κρίσεις is meant, "we permit judgment to be awarded in our courts according to equity."

[3] *For they — implead.*] This is imitated by Liban. Orat. 490. A. εἰς οὐδὲν δεῖ τῶν δικαίων οἷς ἄν ἔξῃ βιάζεσθαι; and so Soph. Aj. 1159. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν, εἰ πύθοιτό τις, λόγοις κολάζειν, ᾧ βιάζεσθαι πάρα.

are accustomed to deal with us on terms of equality, if they be worsted in any suit beyond what they conceive is just, either by any decision, or by the influence of power [4] in government, or in any other way whatsoever, they are by no means thankful for not having been deprived of *all*, but feel more aggrieved at the portion which is *wanting* [5], than if from the first, putting law out of the question, we had plainly made gain our only object. For in that case, not even they themselves can deny but that the weaker must give way to the stronger. But, indeed, men are, it seems, more exasperated by injustice than violence.[6] For, in the former case, they seem to be *overreached* on a principle of equality; in the latter to only be *constrained* by superiority of force.[7] Thus from the Mede they patiently endured [8] far more grievous oppression, while our rule appears to them harsh and galling. And no wonder — for to the subjugated [9] their present lot ever seems hard.[10] Nay, for example, if you were to put us down, and

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[4] *Or by — power.*] Here there is reference to the two ways in which violations of the equality claimed and usually *enjoyed* by the allies, were brought about; first, by the judicial decision itself, in which justice was made, in some degree, to bend to utility and interest. Secondly, by the interposition of the strong hand of power, which attained its purpose either in defiance of judicial decision, or solely by its own despotic fiat, without resorting to any countenance from law, however distorted.

[5] *Which is wanting.*] i. e "what is wanting to make up what they thought they had a right to." The Scholiast has done well in supplying *ὑπέρ*. As to the sentiment itself, I would notice a similar one of Herodian, 2, 3, 19. *οὐδέ τις ἀδεῶς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων, ἐν χαρίτος μοίρᾳ τίθεται — λελυπηκότας*; and also a pithy remark of Mr. Burke, (Speeches in 1774 and 1775.) "The fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by any government, the more the subject will be inclined to resist and rebel." As to what may be urged in extenuation of the seeming harshness shown by the Athenians in exacting the dues of their state, see Isocr. Panath. § 25.

[6] *Men are more — violence.*] Goeller aptly compares Plut. Vit. Timol. *οὕτως ὑπὸ λόγων μᾶλλον ἢ πράξεων πονηρῶν ἀνιᾶσθαι πεφύκασιν οἱ πολλοί· χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ὕβριν ἢ βλάβην φέρουσι.* On this whole passage, in which the cause of all the discontent is ascribed to the Athenians dealing with their subjects on some sort of equity, or regard to laws extending to both the leading states and the subject allies, I would advert to one of Aristid. 1, 307. *οὗτος ἔστιν ἀρχῆς θεσμός, μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους κρίνεσθαι.*

[7] *They seem to be — force.*] Or, more literally, "what is done, in the former case, seems an undue advantage taken on a pretended principle of equal justice; the other, a mere compulsion by superior force."

[8] *Patiently endured.*] On the construction of *ἀνέχεσθαι* with a participle. See Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 843.

[9] *Subjugated.*] i. e. Subject states.

[10] *Seems hard.*] And no wonder; for such it was. Indeed the whole

govern in our stead, you would quickly find that good will grow faint which a fear of us has gained you; if, at least, ye were now to adopt such measures [11] as you did when for a short time you had the lead against the Mede. For, in truth, ye have amongst you institutions and customs which amalgamate not [12] with those of others, and, what is more, each of you, on going out to a foreign charge, uses neither those, nor any such as the rest of Greece adopts.

LXXVIII. "Consult [1], therefore, with due deliberation, as concerning matters of no small importance; nor be induced,

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system of *unequal confederation* has, in every age, tended but to the misery of those who have lived under it, cheated as they are by a *shadow* of liberty, while the substance ever eludes their grasp. Yet, to a certain degree, the remark is applicable to rulers as well as subjects. A truth no where better expressed than in Eurip. Hippol. 184. *οὐδὲ σ' ἀρέσκει τὸ παρὸν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸν φίλτερον ἡγεῖ.* And of this none were more remarkable examples than the Athenians themselves.

[11] *Adopt such measures.*] The *γνώσεσθε*, (which the commentators have omitted to notice), has reference to their *decrees* and directions as leaders of the confederacy.

[12] *Amalgamate not, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the words *ἄμικτα*, &c., which have been ill understood by the commentators. Hudson explains them of the extreme unwillingness of the Spartans to communicate the *jus civitatis*. But this seems too confined a sense, and extends to only *one* branch of the *ἀμιξία*. There appears to be reference, in a general way, to that unsocial, nay anti-social, spirit which the Lacedæmonians evinced towards other nations, suffering no foreigners to reside among them, using peculiar customs, and keeping apart from foreigners even when sojourning among them; (see 1, 144 and 124.) in fact, in most things acting as the Jews did (from whom they affirmed themselves to be descended), and the Chinese and Japanese do at the present day. Thus Josephus often uses language very similar to the above, when speaking of his countrymen. So also Eurip. Iph. Taur. 400. *ἄμικτον αἶαν.* and Isocr. Evag. § 25. *τὸν τόπον αμ καὶ ἐξηγριωμένον.* Hence we may plainly see the meaning of *ἐξιὼν* just after, which it is strange the best commentators should explain "*going out to war.*" The expression is, indeed, susceptible of that sense, but the context will not permit it. The Scholiast rightly explains it of *going out to the government* (i. e. as the Lacedæmonian Harmostæ did) of subject states, see l. 8, 5. And there is plainly a reference to the haughty and tyrannical conduct of Pausanias in his government.

The best commentary on the whole passage may be found in the Panathenaic of Isocr. s. 82. seqq. and especially p. 475. init. *πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀνοήτους χρὴ νομίζειν τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας, τοὺς τοσοῦτον τῶν νόμων τῶν κοινῶν ἐξεστηκότας, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν μήτε τοῖς Ἕλλησι, μήτε τοῖς Βαρβάροις γιγνώσκοντας.*

[1] *Consult, &c.* Here there is a *paronomasia*, q. d. deliberate *long*, since the matters under consideration are not *short*.

by the opinions and accusations of others, to procure[2] trouble to yourselves. Consider, too, how great are the uncertainties of war, before you engage in it: for when drawn out to any great length, it usually terminates in some eventful crisis[3], and which way it shall fall out is suspended on the dangerous die of uncertainty. When, indeed, men go to war, they apply to those things first[4] which ought to be second in order; and it is only when they happen to encounter some dire calamity, that they have recourse to *counsels*[5] and *deliberation*. But we, who are as yet ourselves in no such error, nor perceive you to be so, charge you, while to consult well is yet in the power of both, not to break the treaty, nor violate your oaths, but to let the disputed points, conformably to the treaty, be adjusted by judicial award. Else, calling to witness[6] the gods, whom we have mutually sworn by, we will endeavour to repel your attack, if made, in such a way as you shall set us an example."

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[2] *Procure.*] Προσθησθε is not well rendered by some translators. The προς does not signify *besides*, but contributes, together with the force of the middle verb, to make the action more reflective. It has the sense of *accersere, sibi inferre*, as in Eurip. Heracl. 147. ἴδια πρόσθεσθαι κακά. and often in Arrian. The πόνον is used as at 2, 62. τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον. and 2, 39.

[3] *Terminates — crisis.*] Such seems to be the sense of the phrase ἐς τύχας περῖστασθαι, which has somewhat perplexed the commentators. The Schol. and Gottleb. explain the τύχας by ἀδηλότητα. Portus, and most others, understand it of *calamitous events*. It is susceptible of either sense, but the context will not admit of the former; and the latter has something frigid. I would, therefore, take τύχας in a middle sense, i. e. *what happens*, whether good or evil. And this is very agreeable to the context; for from towering and all prevailing prosperity, and from irretrievable adversity, they (i. e. Athens and Lacedæmon) were both equally distant. As to the *reading* in this whole passage, it is defended by numerous imitations which I shall have to point out from Dionys. Hal., Demosth., and Josephus.

[4] *Those things first*] i. e. to *actions*, namely, before *counsels*. By the τὰ ὕστερον are meant *actions*.

[5] *Have recourse to counsels.*] Steph. understands by λόγων, proposals for peace. But though the phrase admits of that sense, it is here not agreeable to the context. Besides, λόγων ἅπτεσθαι is elsewhere, in our author, used in the sense *consilia capessere;* as also in the best writers, as Eurip. Alcest. 967. πλεῖστον ἀψάμενος λόγων. and Ion. 544. λόγων ἀψωμέσθ' ἄλλων. Theocrit. Id. 22, 114. ἀπτόμενος — πόνον. Lucian. 3, 621.

[6] *Calling to witness, &c.*] So supra 73. and infra 2, 71. 4, 87. Invoking them as witnesses, and avengers of those who had violated their oaths.

LXXIX. So spoke the Athenians. But when the Lacedæmonians had heard from the allies their charges against the Athenians, and from the Athenians what they had to allege, they dismissed them [1], to deliberate by themselves on the present posture of affairs; whereupon the opinions of the greater part coincided [2] on this, that the Athenians had already been guilty of injustice towards them, and that they should go to war without delay. Then Archidamus, their king, a personage who had the reputation of possessing [3] both ability and moderation, stepped forward, and addressed them to the following effect: —

LXXX. "I have myself[4], Lacedæmonians, been exercised in many wars, and I see those among you who are of the same age and experience [5]; so that no one can desire enterprise (as is the case with the multitude) through inexperience, nor as regarding it either expedient or safe.[6] As to this war, about which

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[1] *Dismissed them.*] This was usual; with respect to the *phrase*, it often occurs in the Greek historians, as *semotis omnibus* does in the Latin. The whole passage is almost transcribed by Dionys. Hal. 1, 488.

[2] *Coincided.*] Literally, 'bore to the same point.' There is here a metaphor taken from ways that converge to some common point. So Soph. Œd. Col. 1424. ἐς ὀρθὸν ἐμφέρει. where Elmsley compares Œd. Tyr. 519. εἰς ἄπλοῦν φέρει.

[3] *Had the reputation of being,*] Such is the sense of δοκῶν εἶναι, which is ill-rendered by the *videbatur* of the Latin translator. Indeed few idioms have been so generally mistaken as this, as will appear from the examples and critical remarks I shall adduce in my edition.

[4] *I have myself, &c.*] This exordium has been imitated by Procop. p. 256, 36., and the phrase πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπ. has been often borrowed by the historians. Thucyd. also seems to have had in mind a very similar exordium to an oration of Themistocles, in Herod. l. 8, 109. Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι (scil. πράγμασι,) παρεγενόμην, καὶ πολλὰ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι

[5] *I see—experience.*] It is strange that Bauer should take τοὺς for τινας; since that use is confined to the genitive and dative. The construction is elliptical; and the Schol. and commentators supply ἐμπειροτέρους. But the true ellipsis seems to be ὄντας; the other is only *implied* by the context. This view of the phraseology is confirmed by imitations in Dio Cass. 698, 23. and 719, 39. The passage is also imitated by Dionys. Hal. Antiq. 574, 24.

[6] *Nor as regarding—safe.*] Such I conceive to be the true mode of taking this passage, where the transition from substantive to participle has perplexed the translators. The construction is, ὥστε μήτε τινὰ — ἀπειρίᾳ, μήτε (ὡς) νομίσαντα ἀγ. καὶ ἀσφ.

By the οἱ πολλοὶ seems to be meant, not, as Hobbes and Smith understand, *many*, but *most*. The Scholiast takes it to mean the *vulgar*. But Archidamus was, we may suppose, too prudent to commence by insult-

you are now consulting, you will find it is likely to be one not the least momentous [7], if it be maturely weighed and considered.[8] For against *Peloponnesians*, indeed, and the neighbouring states our strength is sufficiently well matched, and our forces can move with celerity upon each of them [9]; but against a people who possess territory afar off, are, moreover, consummately experienced in naval affairs, and are well provided with every apparatus,—with wealth, both private and public,—with ships, and horses [10], and arms — and such a mass of population as is not elsewhere to be found in any *one* Grecian state, and who have, too, many allies paying them tribute. Against *such*, I say, how can it behove us lightly to go to war? and upon what grounds of reliance can we be justified in rushing unprepared to the contest? Is it upon our navy? But there we are inferior; and if we would employ practice, and set on foot counter preparations [11], that will require time.[12] Is it, then, on our wealth? But in that we are even more deficient;

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ing so strong a party, whom it was his interest to conciliate, and whom he, in the course of the oration, *does* studiously avoid offending.

On the *ἀπειρίᾳ* the Scholiast aptly adduces the Pindaric dict. *γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος.*

7 *Least momentous.*] Most translators understand the *ἐλάχιστον* of *length of time.* But that is judging by the *event. Such* Archidamus could scarcely venture to predict. The sense above adopted is far more apt, and is supported by abundant authority. There is the same litotes in Matt. 2, 6. *οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη.*

8 *If it be — considered.*] Literally, if one would prudently consider. The transition from the second person plural to the third person singular, may be attributed to delicacy. The orator had in view the *οἱ πολλοὶ*, who seemed bent on war.

9 *Can move with, &c.*] This is so plainly the sense, (on which, indeed, all interpreters are agreed), that I cannot but wonder that Mr. Mitford should have assigned the sense he has done, which were better suited for a historical romance, like Anacharsis, than an authentic history.

10 *Horses.*] It may be asked, had not the *Peloponnesians* these? Scarcely so: for horses were not much bred there, and wealth was wanting to purchase them of the breeders, namely, the Thessalians, Macedonians, and Thracians. Nay, there is no doubt that horses were brought from Asia Minor, Italy, Sicily, and Spain; as we find by the sixth and seventh books of this history.

The *wealth* here mentioned they had chiefly obtained by their extensive and lucrative commerce.

11 *Set on foot counter preparations.*] I have adopted the reading of Gottleb. and Bekker, which (I would add) is supported by 7, 3. 5, 59., and Dio Cass. 1312, 86. Thus in Xen. 6, 1, 26.

12 *That will require time.*] Literally, "in doing this time must intervene," for χ. *ἐγγενήσεται*, as in the frequent phrase *χρόνον ἐγγιγνομένου.*

we neither have any in the public treasury[13]; nor do we readily contribute from our private purses.

LXXXI. "Perhaps, however, some may feel confidence in our superiority to them in the use of arms[1], and in numbers[2], insomuch that we may invade their territory, and lay it waste with incursions. But they have other and extensive territories[3] under their dominion, and whatever they want they can import by sea.[4] And if we shall endeavour to retaliate[5] upon them, by inducing *their* allies to revolt, it will be necessary to aid these by a fleet, since they are, for the most part, *islanders*. What sort of a war, then, will this be[6]? For unless we obtain the mastery by sea, or find some other course[7] to cut off the revenues from which they support their navy, we shall come off with the worst. And under these circumstances it will be no longer honourable for us to abandon the contest[8]; especially if we shall be thought to have been ourselves rather the authors of the differences. For let us not be carried away by the expectation that the war will speedily be brought to a close, if we do but lay waste their territory. Nay, I fear,

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[13] *Neither have — treasury*] i. e. nothing worthy of mention for such a war. So Aristot. Pol. 2, 7. (cited by Gottleb.) οὔτε ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πόλεως ἔστιν οὐδὲν πολέμους μεγάλους ἀναγκαζομένοις πολεμεῖν. But, indeed, l. 1, 141. is the best commentary on this passage.

[1] *Arms.*] i. e. either in the kind of arms used, or in the construction of them; for both of which the Lacedæmonians were celebrated. Or, perhaps, the *hoplites;* for the Lacedæmonian men at arms were the best in Greece. Now this sense of ὁπλ. occurs in 3, 1. and elsewhere. And so Mitford understands it.

[2] *And numbers.*] So in 1, 141. the Peloponnesians and their allies are represented as able to make head against all the other Greeks.

[3] *Other and extensive territories.*] So 1, 141. "To us there is much territory both on the islands and the continent."

[4] *Import by sea.*] The best commentary on this is l. 2, 38. fin.

[5] *Retaliate, &c.*] This seems meant by the αὖ. Here there is reference to the case of Corcyra and Potidæa.

[6] *What sort — be?*] So Xen. Anab. 7, 1, 26. οἷος δ' ὁ πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο!

[7] *Or find, &c.*] This sense is required by the subject and the context; and I have observed the same ellipsis in similarly constructed sentences. By this *other course*, is meant inducing the allies to revolt.

[8] *Abandon the contest.*] Literally, lay aside the war, καταλύεσθαι; as at 6, 13.; or, what comes to the same thing, seek a reconciliation. And so the gloss (for such it is) in some MSS. διαλύεσθαι.

rather, we shall leave it (as an inheritance[9]) to our children: so little likely is it that the high spirit of the Athenians will be bowed down by attachment to their soil[10], or that, like raw recruits, they be struck with panic at the war.

LXXXII. "I mean not, however, to recommend you to brook, as if you felt them not[1], the wrongs they inflict on our allies, or to connive at their insidious encroachments; but I *do* advise that we should not yet take up arms, but send and expostulate, holding forth the language neither of decided hostility, nor of pusillanimous acquiescence; and, in the meanwhile, that all due preparations be made on our part, by attaching to our interest allies, both Greeks and Barbarians (for those whose destruction is threatened (as ours is by the Athenians), may be perfectly justified in having recourse to *Barbarians* as well as Greeks for their preservation), *any*, I say, from whatever quarter[2], from which we may derive aid, whether of shipping or money; taking care, moreover, to provide what we can from our own resources. And if, indeed, they should hearken to our expostulations, that will be the best issue the business can have: but if not, when two, or even three years have elapsed, then, if it should be thought expedient,

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[9] *Inheritance.*] So Dio Cass. 47, 67. πόλεμον τῇ πόλει κατέλειπε, *bequeathed.*

[10] *Be bowed down—soil.*] Such seems to be the sense of the obscure expression τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι, which is illustrated by 1, 143. τούτου ἕνεκα οὐκ ὑπακούσεσθε. Abresch, Reiske, and Gottleb. have not amiss discerned the sense, but they have failed to establish it on any proof, insomuch that Reiske resorted to critical conjecture. But the present reading, and the interpretation above adopted, are confirmed by an imitation of Plut. Themist. 6, 11. τὰς μὲν οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλελοίπαμεν, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες ἀψύχων ἕνεκα δουλεύειν. As the phrase is remarkable, the following illustrations may not be unacceptable. Dio Cass. 525, 13. δουλεύειν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ; Joseph. 165, 5. δ. τῷ κέρδει; Diod. Sic. t. 10, 148. δ. τῇ συνηθείᾳ; J. Chrys t. 1, 161. δ. ἀριθμῷ; Philostr. V. A. 3, 30. δ. ταῖς τραπέζαις; and especially, to omit many other examples, Ælian V. H. 2, 15. δεδούλωτο τῷ πλατάνῳ, καὶ ἐθαύμαζε τὸ δένδρον. In all these cases there is an ellipsis of ἐπί, which has the sense of ἕνεκα.

[1] *As if—not.*] The best commentary on this ill-understood passage is a kindred one, supra, ch. 69. "And so long indeed as they fancy they escape detection, through your unobservance, they are the less courageous;" where see note 5. The words following καὶ μὴ καταφωρᾷν are exegetical. Μὴ καταφ. signifies, "not detect and expose."

[2] *From whatever quarter.*] Such is the force of the idiomatic εἴ ποθέν, which has escaped the attention of the commentators.

we may advance against them thoroughly armed [3] for the contest; and perhaps when they see our preparations, and find our words and actions correspondent to each other, they may rather choose to give way, while they preserve their territory undevastated, and may yet consult about valuable property still in being [4] and uninjured. For think not that we hold their territory otherwise than as a *pledge* [5], (and so much the more in proportion as it is highly cultivated) which it is our policy to spare as long as possible, and not, by throwing them into despair, thus render them the harder to subdue. For if, unprepared as we now are, we should be impelled, by the accusations of the allies, to proceed to the devastation of their territory,—mark, if we shall not occasion to Peloponnesus so much the more of disgrace and difficulty. For the accusations of states, as of individuals, it is possible to clear away [6]; but

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[3] *Thoroughly armed.*] Literally, *fortified.* Such is the sense of πεφραγμένοι, which is imperfectly rendered "better prepared." The word is here used in a metaphorical sense, (as Æschyl. Theb. 63. φράξαι πόλισμα), and is well rendered by Budæus in his Comm. "Muniti et instructi ad bellum," ἐξηρτυμένοι. There is a metaphor taken from a soldier in full armour, as φραχθέντες in Hom. Il. ρ. 268. and Eurip. Orest. 1413.

[4] *In being.*] For in case of hostile irruption, they would fall a prey to the enemy, and either be destroyed, or no longer remain in being for the former owners.

[5] *Pledge.*] The commentators might, not unprofitably, have bestowed *some* attention on this remarkable expression; but as they have not done so, the following illustrations may serve as a symbola. There is an ellipsis of ὥστε ἡμᾶς; and the literal rendering is, "For think not their territory aught but as a *pledge* for us to *hold;*" the ἔχειν being *not* (as Bauer fancies) for παρέχειν, but for κατέχειν. The word ὅμηρος has here the sense assigned by the Scholiast and Hesych., namely, an ἐνέχυρον or pledge, *held in hand* (hence the origin of ἐνεχ. which is similar to our *handsel*), as a surety of peace (from ὁμοῦ and εἴρειν). It is applied to the present case, because such pledges were the means of bringing and *keeping together* discordant parties.

On this very principle, indeed, Archidamus did afterwards act, by suspending the threatened evils as long as he could over the heads of the Athenians. See 2, 18. In fact, this seems to have been a not unfrequent policy with the Lacedæmonians, as we may infer from Polyæn. Strat. 2, 1., in which most corrupt passage for καὶ προσῄει I conjecture κὸν προσ. I would retain ἐξουλεύοντο, and for ὑπέστρεψεν I would read ἀπέστρεψεν, or ἀπέτρεψεν. Finally, for εἰρήνην ἐπιστήσαντας, I would read εἰρήνῃ ἐπιστήσοντας, sub. νοῦν. The same policy was used by the Romans. So Liv. 5, 42. (who *plainly* has the present passage in view), "Non omnia concremari tecta, ut, quodcumque superesset urbis, id *pignus* ad flectendos hostium animos haberent." Something not very dissimilar, too, occurs in Herod. 1, 17. fin.

[6] *Clear away.*] Literally, 'do away, by clearing.' For καταλύειν is a verbum prægnans.

a general war, taken up on private grounds[7], and of which none can tell the issue, it is no easy matter honourably to lay aside.[8]

LXXXIII. "And let it not seem to any of you pusillanimous for so many states not to advance speedily upon *one*. For they, too, have allies, not inferior in number to our own[9], and that pay them tribute; and war is a business, not so much of arms, as of expense, by which alone arms are made availing[10], and especially in the contest of an inland[11] with a maritime power. Let us, then, first provide ourselves with treasure, nor be prematurely hurried into action by the harangues of our allies. But let those who are to have the greatest share of the praise or blame[12] resulting from the events, whichsoever way they turn out; let us, I say, leisurely and quietly employ some forecast concerning them.

LXXXIV. "And as to the tardiness and dilatoriness[1], which they especially lay to our charge, of that be not ashamed;

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[7] *Private grounds.*] For the criminations were not common to the Peloponnesians, but chiefly confined to the Corinthians.

[8] *Honourably to lay aside.*] This passage is imitated by Joseph. 1085, 35. κινηθέντα δ' ἅπαξ τὸν πολεμον οὔτ' ἀποθέσθαι ῥᾴδιον δίχα συμφορῶν, οὔτε βάστασαι. See Wasse on Sallust. Jug. c. 35.

[9] *Allies — own.*] Hobbes renders, "for of confederates that bring them in money, they have more than we." But the Lacedæmonians had *no tributary* allies, it not being part of their policy to have any, (see supra 19. and note); and indeed the words will bear no other sense than that which I have assigned.

[10] *War is a business — availing.*] I would subaud πρᾶγμα, as also at Eurip. Phœn. 731. ἀλλὰ τοῦθ' ὁρῶ πολλοῦ πόνου ὄν.

[11] *Inland.*] This sense is required by the antithesis, not *continental*, as Mitford renders.

[12] *Praise or blame.*] Αἰτία is properly a middle term, signifying the *cause* of any thing, whether for good or evil. It is very rarely, however, used in this middle sense, (though that is found also in αἴτιος). I can recollect no other proof of it than Æschyl. ch. 1018. ἐκτὸς αἰτίας κακῆς εἶναι.

[1] *Tardiness and dilatoriness.*] With this (which resulted from a heavy and phlegmatic constitution) the Lacedæmonians were always, and with reason, reproached. And as men are sufficiently prone to hide their defects, and even cloak them under the garb of virtue, so it was with them. They were never at a loss for some adage to ward off the attack, as that of Eurip. Phœn. 463. Pors. Βραδεῖς δὲ μῦθοι πλεῖστον ἀνύτουσιν σόφον., or that of Herod. 7, 10, 59. The present passage is imitated by Philo Jud. 473. 6. and seems to have been in the mind of Appian, 2, 683.

for if ye were to *hasten* [to the war], the longer would ye be before ye came to the end of it[2], from engaging in it unprepared. And, moreover, we have thereby ever inhabited our country in freedom and good fame. In *that*, too, chiefly consists our discreet sober-mindedness.[3] For by this[4], we alone in prosperity run not out into pride and arrogance, and in adversity least give way to misfortune. Hence, also, if any spur us on by panegyric to perilous adventures, disapproved by our judgment, we are little moved by their flattery; nor, if any one were to stimulate us by reproach, would indignation

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[2] *If ye were to — end.*] This seems to be one of the adages of which the Lacedemonians were so fond. We have ourselves similar ones, as, " to make more haste than good speed," " the farthest way about is the nearest way home."

[3] *We have thereby — sober-mindedness.*] Such seems to be the sense, as far as can be determined by the context, and the scope of reasoning; though to prove it from the actual words, would be no easy matter. The change of person in the same sentence occurs too often to occasion any serious inconvenience; but in the clauses *καὶ ἅμα — νεμόμεθα*, and *καὶ δύναται — εἶναι* there are two positions, which though not in themselves obscure, yet become so by not being *applied* to the matter in question. The translators are content to leave the difficulty as they found it. As to the interpreters, they almost all avoid it, by considering the clauses *per se*, and without any reference to their bearing on the ratiocination. In short, the difficulty centers in *ἅμα ἐλευθέραν — νεμόμεθα*, which words are imperfect, nay, mutilate; for they cannot serve the purpose intended but by supplying *διὰ τοῦτο*, which would be a most portentous ellipsis. Therefore I cannot but suspect the passage to be corrupt, and I would leave it for correction from better MSS. To consider it, then, as it stands, there is, as Haack rightly observes, an argumentum ex effectu. And, indeed, *δι' αὐτὸ* occurs just after. Now this must, of course, refer to the preceding *τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον*. And it is equally certain that (as the Scholiast saw) the *τοῦτ'* in the next clause must have the *same subject*, and not, as Goeller supposes, refer to *ἐλευθέραν*. The *δύναται* signifies *valet, in hoc cadit, hoc efficere potest;* as in a passage of Thucyd. cited by Steph. Thes. p. 347. A.

I cannot conclude without noticing the rashness of Goeller in changing *εὐδοξάτην* into *ἐνδοξ.*, without the authority of one MS. If his reason was, that the word is (as Gottleb. says) rare, that is certainly a very bad one; but, in fact, it is not so rare but that I am enabled to add to the two examples by him cited from Eurip., others from Pind. Nem. 7, 11. Pyth. 12, 10. Olym. 14, 33. Pyth. 6, 17. Isthm. 8, 2. 2, 49. 3, 2. Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 28. Hipp. 1, 22. and 8, 7. Laced. 7, 4. Herod. 7, 99. Finally, Dio Cas. frequently. The air of the sentence is not unlike that of Acts 23, 1. *ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας.*

[4] *For by this we, &c.*] Archidamus now proceeds to give a sort of sketch of the Lacedæmonian character, in opposition to that given of the Athenians by the Corinthians.

be at all more likely to make us alter our determination.[5] By this orderly sedateness we are both brave in combat, and prudent in counsel: the *former*, because sober-mindedness is nearly allied to sensibility to disgrace[6], with which true wisdom is intimately connected; the *latter*, since we are educated too illiberally[7] to contemn the laws[8], and with too much

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[5] *Indignation be at all — determination.*] Ἀναπειθ. is here put for μεταπείθειν, *sententia aliquem traducere*, as in Dio Cass. 249, 49. There is in this whole sentence an allusion to the two methods pursued by the Corinthians in their oration, to work on the Lacedæmonians, *praise*, and *censure* The κατηγορία παροξύνῃ may recal to mind the Virgilian "nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris."

[6] *Sensibility to disgrace.*] I have not attempted to distinguish between αἰδὼς and αἰσχύνη, because the connexion and climax show them to be here taken as synonymous; though otherwise they have nearly the same distinction as our *modesty* and *bashfulness*, of which the former is a deeply-rooted *principle*, the latter a superficial *feeling*, as it were only *skin-deep*. Not very different is the distinction of the antient critics, which see in the Schol. on Eurip. Hecub. 291. and Zon. Lex. Col. 1816. Indeed Plato Charmid. p. 122. makes a similar one between σωφροσύνη and αἰδώς. His words are these: οὐκ ἄρα σωφροσύνη ἂν εἴη αἰδὼς. εἴπερ δὲ μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἀγαθὸν ἢ καὶ κακόν. Of how much consequence the αἰδὼς is to the promotion of true bravery, is sufficiently apparent; on which the Schol. cites Hom. Il. 15, 563., and Goeller refers to Elmsley on Eurip. Heracl. 201. They might more appositely have adduced Hom. Il. ο. 561, 1. The following passage of Plut. Cleom. § 9. is also much to the present purpose: καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν δὲ μοὶ δοκοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφοβίαν, ἀλλὰ φόβον ψόγου καὶ δέος ἀδόξιας οἱ παλαιοὶ νομίζειν. οἱ γὰρ δειλότατοι πρὸς τοὺς νόμους θαῤῥαλεώτατοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσι. καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἥκιστα δεδίασιν οἱ μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸ κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι.

[7] *Educated too illiberally.*] There is here a reference to the reproaches cast on them by the Athenians for their ignorance and neglect of liberal education. The term illiberally is said *sarcastically*.

[8] *To contemn the laws.*] Literally, "they are brought up to consider themselves as not wiser than the laws." On this, which is certainly the foundation of subordination, there is much said in the great antient writers. It appears from 3, 37. that the Athenians in general had *not* this reverence for the laws; hence their tumultuous insubordination. Cleon there says, that the *less instructed* ἀμαθεστέροι τῶν νόμων ἀξίουσι εἶναι. Plato, p. 555. E. and Arist. Rhet. p. 78. agree that it is an undoubted principle, that no one should be wiser than the laws. And Eurip. Or. 481. says, Ἑλληνικόν τοι — τῶν νόμων γε μὴ πρότερον εἶναι θέλειν. Hence the noble dict of Pindar: νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς; and of Eurip. Hec. 793. χὠ κείνων (scil. Θεῶν) κρατῶν νόμος: both of which passages seem to have been in the mind of Hooker, in his celebrated panegyric of law: "Of law there can no less be said," &c. Similar sentiments also may be seen in Eurip. Bacch. 846. Philostr. Vit. Ap. 7, 33. and Herod. 7, 104. I cannot omit to observe, that the implicit obedience which the Lacedæmonians paid to the laws, seems rightly to have been attributed by Polyæn. Strat. 1, 16. to the circumstance, that their observance being, by the contrivance of Lycurgus, solemnly enjoined on them, as of perpetual utility, they therefore acquired the force of oracles. Nay, Justin, 3, 3. says, that Lycurgus affirmed

rigid restraint to disobey them — and not to be over-wise in useless matters[9]; to be in *words* eloquently censuring the measures of the enemy, but in deeds attacking them less effectively. We rather suppose that the designs and intentions of our neighbours are very much like our own[10], and that the events which may fall out[11] are not to be unfolded[12] by words. By *deeds* we ever make our preparations against our enemies, as against persons prudently consulting. For we should not rest any hopes on them or their blunders, but upon ourselves and our own sure forecast.[13] Nor ought we to think that there is any wide difference between man and man[14],

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them to have been written by Apollo, and brought to them by his direction. This he did, Justin adds, "ut consuescendi tædium metus religionis vincat."

9 *Overwise — matters.*] This also is meant for the Athenians. By the ἀχρεῖα are meant the τὰ σοφίσματα τῶν λόγων, that artificial eloquence which the Athenians so studiously cultivated, but which the Lacedæmonians wholly neglected. The words following serve to illustrate the inutility, nay, pernicious tendency, of this, as making persons more intent on uttering sounding words, and depreciating the enemy in set harangues, rather than in following up their words by deeds of correspondent boldness.

10 *We rather—own.*] Some apposite passages may be seen in Dionys. Hal. 1, 349. and Onosand. p. 55.

11 *Events that may fall out.*] Literally, 'turn up.' So Eurip. Hippol. 715. πρὸς τὰ νῦν πεπτωκότα; where Valckn. truly observes, that the term contains a metaphor taken from *dice*.

12 *Unfolded.*] Or, distinctly explained and made clear. That διαιρεῖν and διαιρεῖσθαι often signify *fusè et distinctè explicare*, is truly observed by Portus, in his Lex. Ion. There is a similar metaphor in the Hebr. פרש. The best commentary on the sense is a parallel maxim at 1, 122. ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ.

13 *We should not—forecast.*] This passage has been imitated by Isocr. de Pace, § 18. p. 271. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ λογίζεσθαι δυναμένους, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἁμαρτήμασι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν διανοίαις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ — ἡμῖν.

14 *Difference between, &c.*] This is *transcribed* by Menand. Hist. Corp. Byz. Paris. 1, 134., and closely imitated by Procop. 293, 27. φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι οὐδὲν τι μέγα διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων δοκοῦσιν, εἰ (I read ἡ) δὲ πεῖρα τις ἦν γινομένη; and Dio Cass. 363. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἕνα τε (I conjecture γε) ἄνδρα ἑνὸς πολὺ διαφέρειν νομίζων. Polyæn., too, tells us 3, 11, 1. that Chabrias used to thus admonish his soldiers, when they were going to battle: μήτοι νομίζωμεν ὡς πολεμίοις συμβαλλόντες· ἀλλὰ ἀνθρώποις αἵμα καὶ ἔχουσι, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ἡμῖν κεκοινωνηκόσι. Here, however, I cannot omit to observe that there is something extremely flat in πολεμίοις. Casaub. was evidently not satisfied with the passage; yet he proposes no emendation. I venture, with confidence, to emend, ὀλυμπίοις, or Γ' ὀλυμπίοις. The scribe, as usual, stumbled at an uncommon word, and mistook it for a common one. As to the use of ὀλυμ., that none can question; it is sufficiently defended by Hesych. ὀλυμπίοις. οὐρανίοις. The above emendation is confirmed and illustrated by a kindred passage of Virg. Æn. 10, 375. where he, perhaps, had

but that he who has been trained up in most difficulties is the best.[15]

LXXXV. "These institutions, then, which our forefathers have handed down to us, and which we have ever ourselves with advantage acted on, let us not cast aside; nor precipitately, in a small portion of one day, hurry to a decision which cannot but involve with it many lives, much treasure, many cities, and much honour; but coolly let us deliberate. *This* our *power* places more at our option than others. Send, then, an embassy to the Athenians on the affair of Potidæa; send, too, respecting those matters in which the allies represent themselves to be wronged; especially as the Athenians say they are ready to submit the matters at issue to the award of judicial decision. For against one who refers a cause to judgment, it is not lawful to proceed beforehand, as against a proved criminal. At the same time, prepare yourselves for the war. By so doing you will consult the best for your own welfare, and will strike most terror into your enemies."

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this saying in view: "*Numina* nulla premunt: *mortali* urgemur ab hoste *Mortales;* totidem nobis animæque manusque."

[15] *He who--best.*] Goeller here recedes from the other commentators by explaining ἀναγκ. of things *most necessary,* as opposed to the ἀχρεῖα before mentioned. But that word is too distant for us to suppose any such reference; and the sense arising is strained and frigid. This fancy had been better left with the old Schol., from whom it was derived. Nor can I approve of the novelties of interpretation on this word, and παιδεύεται introduced by Kistemm., Barthelemy, Gail, and Levesque. Ἀναγκ. certainly does not signify *sortem inevitabilem* or *l'imperieuse necessitè.* Still less does παιδ. signify "prudenter se gerit." The passage is admirably explained by the Scholiast. Yet there seems, also, to be in παιδ. an allusion (by way of contrast with the Athenian education) to the rigid and compulsory system of Lycurgus. The sense may be thus expressed: "He is the best and bravest man who has been most trained in the school of self-denial, poverty, and compulsory obedience." Out of numerous passages which I could adduce in proof and illustration of this sense, the following may suffice: Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 47, 27. παρέχοντες ὑμῖν καὶ σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς εὖ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ πεπαιδευμένα; Xen. Mem. 1, 5, 5. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1118. ἐν γὰρ ἀνάγκαις οὐ κάμνει, σύντροφος ὤν; Eurip. Alexand. frag. 15. Πένια δὲ δύστηνον μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως τρέφει Μοχθοῦντ' ἀμείνω τέκνα καὶ δραστήρια; Onosand. c. 9. p. 43. γυμνάζετω τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ — σύντροφα ποιείσθω τοῖς δεινοῖς; Æschyl. Eum. 271. ἐγὼ, διδαχθεὶς ἐν κακοῖς, ἐπίσταμαι κ. τ. λ., and Eum. 519. ξυμφέρει σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει. (imitated by Gray, in his noble Ode to Adversity); 3 Macc. 2, 16. παιδεύων μετὰ συμφορᾶς, which defends and explains the παιδεύει of the Apostle to the Hebrews, 12, 6.

Thus spoke Archidamus. Then Sthenelaidas, at nat time one of the ephori, advancing last, addressed the ~~Athenians~~ Lacedæmonians as follows: —

LXXXVI.[1] "For my part, these many fine words of the Athenians are beyond my comprehension[2]: for though they have been large in their own praise, they have no where said aught to the contrary but that they have wronged our confederates and the Peloponnesians. Besides, if they *did* once against the Medes conduct themselves well, but now towards us ill, what do they deserve but *double punishment*, as having ceased to be good, and now become bad?[3] Now we are the very same we were then; and if we be wise, we shall not suffer our allies to be injured, nor delay to avenge them — for the *injuries* they suffer are not delayed.[4] Others, it is true, have much money, many ships, and many horses; but we have good and faithful allies, whom we must not betray to the Athenians, nor, by words and pleadings, debate the case of those whose

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[1] Here we have a highly characteristic address, truly Spartan, laconic, blunt, business-like, and straight forward, almost, indeed, affectedly so. With which may be compared two orations in Liv. l. 1, 32. and 4, 41., on which it is remarked, "oratio incompta fuisse dicitur, cæterum militariter gravis — non suis vana laudibus, non crimine alieno læta;" and "prisco illo dicendi et horrido modo." On this very account the oration in question was the better adapted to effect the purpose intended, just as a blunt tool answers some purposes better than a sharp one; yet lamentable it is that such should have frustrated all the effect which might have been expected from the sensible and dispassionate oration of Archidamus.

The commentators observe that this address of Sthenelaidas is noticed by Plut. t. 9. p. 204., who numbers it with the *political orations*, and observes of it, that it breathes ὄγκον καὶ μέγεθος. They might, however, have better referred to Pausan. 3, 7, 10., where he says that Sthenelaidas, from his great political influence and ephorship, was the chief cause of a war which shook Greece from its very foundations.

[2] *Comprehension.*] Γινώσκω here seems to have a double sense, "I neither understand nor approve."

[3] *As having ceased, &c.*] The best explication is Hobbes' *version*, though it is too paraphrastical: "because they are not good, as they were, and because they are evil, as they were not."

[4] *For the injuries they — delayed.*] Or, literally, not *yet to come*, but present and actual. A play upon the double sense of μελλ. This elegance, (for so the antients accounted it), is imitated by Dio Cass. 448, 75. πῶς δὲ οὐ δεινὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν μὴ μελλῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν, ὑμᾶς δὲ μελλεῖν ἀμύνασθαι. And so Dionys. Hal. p. 18. ποια δὲ συγγνώμη τῷ χρονισμῷ ἐν οὐ χρονίζουσιν οὐδὲ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς; and 637, 23. ἡ μέλλησις τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἄωρος ἐν οὐ μέλλουσι δεινοῖς. Compare also infr. 2.

wrongs consist not in words[5]: but rather avenge them with all speed, and to the utmost of our power. And that it becomes us, when injured, to *deliberate* — let no man tell me this; nay, it rather behoves those about to commit injury, to long deliberate. Let your vote, then, Lacedæmonians, be, as becomes the dignity of Sparta, *for war*. And neither suffer the Athenians to become yet greater, nor betray to their ruin[6] your allies; but let us, in the name of the gods, proceed against the authors of their wrongs."

LXXXVII. Having thus spoken, he himself, by virtue of his office as ephor, put the question to vote[1] in the Lacedemonian assembly; and then (for they decide by shout[2], and

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[5] *Whose wrongs — words.*] q. d. you talk, while they act. So Æschyl. Agam. 1222. σὺ μὲν κατεύχει, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει. See supra, c. 69.

[6] *Betray to their ruin.*] The κατὰ in καταπροδιδῶμεν has an intensive force. This is a rare word, of which I shall adduce examples in my edition.

[1] *Put the question to vote.*] Επιψηφίζειν is for ψῆφον προθεῖναι, *in suffragia mittere*. To the references of Haack and Goeller, I add others, i. e. Benwell on Xenophon, Dorv. on Char. p. 21, 5., and (instar omnium) Valckn. on Herod. 8, 61, 3.

On the *ephori* see Smith, or Potter's Gr. Antiq., as also Cragius de Rep. Laced.

[2] *By shout.*] This was the rudest, and probably the most antient, mode of voting; but it has been partly retained even up to modern times, and especially in tumultuary assemblies. It was lately in use in the Polish Diet; and once (where we should less expect it) in the Assembly of Divines convened by the Long Parliament in 1642, for the reformation of the church, as I find by an extract from Baillie's Letters, inserted by Mr. Chalmers in his Life of Bp. Reynolds, p. 29. note. On the *mode* in which the Lacedæmonians gave their suffrage, Palmer refers to Plut. Lycurg. and Crag. de Rep. Laced. To me, it should seem, that the mode by *ballot*, or ball, was indeed in use, but was not adapted for very large assemblies, where the antient mode by shout was retained. I cannot think that the one adopted in the present instance was new and devised for the nonce, by a sort of stratagem; but that it was sometimes used, when that by shout was doubtful, and was now resorted to as being better suited to the purpose in view, among a high-spirited, warlike, and active people. Indeed that it was occasionally *then* used, I can prove from Xen. Hist. 2, 4, 9. δείξας δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ἐς τοῦτο ἐκέλευσε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. That it was continued to a long time afterwards, I find from Dio Cass. 475, 12. who almost transcribes the present passage. And that it was in use with the *Romans*, appears from their phrase, (though commonly employed figuratively) *in sententiam alicujus discedere*.

It is proper to observe, with Palmer, the mixture of democracy with aristocracy on all great affairs, among the Lacedæmonians; as is noticed by Isocr. in Areopagitico.

not by ballot,) he alleged that he could not distinguish which shout was the greater; and with the intent of exciting them the more to war, by making them openly signify their opinion, he said, "Let him, Lacedæmonians, who thinks the treaty is broken, and that the Athenians have been guilty of injustice, depart yonder (pointing to them a place); but let him who thinks otherwise, go to the other side." Then they arose, and divided upon the question; and far greater was the number of those who voted that the treaty was broken. Then having called in the allies, they told them that, for their own parts, their opinion was, that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice; but that they wished to summon the whole of the allies, and put the question to vote, in order that they might wage the war, if it should be determined on by common council. And having despatched this business, they returned home, as did also the Athenian ambassadors, after concluding the affair which had brought them thither. This resolution of the assembly, that the treaty was broken, was in the fourteenth year from the commencement of the thirty years' truce which succeeded the Euboic war.

LXXXVIII. Now the Lacedæmonians had thus voted that the treaty was broken, and that war was to be commenced, not so much as having been influenced by the representations of the allies, as because they feared the growth of Athenian greatness; seeing that the most considerable part of Greece was already in subjection to them.[1]

LXXXIX. Now the Athenians had come into the administration of the affairs, by which they had attained to

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[1] *The most considerable — them.*] This however, was scarcely the case; so that I am inclined to suppose that this is rather meant to be recorded as what they brought themselves to think and assert, than what was literally true. Indeed Mitford thinks that the Athenian dominion *within* Greece had been *contracted*, by the conditions of the thirty years' truce, and by the losses which led to it. Perhaps the difficulty may be best removed by supposing that among the *states of Greece* the Lacedæmonians numbered all the Athenian allies, subjects, and colonists, both in Greece, *Asia*, and *elsewhere*; and then, indeed, the assertion might be true

power, in the following manner.[1] After the Medes had retreated from Europe, on their defeat by sea and land by the Greeks, and such of them as had escaped by sea were defeated at Mycale[2], Leotychidas, the king of Lacedæmon, who commanded the Greeks there, returned home, together with the Peloponnesian allies; but the Athenians and the confederates from Ionia and the Hellespont, which had now revolted from the king, staying behind, besieged Sestos, which was in the possession of the Medes, and after consuming the winter, they took it, by the abandonment[3] of the Barbarians. After this they sailed away from the Hellespont, and separated each to their respective cities. Then the Athenian state[4], after the departure of the Barbarians, immediately fetched back their wives and children, and their remaining furniture and moveables, from the places where they had deposited[5] them for safety, and made preparations for rebuilding their city and re-edifying the walls; for of the circumference but few portions remained[6], and of the houses

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[1] *Come to — manner.*] Dionys. Hal. censures our author for being so long in pointing out the *true* cause of the war, after having given only the *apparent* one, supra, ch. 24. But here that writer seems as little successful as usual in discovering the faults of Thucydides (most of which he imitates). Our author was right in deferring *that* until he could both prove and illustrate it. This historical sketch is, perhaps, unrivalled for brevity, yet distinctness and perspicuity.

[2] *At Mycale.*] This is so often the sense of ἐς, that it is strange Hobbes and some others should have assigned a sense contrary to the truth of history, and indeed in itself absurd.

[3] *Abandonment.*] Some render *evacuation*. But that conveys a notion of its being made on *terms* entered into with the Athenians, which is not probable. And as Thucydides elsewhere uses the word of the abandonment of their city by the Athenians, it is the more likely that he intends that sense here. Nor must the Schol. be too severely censured for explaining it ἀφανισθέντων, since he doubtless read instead of ἐκλιπόντων, ἐπιλιπ., which is found in six MSS., but, I suspect, ex emendatione.

[4] *State.*] Or *commonwealth;* for it had now become such again, by the establishment of the regular rulers, as before. This signification also occurs in 5, 37. and a little further on.

[5] *Deposited.*] Ὑπεκτίθεσθαι (which is here oddly rendered by Hobbes *put out to keep*) signifies to place any thing in a retired situation (ὑπὸ), out of the reach of harm (ἐκ). So Justin: "Athenienses conjuges liberosque abditis insulis demandant." In this sense it occurs in Polyæn. p. 728. Masv. παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐς Κρήτην ὑπ. and Lycurg. C. Leoc. p. 154. τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ γυναῖκα ὑπ. The places themselves were Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene. See Herod. 8, 41.

[6] *Few portions remained.*] Indeed next to none; as we find by Herod., who says that Mardonius, before he abandoned the city, burnt εἰ πού τι

the greater part had been destroyed; few indeed remaining but those in which the Persians of rank had quartered.[7]

XC. The Lacedæmonians hearing what was about to be done, sent an embassy, partly because they would have been glad to see neither theirs nor any other city have walls, but yet more from the instigation of the allies, who felt alarm at the greatness of their navy, (whereas they formerly had had none[1],) and the daring[2] and adventurous spirit evinced in the Median war. Hence they would have wished them not only to desist from their erection, but to cooperate with them in demolishing the walls of such *other* cities out of Peloponnesus belonging to the confederacy as were yet standing; not disclosing their meaning, and the jealousy they bore the Athenians, but pretending that if the Barbarian should return, he would have no strong hold (as he formerly had Thebes) to sally forth from, and make his seat of war. Peloponnesus (they represented,) would to all of them be a sufficient retreat and sally-port. The Athenians, however, at the suggestion of Themistocles, replied[3] to the requisitions of the Lacedæ-

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ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν περιβόλων ἢ οἰκημάτων, ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.

[7] *But those — quartered.*] So that it appears the destruction was not so complete and unsparing as Herod. would lead us to suppose. Ἐσκήνησαν, "had their quarters." The editors, perhaps, should have written ἐσκήνωσαν, which is found in two MSS., and is countenanced by seven others. It was also read by Hesych. So also Xen. Anab. 5, 5, 7. σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, et sæpissime; Polyæn. 4, 6, 4.; and Polyb. 4, 72, 1. ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπισκηνώσαντες.

By the οἱ δυνατοὶ are meant, literally, the *magnates*, or great men, not *nobles*, as Smith renders; for there was no such thing as nobility among the Persians.

[1] *Whereas — none.*] Smith renders, "greater than at any time before;" which would be very true, but is not what the words import, which contain a much stronger sense, and that which is supported by the truth of history. For it appears from 1, 14. that the Athenian navy was created by Themistocles, and no further back than the Æginean war, in the year before the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

[2] *Daring, &c.*] Thus the Athenians are at 1, 70. called τολμηταὶ, *enterprisers*.

[3] *Replied &c.*] According to Diodorus, they gave a flat denial, on which the Lacedæmonian ambassadors went to the builders, and ordered them to immediately desist from the work. It is, however, not probable that Thucyd. would suppress such a circumstance. Yet it is possible that the work was abandoned while the ambassadors continued at Athens, and a

monians that they would send an ambassador to them concerning the matters spoken of, and so dismissed them. It was, moreover, his advice that they should despatch *him* as speedily as possible to Lacedæmon, but the other colleagues in the embassy not to send immediately, but to detain them until the time that they should have raised such a height of wall as to serve for the most necessary purposes of defence; that the whole population of the city, men, women, and children, should apply themselves to the raising of it, sparing neither private nor public edifices that might supply any thing for the work, but pulling them all down without exception.[4] After having told them to do this, and given them to understand that he would himself despatch the rest of the business in question at Lacedæmon, he took his departure. And going to Lacedæmon, he did not attend on the magistrates[5],

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promise was given that it should be for the present discontinued. This is countenanced by Nepos, and is proved by what follows, *κατηγοροῦντων*. Frontinus, indeed, seems to say that the Athenians not only hearkened to the representations of the ambassadors, but demolished part of the work they had done. His words (l. 1, 1, 10.) are: "muros ab Atheniensibus dejectos quos jussu Lacedæmoniorum dejecerant." But this is, I suspect, not so much a blunder of the author as an error of the scribe; and I confidently propose *desierant* scil. suscitare. Of this construction with the *accusative* many examples are adduced in Facciol. Lex.

[4] *Sparing neither — exception.*] By *public* we are not to understand that *temples* were included; for *that* the *religious spirit*, (see Acts 17. 22.) of the Greeks would forbid. In an imitation of Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 167, 8. we have *μήτε ἰδίου μήτε κοινοῦ κατασκευάσματος φειδόμενον*. and 170, 126. But *δημοσ.* and *κοιν.* only denoted public buildings in a *political*, not religious, sense. Though *τὰ ἱερὰ* and *τὰ ἴδια* are opposed in Herod. 6, 9 and 13. 8, 109., yet among the public buildings we may include the *mausolea* and other tombs. So Æschin. p. 87, 31. *τὰ δημόσιας ταφὰς ἀνέλοντα*. And we find from Diod. that such were freely used. Nepos indeed says: "Neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer esset, sive profanus, sive privatus, sive publicus: et undique quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum est, ut Atheniensium muri ex sacellis sepulchrisque constarent" But as he evidently follows (as often) our author, I suspect that he has only written thus, from a misconception of his meaning. If it were true that any portions were derived *e sacellis*, it was probably from some ruinous *heroa*, or chapels to some of the Demigods. See the Schol. on Aristoph. Eq. 811. on this whole passage.

[5] *Attend on the magistrates.*] Hobbes renders, *state*. I suppose because of *ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν* just after. But the *τὸ κοινὸν* was, strictly speaking, not the same with the *ἀρχαὶ*; the former being the *magistracy*, as the Ephori and some others, the latter the *common assembly*. It should seem (and the force of the two terms confirms it) that it was necessary first to wait on the magistrates, to ask their permission to address the common assembly. Ἐπέρχεται τὸ κοινὸν therefore includes the other, though the two things are properly distinct: *τὸ κοινὸν* often occurs in Herod., and

but protracted the time, sending excuses [6] for his absence; and when any who held office asked him why he did not make his appearance at the public assembly, he said that he was waiting for his colleagues, who were left behind on some urgent occasion, but that he expected them very shortly, and was surprised that they were not already come.

XCI. Upon hearing this, they acquiesced in the answer, through the friendship [1] they bore him; but when others [2] came, and flatly contradicted [3] his representation, saying that the walls were building, and were already advanced to some height [4], they knew not how to discredit the account. On learning this, he bids them not be led away by vague reports, but rather send some persons of respectability [5] of their own citizens [6], who, upon inspection, might give a faithful account.

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sometimes in Xenophon, with the subaudition of *βουλευτήριον*, which is *supplied* in Polyb. 2, 50.

[6] *Sending excuses.*] Among these, if we may believe Frontinus, feigning sickness.

[1] *Friendship.*] And no wonder; for his manners seem to have been most engaging, insomuch that (like Napoleon Buonaparte) he scarcely ever failed to carry any point that depended upon personal communication. Theopompus ap. Plut. Themist. 19., indeed, ascribes their acquiescence to corruption.

[2] *Others.*] i. e. who had *been at* Athens, or derived their knowledge from those who had. The original has the article; but it can have no place here, except by the *τῶν ἄλλων* be meant the rest of the Lacedæmonians, those who were not magistrates. But that would be frigid.

[3] *Contradicted, &c.*] Such is the full sense of *κατηγορούντων*, which is a verbum prægnans, here, and often elsewhere, misunderstood by the interpreters. Hence it appears Themistocles had asserted that the building was discontinued. Indeed had he not done so, he could not have so long pacified them.

[4] *Advanced to some height.*] Many good MSS. read *πέρας*. But that seems to be ex emendatione, and to have proceeded from the scribes, who were acquainted with the phrase *πέρας λαμβάνειν*, which occurs in Ctes. Pers. 10. and Joseph. p. 1071. Indeed that reading is scarcely borne out by probability, and the common one is supported not only by Nepos (cited by Wasse), but by an imitation in Joseph. p. 15, 37. *ἐλάμβανε δὲ ϑᾶσσον ὕψος*. I know no other example of the phrase.

It is strange that the commentators should not have noticed that this story is briefly, but admirably, told by Demosth. contr. Lept. T. 2. 154. edit. Schæfer.

[5] *Of respectability.*] So 6, 53. *πάνυ χρηστοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν*.

[6] *Of their own citizens.*] Not, as Smith renders, some of their own body, i. e. Ephori; for that would involve an absurdity. We are to understand, some of their own citizens, as opposed, it seems, to some who were *not* so, from whom their people had derived their accounts; for as to the Spartans

They did so, and Themistocles contrived to send secret instructions concerning them to the Athenians, directing that they should be, as little openly as possible, detained, and not suffered to go before they *themselves* should return, (for by this time his *colleagues*, Abronychus son of Lysicles, and Aristides son of Lysimachus, had come to him, with information that the wall was now in a competently defensible state,) being afraid lest the Lacedæmonians when they came to know the whole, should not suffer them to depart. The Athenians, then, as they had been directed, detained the ambassadors; and Themistocles proceeded to his audience with the Lacedæmonians, and then plainly announced that the Athenian city was already walled sufficiently for the defence and safety of its inhabitants; and that "if the Lacedæmonians or their allies should wish to send ambassadors thither, let them do it as unto persons who would henceforth decide for themselves, both respecting their private interests and the common good: for that when it seemed advisable to abandon their city and embark on board their ships, they had (they said) ventured on that perilous measure without *their* advice; and that as to any affairs that were consulted on by them in joint counsel, they showed themselves inferior in prudence to none; that now also it seemed to them expedient that their city should be walled, and this, they thought, would be more conducive to the welfare of the citizens in particular, and to the allies in general; for it was not possible[7] for them, except with equal preparations for defence, to offer any impartial or dispassionate counsel to the common assembly. Either, therefore, *all* the states of the confederacy should be unwalled, or else they conceived that *this* measure[8] too was just and proper."

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themselves, we know that they rarely went from home. This is placed beyond doubt by Plutarch, Themist. c. 19. καὶ πολιάρχου κατηγοροῦντος, ἐπίτηδες ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀπωσταλέντος, &c, i. e. by the Æginetæ, who had not, it seems, laid aside the hostility which the very recent war with Athens had engendered.

[7] *For it was not possible, &c.*] A most acute and pithy remark, with the phraseology of which the commentators might have compared a kindred one at l. 2, 44. οὐ γὰρ οἷον τε ἴσόν τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλεύεσθαι, οἳ ἂν μὴ καὶ, &c.

[8] *This measure.*] Namely, that they too should have their walls. Hobbes well *paraphrases*, "or you must not think amiss of what is done by us."

XCII. On hearing this, the Lacedæmonians made, indeed, no show of resentment against the Athenians; for they had, they pretended[9], sent the embassy to their state, not with a view to compulsory hindrance, but to give their opinion, in the way of admonition. They were, besides, at that time, very friendly disposed towards them, for their zeal and alacrity against the Medes; but missing of their desired object, they harboured a secret grudge. And thus the ambassadors on both sides returned home without making any formal complaint.

XCIII. In this manner it was that the Athenians in a short time walled their city; nay, the structure even yet shows plain vestiges of the haste with which it was executed[1]: for the foundations [or courses under ground] were laid[2] with stones of all sorts and sizes, some unwrought, and just as they were brought up by the servers. Many pillars[3], too, from sepulchral monuments[4], and other wrought stones were worked up in the building; for the boundary wall of the city was now far greater, being in every direction carried out: and for this reason it was that they urged on the work, employing alike whatever came to hand. It was Themistocles,

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9 *They pretended*, δῆθεν.] The force of this particle, which so materially changes the air of the words, was unperceived by Hobbes and Smith, to whom probably the idiom was unknown; and yet is noticed by the Schol., who seems to have been diligently consulted by the *former*.

1 *Nay, the structure — executed.*] From what follows it appears that these vestiges of haste were visible chiefly, if not only, in the part under ground, which in *such* a wall must have been considerable.

2 *Laid*, ὑπόκεινται.] Vox solennis de hac re, just as in our *bricklayer*. Οὐ ξυνειργασμένων, unwrought, not squared and polished. The ξυν has reference to the *adjustment* which the squaring and shaping are intended to effect.

3 *Pillars.*] Including, we may suppose, the *pedestals*. By the other *wrought stones* we may understand the bases of *statues*. The ἐγκατελέγησαν is a vox solennis de hac re. And the Scholiast aptly cites Hom. Od. 18, 358. αἰμασιάς τε λέγων (hence κατάλεγειν and εγκ.). It is, perhaps, little known that our *lay* (Saxon leȳ) is from this very verb λέγω; and our *bricklayer* exactly answers to the Greek λιθόλογος.

4 *Sepulchral monuments.*] That these were put to such a use in critical times, I find from Lycurg. Contr. Leocr. p. 153. where it is said even the coffins were made free with. Also from Miles. Hesych. ap. Corp. Byz. Paris, 1. p. 27. hence to be emended: τοῖς ἐκ τῶν τάφων λίθοις ἀναλάβοντες τοὺς πύργους, καὶ ἀνυφάναντες (read ἐννυφ.) τὰς ἐπάλξεις (read ἐπάλξεσι) τοῦ τείχους.

too, who persuaded them to build the remaining walls of the Piræus [5], (for they had been begun by him during the year of [6] the archonship which he had filled at Athens,) thinking the place highly favourable, as having three natural ports [7], and that, as they had become a nautical people, it would much contribute to their attaining naval power. Indeed he first ventured to tell them they should apply to the sea, and then immediately assisted [8] them in acquiring the empire of it. By his counsel it was that they built the wall of that thickness about Piræus, which is even yet discernible; for two wains brought stones, passing by each other upon it, and going contrary ways.[9]

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5 *Piræus.*] This had, before, been a mere sort of fishing town. Their former port was Phalerus, which, (as appears from Nepos,) was neither a large nor a good one. See Pausan, 1, 1, 2. and Meurs. de Piræo. c. 3. and 9.

6 *Year of, &c*] This was Olymp. 71, 4.

7 *Natural ports.*] i. e. not made by human labour. So Polyb. 27, 7, 4. opposes πέτρας αὐτοφύους to χειροποιήτου. And so Xen. Pol. 4, 2. αὐτοφυεῖς λόφοι. Theocr. Id. 9, 23. κορύναν αὐτοφυᾶ. Artemid. On. 1, 64. λούεσθαι θερμοῖς ὕδασι, λέγω δὴ αὐτοφύεσι. Now the three ports were the Cantharus, the Aphrodisium, and the Zea, which together formed what Nepos calls the *triplex* Piræi portus. See Aristid. t. 3. 309.

8 *Assisted, &c.*] Or " contributed much to procure it for them." So Plato de Leg. οἱ τὸν βίον ἡμῖν συγκατεσκεύασε τεχναίς This rare word also occurs in Xen. Πο. 4, 48. Λακ. 8, 3.

9 *For two wains — ways.*] Such seems to be the best way of rendering this awkward passage, which has given no little trouble to both antients and moderns. The former were divided in opinion. Some supposed (as Kistemm. and other moderns) the meaning to be, that two carts abreast and *joined* together brought the stones. But the words will by no means admit that sense; and the conjecture of Reiske is very improbable, and totally unsupported. Indeed it would never have been thought of, but that they fancied one cart was insufficient to convey a single stone of such great size and weight. But ἅμαξα denotes not only a *cart*, but a *waggon*. Thus the ἅμαξαι or baggage waggons mentioned at l. 5, 35., and elsewhere in the Greek historians, must have been such. So they are in Herod. 1, 188. called ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι, as also in Homer Od. 1, 241. Those now in question were such as we call *wains*, of a peculiar construction for conveying massy trees and timber, and which, drawn by a proper number of horses, would drag any stone used in the construction of the walls of the Piræus. And, indeed, that each wain brought but *one*, there is little reason to doubt. So Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 200. τὰ τείχη — λίθοις ἁμαξιαίοις εἰργασμένοις πρὸς κάνονα κατασκενάζειν. Thus it appears that the δύο ἅμαξαι ἐνάντιαι ἀλλήλαις must be (as some antients and most moderns have supposed) two *wains* going in separate tracks, and consequently passing each other. The obscurity has been occasioned by a want of some verb of motion with the adjective ἐνάντιαι; and therefore it is best to be cleared up by reference to examples in which such is *supplied*, as Pausan. 1, 44, 10. ὕδον εὐρυχωρῆ ὡς καὶ ἅρματα ἐνάντια ἐλαύνεσθαι. Procop. p. 188, 17. εὖρος δὲ ἐστι τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης, ὅσον ἅμαξας δύο ἀλλήλαις ἐναντίαις ἴεναι. Also, of a wall (in imitation of this passage) de Ædif. 41. εὑρύνεται δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐς ὅσον ἁμάξας οὐ

Within there was neither rubble nor clay[10], but the stones were large and hewn square[11], fitted together in build-

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στενοχωρεῖν δύο ἁπεναντίας ἀλλήλαις ἴουσας. Such walls Proc., de Ædif. 25., calls ἀμαξηλάτους. In fact, it was not unusual with the antients to express the thickness of a wall by the *number of carriages* which could pass abreast along it, each being understood to require eight feet. Thus Strabo, t. 6. p. 249. of the wall of Babylon: τείχους ὡς τεθριππῳ ἐναντιοδρομεῖν ἀλλήλοις. And so Herod. and Antip. Epigr. 52. ap. Brunck. Anal. τείχος ἐπίδρομον ἅρμασι. and Dionys. Perieg. 1006. ὡς καὶ τέθριππα ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἐναντιοδρομεῖν. Diod. Sic. l. 2, 7. ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλάτος εἶναι τῶν τειχῶν ἐξ ἅρμασιν ἱππάσιμον.

Thus far all is certain and plain; but there yet remains one difficulty connected with the subject, which seems to have been felt by all the interpreters, though they preserve an altum silentium. If any architect will show how the wall could have been thus built, mihi sane erit magnus Apollo. In the meantime I shall venture to pronounce it *impossible*, and therefore suppose that such cannot be the author's meaning. Now, upon close examination, it will appear that we are not compelled to suppose the *whole* wall to have been thus built, but only, I think, the *upper casing*, or coping, composed of immensely large stones, and cramped together with iron and lead. It is evident that to convey *such* stones in the usual manner would have been arduous; whereas to raise them on some part of the wall by an inclined plane, and then convey them along would be a very great easement. In fact, the whole wall appears to have been thus *cased*; and, indeed, nothing was more usual in antient times; which I think will enable us to yield entire credence to the account which Herodotus gives us of the thickness of the walls of Babylon; as I shall show at large in a Memoir on Babylon which I trust, ere long, to lay before the public.

[10] *Neither rubble nor clay.*] It is strange that Smith should render "neither mortar nor mud." Those substances would possess but little solidity: and such is not the sense. Χάλιξ signifies those lesser stones which are always made both in quarrying stone, and squaring it for use, and which were used by the antients to fill up the interior of very thick walls; in which case the χάλιξ was compounded with plenty of clay. So Pliny l. 36, 22. "Appellabatur ἐμπλεκτὸν tantummodo frontibus politis, reliqui fortuito collocant — medios parietes farcire *fractis cæmentis*." And Vitruv. l. 2. c. 8. "Altera est quam ἐμπλεκτὸν appellant: quorum frontes poliuntur, reliqua ita uti sunt nata cum materia collocata alternis alligant coagmentatis." Also Hesych. χάληκες (read χάλικες) οἱ εἰς τὰς οἰκοδομὰς μίκροι λίθοι. Hence may be emended a passage of Procop. 188, 20. imitated from the present: οὔτε χαλκὸν ἐντὸς, οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐμβεβλημένος, read χάλικα The mistake made by the translators, here and elsewhere, arose from this, that the word sometimes denotes *cæmentum*, i. e. not only mortar, but small stones by which interstices of stone-work are filled up.

The πηλὸς here mentioned is *clay*, *mortar*, as at, 4, 4., or simply *clay*, as at 2, 76. So in a kindred passage of Aristoph. Av. 839. καὶ τοῖσι τειχίζουσι παραδιακόνει, Χάλικας παραφόρει, πηλὸν ἀποδὺς ὄργασον.

[11] *Hewn square.*] Literally, "square in the cutting," ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι. Wyttenb., indeed, preferred from the Ed. Lugd. ἐντομῇ, as I myself formerly did. And this has been edited by Goeller. I have to add that it so appeared in the Florence edition; and what is more, such, I find, was read by Procop., who almost transcribes the passage at p. 180, 19. and de Ædif. p. 4, 15. where for ἐκτομὴν undoubtedly ought to be read ἐκτομῇ. The same error occurs in some MSS. of Diod. Sic. t. 1, 92. I cannot, however, approve of what Goeller has done, because the MS. authority is so trifling; and especially since I do not find that ἐντέμνειν and ἐντομὴ

ing; and those on the outside bound together with iron and lead. The height, however, was only finished to about the half of what was designed; for his intention was to effectually repel all hostile attacks [12], both by the thickness and the loftiness of the walls; and he thought that thus a few, and those the least effective persons, would be sufficient to man it, and that the rest might embark on board the fleet: for he chiefly devoted his attention to the shipping, perceiving, it seems, that there was a readier access for the king's forces against them by sea than by land. For he judged that the Piræus would be more serviceable than the upper city, and often counselled the Athenians that if ever they should be foiled by land, they should descend down thereto, and with their navy make head against all opponents. Thus, then, the Athenians, after the retreat of the Medes, surrounded their city with walls, and set themselves about the restoration of the other ruined edifices.[13]

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were ever used of hewing stone, to which, indeed, they are not suitable; whereas *τέμνω* and *τομή* are frequent; and so *λιθότομος, a stone-cutter.*

Ἔγγων. is for *τετραγ., rectangular.* This signification, indeed, is rare; but it occurs in Joseph. p. 108, 21., also in an imitation of the present passage at p. 702, 3. The term *ξυνωκοδομημένοι* (which is here misunderstood by the interpreters) signifies *built up close,* i. e. without any interstices between the blocks to be filled up with minute stones. So Pausan. l. 2, 25, 7. *πεποίηται δὲ ἄργων λίθων, λίθια δὲ ἐνηρμόσται πάλαι ὡς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἁρμονίαν τοῖς μεγάλοις λίθοις εἶναι.* See Hom. Od. ε. 248. and 261. Herod. 2, 96. *τὰς ἁρμονίας ἐνεπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ.*

[12] *Hostile attacks.*] I have here followed the *old* reading in preference to the new one *ἐπιβουλὰς,* introduced by Haack, Bekker, Dindorf, and Goeller, since it appears to have more of the impress of truth. The sense assigned by Haack to the new reading is, "that they should be deterred from even *thinking* of assaulting the walls." But in this there is something frigid, nor is the cast of thought Thucydidean. *Καὶ,* too, would have to be inserted, and *ἐπιβουλὴ* interpreted, not of *counsel,* but *plotting.* Besides, even *twice* the height in question could scarcely be expected to exclude all thoughts of attack, since much loftier walls have been both attacked and won. It is, indeed, necessary to know what was the height of the walls of Athens; though here both the commentators and antiquaries fail us. I am enabled, however, to ascertain that point from Appian in Mithridatico, who says that they were forty cubits in height.

As to appealing to the *number of MSS.* in favour of the above reading, that is to little purpose; since in words so perpetually confounded as *ἐπιβολὴ* and *ἐπιβουλὴ,* MS. authority is but weak; and *ἐπιβολὴ* in the sense *attack,* or *enterprise,* is frequent in the best antient writers, as 3, 45.

[13] *Set themselves — edifices*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of *καὶ τἆλλα κατεσκευάσαντο,* where the extensiveness of signification in *κατεσκ.* has occasioned the translators no little difficulty. Among the various significa-

XCIV. Meanwhile[1] Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, was sent out from Lacedæmon with twenty[2] Peloponnesian ships, accompanied by thirty Athenian ones[3], and a considerable number of the other allies. These carried their arms against Cyprus, most of which they subdued; and afterwards against Byzantium, (then in the possession of the Medes,) and reduced it by siege.

XCV. But having now become insolent and tyrannical in the exercise of his command, the other Greeks, and especially the Ionians, and such as had been lately delivered from the yoke of the king of Persia, were incensed, and going to the Athenians, requested them, agreeably to the consanguinity[4] which subsisted between them, to become their leaders, and not to permit Pausanias to employ, if he should attempt it, any violence with them. The Athenians gave a ready attention to these requests, and undertook to not overlook their injuries, but to establish matters on the best footing they

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tions of which the term is susceptible, *that* must here, of course, be adopted which is most agreeable to the context; and such I have selected. Κατασκευὴ not only signifies *furniture* and *preparation*, but an *edifice*, either for *use* (as a house, or a temple; so 1, 10.), or for *defence*, as 6, 7. The Scholiast has here rightly explained it of the private buildings and the temples.

[1] *Meanwhile, &c.*] Our author, after having mentioned, by digression, the mode by which Athens was walled, now returns to the narration of those events which succeeded the battle of Mycale.

[2] *Twenty.*] Gottleb. cites Diodor. as saying that there were *fifty* ships; and he attempts, though very unsuccessfully, to account for the diversity. There is, perhaps, no diversity at all. Certainly there will be none, if for δὲ we read δὴ, *scilicet;* and as Diod. plainly follows Thucyd. this emendation seems necessary.

It is important to observe, with Dodwell and Wessel., that though our author throws together the fortification of Athens, the finishing of the Piræus, the expedition of Pausan., and other events succeeded by the Lacedæmonians being deprived of the government of the allies, yet those events occupied a space of nearly ten years, as we find from Isocr. in Paneg.

[3] *Accompanied — ones.*] Here I formerly read Ἀθῆναι, which is not disapproved by *Steph.*, and is confirmed by *Frontinus*, who has, "munitas esse Athenas." But the common reading Ἀθηναῖοι is defended by Ælian V. H. 3, 47., Themist. κλέπτων τὴν Ἀθηναίων τείχισιν., and our author a little before, Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτειχ.

[4] *Consanguinity.*] For the Athenians were originally Ionians. Duker refers to Spanh. Diss. 9. de Usu et Præst. Numism.

could.[5] In the meantime the Lacedæmonians sent for Pausanias home, in order to examine into the charges which were alleged against him.[6] For much of injurious treatment was charged upon him by the Greeks who went there: and indeed his mode of government seemed rather like a tyranny than a lawful command.[7] And it so happened, that at the very same time when he was recalled, the allies, (with the exception of the troops from Peloponnesus,) through enmity to him, went over [8] to the Athenians. On his arrival at Lacedæmon, he was found guilty, indeed, of the private injuries laid to his charge against individuals, but with respect to the most serious and the public charges, he was acquitted of crime; for he had been especially accused of Medizing, and it was thought to be a matter of manifest certainty.[9] Him, therefore, they no longer sent out as commander in chief, but Dorcis and others [10] with him, accompanied by some incon-

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5 *Establish — could.*] A modest way of accepting the command offered.

6 *Alleged against him.*] This syntax of κατηγ. (which occurs a little further on) is also found in Soph. Œd. t. 529. and Eurip. H. F. 418. The term properly signifies "to bear testimony respecting any one," whether for good or evil; though it is rarely used in the former sense. The only examples known to me are Æschyl. Ag. 262. where Dr. Blomfield cites an example from Xenophon.

7 *His mode — command.*] Some antients and moderns here read ἡ στρατηγία, which is edited by Haack. And I have to observe that it is confirmed by an imitation in Choricii Fun. Orat. ap. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. 8, 876. (of Pausanias) τυραννίδος μίμησις ἦν ἡ στρατηγία. Yet I cannot but prefer the ἡ στ., as being more significant and vigorous, and consequently more Thucydidean. As to what Haack urges, that the *subject* is wanting, such is often left to be supplied ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

8 *Went over.*] Literally, "changed sides, ranged themselves on the other side." The word is *properly* used of changing one's regiment or corps (as in Xenophon); *impropriè* and figuratively, of going over to the other side.

9 *Thought — certainty.*] The Schol. says that this is to be understood of the *Lacedæmonians;* for otherwise they would have found him guilty, as they afterwards did, on evidence. But surely we must not confound the Lacedæmonians of *the army* with those *at home.* All that our author means is, that there seemed to be *good reason* for supposing him guilty: but the Spartan laws required something more tangible than mere opinion or even strong suspicion; and there was here no evidence as to the principal charges; though by way of punishment for minor offences, and out of suspicion of public treason, they deprived him of his government.

10 *Dorcis and others.*] It seems that the Lacedæmonians here (as in some other instances) resorted to the expedient of substituting for the command of one single person, a *board.* And this tends to prove how ill-affected they were to monarchy, or vesting command in any individual. Here, however,

siderable force. To these, however, the allies were not inclined to yield the supreme command; on perceiving which they withdrew, and the Lacedæmonians no longer sent out any others, apprehensive lest those who were sent out should prove false [11] to them, as they had found in the case of Pausanias, and also through a desire to get rid of the Median war; considering, too, the Athenians as able to take the command, and at that time believing them to be well affected to them.

XCVI. The Athenians, then, having in this way, by the hatred borne to Pausanias [1], attained to the command, by the voluntary concession of the allies, proceeded to decree which of the states should contribute *money* towards the war against the Barbarians, and which *ships*. The pretext [2] for this taxing was to avenge the injuries they had suffered, on the territory of the Barbarian. And then first was established among the Athenians the office of *hellenotamiæ*, i. e. receivers-

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as in most other instances, the consequence was, that power, when divided, became contemptible, and could not command sufficient respect.

[11] *False.*] It is strange that the translators, as Portus, Hobbes, and Smith, should be so little aware of the import of Greek idioms as to assign to χείρους a *comparative* sense. That the word *once* had it, I doubt not; but a hundred examples might be adduced to prove that it lost it, and retained little more than the positive sense. Perhaps this idiom was originally introduced with a reference to some clause at first *expressed*, and afterwards left to be *understood*. It may, I think, be reckoned among the Attic *euphemisms* or softenings; and probably had at first the import "worse than he should be," which came at length, like our "no better than he should be," to denote what is positively *bad*. In this sense the word occurs at 4, 114. 6, 89 and 92. and elsewhere.

[1] *Having — Pausanias.*] Herodot. 8, 2. gives a somewhat different colour to the affair, thus: ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὡσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσεα περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι, ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, where I would read, from the Cod. Arch. πρόφασιν δὲ τὴν, &c.; or I conjecture πρόφασιν τε τὴν. On this passage of Herod. Valckn. remarks, on the authority of both Nepos and Diodor., that not only did the tyranny and other vices of Pausanias make the allies detest the Lacedæmonians, but the opposite virtues of Aristides inclined them, all with one consent, to transfer the command to the Athenians. Wessel. and Valckn. refer to an admirable Dissertation of Casaubon περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, in his Annotations on Polyb. l. 1. p. 96. I would add that from Xen. Hist. 6, 5, 54. (a passage not noticed by the commentators), it appears that the command was given up to the Athenians with the full consent of the Lacedæmonians themselves. And indeed this seems implied in their no longer sending out a commander in chief.

[2] *Pretext*] By this it is hinted that the real cause was the ambition and rapacity of the governors.

general and treasurers[3] of Greece. These received the *tribute*[4]; for that was the name given to the money contributed. Now the first tribute levied was 460 talents, and their treasury was Delos, and their resorts[5] were to the temple.

XCVII. Governing, therefore, as they at first did, the allies as independent states, and consulting of affairs in com-

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[3] *Receivers-general and treasurers.*] The appellation Ἑλληνοταμίαι (with which we may compare the Ἑλληνοδίκαι mentioned in Liban. Orat. p. 707. D. where see Morell) seems to have answered to both *receivers* and *treasurers*. So, at least, it is explained by the Schol. and Suid., as also the Etym. Mag. and Zonar. Lex., where I am surprised the editors should not have seen that for ἐν ἀδήλῳ ought to be read ἐν Δήλῳ. See also Harpocrat. and Hesych. I have rendered *receivers-general*; for it appears from Pollux 8, 114. that there were *local* receivers, who also exercised some political authority. I would therefore read for καὶ ἐπὶ νήσων, καὶ οἱ ε. The article is necessary, and is found in the Cod. Falkenburg.

[4] *Tribute.*] Consisting of 460 talents. As, however, the name φόρος afterwards became odious, it was exchanged for σύνταξις. See Harp. in v., and Spanh. on Julian, p. 166. To the nice and delicate commission of adjusting the amount of tribute to be paid by each state, Aristides, surnamed *the Just*, was called by the general voice of Greece; of whom it is said by Plutarch, that "he was poor when he set about it, and poorer when he finished it." By this it appears, that he refused compensation for his expenses. I find, also, from Andocid. Orat. 4. fin. (which it is strange all the commentators should have neglected), that he was not the only commissioner for this business, but that he was at the head of a board of ten. It appears, also, from the same passage, that the amount of the whole was afterwards nearly doubled by Alcibiades. Indeed, Pericles had advanced it to 600. See 2, 13.

[5] *Resorts.*] On the sense of ξύνοδοι there has been no little debate. Some take it to mean common *councils* of the allies, such as are just afterwards mentioned; but those do not appear to have been held there. Besides, the *article*, which is found in almost all the MSS., will scarcely permit that sense. I formerly thought it might signify *congressus*, *cœtus*, sacrificiorum et conviviorum gratia. Examples of which signification are frequent (see Steph. Thes.); and that such were then held, is proved from l. 3, 104., and also Pausan. l. 8. 33. ἡ Δῆλος τὸ κοινὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπόριον (place of resort). But it is difficult to conceive what this has to do with the present case; and the article is equally unsuitable. Very specious is the sense adopted by Bauer, *pecuniarum collationes*. Yet, he adduces no example of such a signification; and, though I can furnish him with one from Herod. 1, 64. χρημάτων συνόδοισι, yet, whether the word can by itself denote that, is doubtful. It therefore seems more prudent to interpret the σύνοδοι, the resorts of persons on this business, whether that of the Hellenotamiæ, or of the local receivers to pay in money; and, also, perhaps that of the delegates from the allies composing the common council. For though it may not be possible to *prove*, from any other passage, that common councils *were* held here, yet there is no evidence to *the contrary;* and the immediate mention of common councils makes it *probable* that they *were*.

mon councils, they came unto such great dominion [as is further narrated] by war and the direction of affairs, between the Median war and the present one; which hostilities were either against the Barbarians, or their own revolted allies, or such of the Peloponnesians as happened to take part in each matter. These affairs I have for this reason narrated (making them a digression from the subject [1]), because by all my predecessors the thing has been left imperfect [2]; they having written rather the history of Greece before the Median war, or the history of that war itself. For as to Hellanicus, who has touched on some of the affairs of that period, he has only made mention of them in a brief and, as regards the chronology, not very accurate manner. They will, moreover, show how and in what manner the Athenian dominion was established.

XCVIII. First, then, they, under the command of Miltiades, besieged and took Eion on the Strymon [1], then occupied by the Medes, and made slaves of the garrison. They next proceeded to carry away captives the inhabitants of Scyrus [2],

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1 *Digression — subject.*] Such is the sense of ἐκβολήν. The phrase has frequently been borrowed by Dio Cass., Procop. 295., and Arrian. Hence may be emended Appian, 1, 682., where for *αἰτίον τῆς ἐσβολῆς* read *α. τ. ἐκβολῆς λόγου*, for *λόγου* must be restored from the third edition, which was wrongly cancelled by Schweigh. Our author seems to have had in mind Herod., who, at 7, 171., and elsewhere, uses *παρενδήκη τοῦ λόγου.*; and from him Plutarch. One of our Scholiasts oddly explains ἐκβολήν by *παράβασιν ἢ μετάβασιν*. But here there seems a corruption. I conjecture *παρέκβασιν ἢ μετέκβασιν*, which is confirmed by Dionys. Hal. t. 1. 143, 15. *ἔγραψα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν παρέκβασιν ἐποιησάμεν τοῦ ἀναγκαίου χάριν*. Though I cannot deny that *παράβασις* is countenanced by Longin. de Subl. § 15. p. 66. But perhaps that very passage is corrupt.

2 *Left imperfect.*] There was no reason for Steph. to have read ἐλλιπὲς The common reading ἐκλιπὲς is confirmed by an imitation of Arrian, E. A. 1, 12, 3. *τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐκλιπὲς ἦν.*

1 *Eion on the Strymon.*] So called also by Herodot., and other writers, because there was another in Pieria. That there was a *third*, too, would appear from Xen. Hist. 1, 5, 15. *αἱροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἠιόνα.* But that place is no where mentioned elsewhere; and from a comparison of Diodor., Weisk. would read Τηίους The true reading, I have no doubt, is Τήων or Τέων, the *α* having arisen from the *οι* following.

Some circumstances of the siege and capture might have been gathered by the historians from Polyæn. Stratæg. l. 7, 29.

2 *Scyrus.*] So called from its rockiness and stoniness; with which might be compared other names in various languages. Its history may be seen in the note of Wass.

an island in the Ægean sea inhabited by the Dolopes, and colonised it themselves. A war was then entered into against the Carystians, separately from the other Eubœans, who at length agreed to yield on conditions. After this they went to war with the Naxians, who had revolted, and besieged and forced them to submit.[3] This was the first state that was deprived of freedom contrary to the established law, and then others, accordingly as opportunity offered for each.

XCIX. Now the causes of the revolts were, among others, principally failures in the payment of tribute[1], or the furnishing of ships, or some omission[2] of military service: for the Athenians exacted rigorously[3], and were burthensome to the allies; imposing heavy loads upon men neither accustomed nor disposed to be harassed with labour.[4] In some

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[3] *Forced them to submit.*] i. e. subdued, reduced them to submit; as 3, 55., and elsewhere, in this and others of the best writers. The complete form of the phrase occurs supra, c. 29. Ἐπίδαμνον — παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογία. Now, this surrender might be either conditional, or unconditional. Here, however, the place was probably taken by storm; at least it seems so from Aristoph. Vesp. 355. ἴεις σαυτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους, ὅτε δὴ γ' ἡ Νάξος ἑάλω.

[1] *Failures — tribute.*] Goeller renders this: "der ruckstand in den abzutragenden abgaben und zu liefernden schiffen," "arrears in taxes and furnishing ships." But ἔκδειαι rather seems to signify *reliquatio*, omission in payment, non-payment of the tribute. Six MSS., indeed, and Valla read ἐνδείαι, which seems to be confirmed by an imitation in Liban. Orat. p. 492. B. πόσους ἀπολωλέκασι, τοῖς μὲν ἔνδειαν φόρων, τοῖς δ' ἔκλειψιν στρατιᾶς, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἄλλα ἐγκαλοῦντες. But there also it is plain that we should read ἔκδειαν.

[2] *Omission of, &c.*] Not *desertion*, as some explain, that would require λειποτάξιον, whereas λειποστράτειον (or λειποστρατεία, which occurs in Herod. and Dionys. Hal.) signifies ἀστρατεία. Λειποστράτειον is, indeed, so rare, that I should almost suspect it to be here a false reading, but that I find it is defended by Philo de Vit. Mos. l. 1. μὴ λιποτάξιον, μὴ λιποστράτιον. and Pollux, l. 8. § 42. δικὴ — λειποστρατίου, λειποταξίου, ἀστρατείας, λειπονανσίου.

[3] *Exacted rigorously.*] Even stronger language is used by Xenoph. Vect. 5, 6. ἐπεὶ ὡμῶς ἄγαν δόξασα προστατεύειν ἡ πόλις. Thus, ἀκριβῶς denotes what is done *summo jure*, and therefore too exactly. So the adage, summa jus, summa injuria. Yet it must be confessed, that the common interest of the allies required the maintenance of a fleet.

[4] *Imposing — labour.*] Hobbes renders, "imposing a necessity of toil," &c. But I doubt whether the words will admit of such a sense; and certainly ταλαιπώρειν cannot have the sense "bear oppression," assigned by Smith. Προσάγειν ἀνάγκην signifies, to compel by necessity. The obscurity has arisen from brevity; and the full sense seems to be: "they enforced all the above pecuniary payments, and personal services, thus laying bur-

other respects, too, the Athenians no longer governed so mildly and agreeably[5], nor did they carry on common expeditions on a footing of equality, since[6] it was easy for them to subdue such as revolted. This state of things had, however, been occasioned by the confederates themselves; for through that very indisposition to engage in military service, the greater part of them, that they might not be absent from home, agreed[7] to contribute a certain sum, according to a rated proportion of expense, in lieu of ships[8]; and thus the

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dens," &c. The ταλαιπ. has reference to the toil of personal service, or that bestowed on ship building, or that labour necessary to acquire the money for the tribute. In the ἐιωϑ. there seems to be a reference not so much to the Greeks in general (of whom the Scholiast understands it), as to the allies in Asia Minor, and the islands, whom, from the effects of a most enfeebling climate, we may imagine to have been indisposed to labour. Indeed, such have ever been the inhabitants of those parts. It appears, however, from διὰ τὴν ἀπόκνησιν τῶν στρατειῶν just after, that this chiefly refers to *military service*.

[5] *Governed — agreeably.*] Some, as Gottleb. and Haack, join ἐν ἡδονῇ with ἦσαν, and take it to mean, that "they no longer governed so acceptably, were not so popular." But the sense I have adopted (which is the one generally assigned) is more agreeable to the context, both of what goes before and after, and is required by the construction. I know no example of ἐν ἡδονῇ εἶναι, in the sense *gratus et acceptus esse*. Ἐν ἡδόνῃ is for σὺν ἡδονῇ, an adverbial phrase for the adverb ἐνηδόνως.

[6] *Since.*] For τε, which is here unsuitable, some MSS. read δέ. The true reading seems to be γὰρ, which often passes into γε, and that into τε.

[7] *Agreed,* ἐτάξαντο.] It is plain that Hobbes, by rendering "was ordered," knew not the import of this phrase. Equally at a loss was Smith, though he dissembles his ignorance. From what goes before, it is evident that there is reference to something done *by the allies themselves*. Τάξασϑαι, in this peculiar idiom, signifies to rate oneself, to bind oneself, to agree to pay. (So Herod. 4, 165. and 3, 13. φόρον ταξ. Plato Epist. 7.) some verb of *paying*, as φέρω or ἀποδοῦναι, being understood, which is supplied at 1, 101 and 117. It occurs, also, in Dio Cass., Polyb., Appian, and others.

[8] *In lieu of ships.*] The Athenians, it seems, were to apply the money to building and manning ships; for it is plain from the context, that the ships furnished by the allies must have been manned by them.

The expedient of allowing the allies to *compound* for their quotas of ships and men, is ascribed by Plutarch to Cimon.

Eagerly as the proposal was caught up by the allies, it involved consequences of which they were by no means aware; not only giving the Athenians a decided naval superiority at their expense, but (as Mitford observes) "giving that ambitious republic claims upon them, uncertain in their nature, and which as they might be *made*, could now also be *enforced*, at its pleasure."

At τὸ ἰκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα subaud κατὰ. The expression signifies literally, *what it comes to;* as in Luke 15, 12. δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μερος τῆς οὐσίας. The sense is rare, and neglected by lexicographers; but I have noted two other examples, in Joseph. 128, 34. and Dio Cass. 592, 45.

Athenians obtained an increase of naval strength at *their* cost, while they themselves, whenever they should revolt, would enter into war destitute alike of resources and military experience.[9]

C. After these events[1], took place the land and sea-fight[2] of the Athenians and allies against the Medes, at the river Eurymedon, in Pamphylia; and in both of these, on the same day, did the Athenians (commanded by Cimon, son of Miltiades,) come off victors, capturing or destroying of the Phœnician ships to the amount of 200. After this, it happened that the Thracians revolted from them, having had some differences with them concerning the marts[3] on the opposite

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[9] *Destitute — experience.*] I have here followed the reading of many MSS. and the recent editions, ἄπειροι, which (though the old reading ἄποροι may very well be defended) I am the more induced to adopt, since it is confirmed by an imitation in Plutarch. Cimon, § 11. Liban., indeed, (Orat. p. 56. D.) has, by imitation of the present passage, ἔρημοι μὲν ἰατρῶν οἱ νοσοῦντες, ἄποροι τῆς τεχνῆς. But there I would conjecture ἄπειροι (for ἀπείρατοι), on which see Lex. Xen. At ἄπειροι must be supplied, from the context, πολέμων. The complete phrase occurs at l. 2, 11. and Agatharch. ap. Athen. p. 528.

[1] *After these events.*] The period is fixed by Euseb. to Olymp. 79, 4.

[2] *Land and sea-fight.*] At Eurymedon. On this glorious victory see Æschin. p. 80, 2. et seq., as also Aristid. t. 3, 259. D. who evidently had this passage before him. He also cites part of a certain poem in celebration of this victory, in which it is remarkable that, for the *two hundred* of our author, we have *one hundred*. The reading διακοσίας is, however, confirmed by Dionys. Hal. and Plutarch. And the metre will not permit the ἕκατον to be altered. The discrepancy will, however, disappear, if we suppose that the poet speaks of those that were *taken*, (and this is all the sense that εἷλον will *bear*), whereas Thucyd. numbers those that were taken, and those destroyed. Plutarch, indeed, says, that two hundred were *taken;* but as he follows Thucyd., this must have been from not well attending to the force of his words. Thus the poet may be supposed to give us *one* circumstance which we should otherwise not have known.

[3] *The marts.*] Or, *trading places.* The subject of these ἐμπόρια is involved in some obscurity, which, however, the commentators make no attempt to remove. The word ἐμπόριον properly signifies a *place of trade*, a *commercial depot;* and was originally applied both to maritime and inland places. Thus at 1, 13. it is used of Corinth. It was, however, chiefly applied to the former, as 7, 50. 4, 102. and elsewhere; also Xen. An. 1, 4, 6. Hist. 5, 2, 12. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 433, 4. and Polyb. often. From all which it appears to have been a name given to maritime and *commercial states*, as well as to *commercial settlements.*

It seems that the Thasians, like some other petty insular states (as Corcyra, Lesbos, Chios, &c.) had possessions on the opposite continent. These were probably at first nothing more than commercial establishments like what our East India Company factories once were, and our African Com-

coast of Thrace, and a mine[4] there in their possession. And proceeding thither with a fleet, the Athenians defeated them in a sea-fight, and effected a landing on their territory. Then about the same time they sent 10,000 settlers, of themselves and the allies, to the Strymon, in order to colonise what was then called the Nine-ways[5], but now Amphipolis. And they, indeed, got possession of the place, (then in the occupation of the Edoni), but proceeding into the interior[6] of Thrace, they were cut off at Drabescus, in Edonia, by the

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pany's factories now *are*. The purpose of their establishment was to promote the communication of a commercial people, like the Thasians, with Thrace. Afterwards, however, they became territorial possessions governed by officers sent from Thasos. The possession of these, however, interfered with the plans of aggrandisement entertained by the Athenians, who intended to occupy the whole sea-coast of Macedonia and Thrace with dependent colonies of their own, and who had so far advanced as to become near neighbours to the Thasians.

The *names* of these emporia it is impossible to exactly determine. *Neapolis* was, doubtless, *one*, since it is mentioned by Dio Cass. l. 48. as being πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατ' ἀντιπέρας Θάσου. Also *Phagræ* and *Scaptesyle*. See Steph. Byz. Perhaps this continental territory was bordered by the Nestus on the east, and by the chain of Mount Pangæus on the west.

As to the natural wealth of Thasos (which was a colony of the Phœnicians and Parians), *that* was considerable; this island being (as it is said by Cellarius) famous for its corn and wine, its stone quarries, and its mines. And that the Thasians were not only commercial, but powerful at sea, is evident from their withstanding the Athenians in at least one battle; and especially from what Plutarch Cimon, § 14. says, that the Athenians took thirty-three ships. And after all, several *remained;* for among the conditions of peace recorded infra, it was required that they should *give up their ships*.

[4] *A mine.*] Of *mines* here I find no mention in any other *antient* author. Eustathius, indeed, says that there were gold mines; and this is probable from one of the names which Thasus antiently bore, *Chryse;* as the peninsula of Malacca was called the Aurea Chersonesus.

[5] *Nine-ways.*] The origin of this name is involved in no little obscurity. For the account given by Hyginus and Coluthus is purely mythological. It is probable that the place was so called, from there being *nine roads* leading to it; and from its having only two bridges (see l. 4, 103.) over the Strymon, it would be a great thoroughfare.

[6] *Proceeding into the interior, &c.*] This may, indeed, seem to have been unaccountably imprudent; but Mitford has well conjectured the reason for such a step. They had been, it seems, long infested with continual, though irregular, hostilities. To put an end to so harassing a war, the whole force of the colony marched forth, to seek out their foes, and bring them to an encounter; and being drawn far into the country by the art of their retreating enemy, they were at length attacked at disadvantage, in a wild and difficult country, and therefore easily cut off.

united forces[7] of the Thracians, to whom this colony of Nine-ways was an object of enmity.

CI. The Thracians being conquered in battle[1], and besieged, called upon the Lacedæmonians, urging them to afford them assistance, by making an irruption into Attica; which they (unknown to the Athenians) promised to do, and were about to perform, when they were prevented by the occurrence of *the* earthquake[2], on which both their Helots, and of

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7 *United forces*, ξυμπάντων.] At this word the commentators have much stumbled; conjecturing either ξύμπαντες, or ξυστάντων, or ξυμβάντων. The first has no mark of truth; and the third is not supported by the usus loquendi. The second, however, is very agreeable to the usage of our author, (thus 6, 21. and 73. 7, 15. 6, 33., &c.) Perhaps Thucyd. wrote ξυνστάντων, the ν being retained in the old Attic; and the σ and π are perpetually confounded. When, too, we consider that this reading is more significant and agreeable to what went before, there can be little doubt but that it is the true one.

1 *Battle.*] Instead of μαχαῖς, I would here, on the authority of many good MSS., read μαχῇ, which is more agreeable to what went before; for this passage is resumptive, and we only read before of one battle. And this is supported by Plut. Cimon, § 14.

2 *The earthquake.*] So called by our author κατ' ἐξοχήν, from being the greatest and the most known to all his readers. See Middleton on Gr. Art. p. 47. Hence it invariably has the article; though Hobbes and Smith inadvertently neglect it. But what shall we think of G. Wakefield, who, in his Silva Critica, p. 4. p. 31. does not scruple to accuse *all* the commentators of gross ignorance, and directs τοῦ σεισμοῦ to be understood of a *civil commotion?* This he seeks to prove from a parallel passage at 3, 34. μετὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τῶν ἐς Ιθ. Ἑλώτων ἀποστάντων. But that is totally mistaking the construction there, which is like that of Malacus ap. Athen. 267. A. δούλοι ἀποστάντες εἰς τὸ ἐν νήσῳ ὄρος., and Pausan. 72. οἱ Ε. ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. And so our author, infra, οἱ Εἵλωτες ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. In those passages the earthquake and the insurrection are plainly *distinguished*; as also at 2, 27. ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τῶν Εἱλωτων ἐπανάστασιν; also at 4, 56. Mr. Wakefield, indeed, endeavours to destroy all belief that such an earthquake ever took place; but in vain. Its existence is attested by, or alluded to, in numerous passages of various authors. Besides those above adduced from Thucyd., may be noticed Plutarch Amat. Narrat., who there calls it τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν (as does our author at 1, 128. and Diod. Sic. t. 6, 426.) The earthquake is plainly distinguished from the insurrection by Pausan. p. 357, 17. Sylb. ὡς τοῖς ἐς Ιθώμην ἀπόστασιν ὁμοῦ τοῦ σείσμῳ τῷ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι; also p. 72. init. Λακεδαιμονιοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Θεοῦ σεισαντος, οἱ Εἵλωτες ἐς Ιθώμην ἀπέστησαν; Aristoph. Lys. 1142. ἡ δὲ Μεσσήνη τότε ὑμῖν (i. e. Laced.) ἐπέκειτο χ' ὡ Θεος σείων; Plutarch Lycurg. c. 28. μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν, ᾧ συνέπιθεσθαι τοὺς Εἵλωτας μετὰ Μεσσηνίων ἱστοροῦσι. See also his Cimon, c. 16.; also by Pausan. l. 4, 24, 2. Aristid. t. 1, 273. B. and 3, 257. D. By Pausan. 4, 24, 2. the origin of the rebellion is rightly ascribed to the horrible earthquake. "The wretched multitude (to use the words of Mitford) excluded from all participation in the prosperity of their country, began to found hope on its distress."

the Periæci, the Thurians, and Ætheans[3], revolted. The Helots[4], many of them, were the descendants of the antient Messenians, once subjugated, whence they came all to be called Messenians.[5] Thus, then, the Lacedæmonians were

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That dreadful convulsion, as we learn from Polyæn. 1, 41, 3. and Ælian V. H. 6, 7. only left five houses at Lacedæmon that were not thrown down. Other circumstances are added by Diod. and Plutarch, as that it occurred suddenly, at mid-day, and the youths of the principal families, assembled in the gymnasium at the appointed hour for exercise, and were many of them crushed by its fall; the earth opened; vast fragments rolled down from Taygetus; and 20,000 lives were lost.

[3] *Ætheans.*] The situation of this state (which is only mentioned here and in a passage of Philochorus, referred to by Steph. Byz.) cannot be exactly fixed. We may suppose that it lay on *some* side around Mount Ithome, and at no great distance from it, probably *somewhere* near the place fixed on by Boccage.

[4] *The Helots.*] Much has been written on the subject of these Helots, but little of certainty has been attained. I shall consider at large the different orders of Lacedæmonian society, on the fourth book of this history. For the present it may suffice to say, that they were so called from being the descendants of the antient Helots *proper* (i. e. inhabitants of a city and district called Helos), or, else, others who were afterwards placed on the *same footing*. For, as the first Helots were so utterly subdued by the Lacedemonians, as to be obliged to submit unconditionally, and were, therefore, reduced to the condition of slaves (since, in war, a conquered and spared enemy was supposed to become the property of him who spared his life: whence the origin of the name *servus*); so also afterwards others who were conquered, experienced the same treatment, especially the Messenians, who, as Thucyd. proceeds to tell us, formed a very considerable part of the Helots, insomuch that they were sometimes *all* called by that name. Such captives in war as were unransomed, became Helots, and were employed either in the service of the public, in the execution of public works, or in that of private persons, as agricultural labourers. So that their condition was in general much the same as that of our convicts transported to New Holland.

The name *Helos* is not, I think, to be derived, with some, from *Helius*, youngest son of Perseus; but from its being situated near a lake, and from the district consisting chiefly of marshy ground. Thus, the *nomen gentile* Ἕλειοι (which St. Byz. says was sometimes used of the inhabitants) is the same with that given to the inhabitants of part of the Delta in Egypt, called the *τὰ Ἕλη*. So a district of Norfolk is called *Marshland*.

[5] *Whence — Messenians.*] Much to this purpose (though neglected by the commentators) is a passage in Pausan. l. 3, 20, 6. *Δωριεῖς δὲ παρεστήσαντο* (scil. Ἕλείους) *πολιορκία, καὶ πρῶτοι γε ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Λακεδ*ᾳ*μονίων δοῦλοι τοῦ κοίνου, καὶ Εἵλωτες ἐκλήθησαν πρῶτοι, κάθαπερ γε καὶ ἦσαν. τὸ δὲ οἰκετικὸν τὸ ἐπικτηθὲν ὕστερον Δωριᾶσι, Μεσσηνίους ὄντας, ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τούτους ἐξενίκησεν Ἑιλώτας.* The war in which the Messenians were subdued, was the *first* Messenian war, on which see Justin, 3, 4., and Strabo, l. 6 and 8. The Messenian war which succeeded the great earthquake was the *third*. The unhappy descendants of the Messenians, remembering the deeds of their ancestors, seized Ithome, which they made their principal post; and so outnumbered the Lacedæmonians, that, though deficiently armed, yet being not without discipline, acquired in attendance upon their

brought into a war against those in Ithome. As to the Thasians, they, in the third year of the siege, surrendered, on terms, to the Athenians. The conditions were, that they should destroy their walls and deliver up their ships; and as to money, agree to pay down immediately such a sum as they ought before to have paid[6], and promise future payment, giving up all pretensions to the continent and the mine.[7]

CII. Now the Lacedæmonians, when the war against those in Ithome was drawn out to a considerable length, called to their aid both the other allies and the Athenians, who came in no small force [1], commanded by Cimon. To them they especially had recourse, as having the reputation of great ability in the art of approaching and attacking fortified places [2]; and from the long continuance of the siege they themselves appeared to stand in great need [3] of this sort of skill; for, as far

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masters in war, they were capable of being formidable even in the field. See Mitford, 2, 371 and 372.

[6] *Pay down — paid.*] They were, it seems, to pay the *arrears* of the tribute; for such is, I conceive, the proper sense of ὅσα ἔδει, which the Scholiast explains of the expences of the war. Whether those formed *part* of the money paid, is doubtful; and as the sum was paid down αὐτικα (immediately), it is not probable.

[7] *Giving up — mine.*] There is no doubt but that the Athenians immediately appropriated so valuable a territory, which was now added to, and joined that on the Strymon; and the 10,000 colonists, whom Mitford relates as having been sent thither, were meant to strengthen both settlements.

[1] *No small force.*] None of the modern historians of Greece specify the *amount* of the force, though they might have learnt it from Aristid. t. 3. 82 and 258.; namely, 4000 men at arms. A sort of force which was evidently the best adapted for storming walls.

[2] *Approaching — places.*] i. e. bellum obsidionale. This is included in the term τειχομαχεῖν, which is used in narrating this very circumstance by Herod. 9, 69. τῶν Λακ^ων οὐκ επισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν. And so Pausan. 9, 9, 1. οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τῶν Λακεδ^ων μάχεσθαι πρὸς τεῖχος. This sort of military skill, Plutarch tells us, the Lacedæmonians neither possessed, nor cared about. Compare his Lysand. and Sylla; whence, also, is illustrated Herod. 5, 6, 5. in.

[3] *Stand in great need, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this obscure passage, τοῖς δὲ — χώριον, which has foiled almost all the interpreters. The methods proposed by Reisk, Gottleb., Bauer, and Haack, are alike open to objections. No true critic can doubt but that τοῖς δὲ is the true reading; and it is equally as certain that τοῖς δὲ is opposed to αὐτοὺς just before, and therefore must denote the *Lacedæmonians*. Reiske has done well in supposing at ἐνδεᾶ an ellipsis of πράγματα; but he is wrong in adding τῶν Λ^ων; for the sense plainly repuires Λακεδ^ων. The chief difficulty is centered

as depended upon *force*, they *might* have carried the place. At this siege the difference between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians first became manifest[4]; for when the place was not carried by assault, the Lacedæmonians, apprehensive of the daring and innovating[5] spirit of the Athenians (whom, too, they accounted as strangers[6]), and fearing lest, if they remained, they might be induced, by those in Ithome, to make some change, dismissed them, and them alone of the allies; without, however, hinting their suspicion, but saying that they had no longer any need of them. The Athenians, indeed, knew that they were dismissed for no good reason, but from some groundless suspicion; and thinking themselves aggrieved, and conceiving that they merited better treatment at the hands of the Lacedæmonians, they renounced the al-

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in *βίᾳ γὰρ ἂν εἷλον τὸ χωρίον*, which words are *not*, I conceive, to be referred, with Reiske and Haack, to the *Athenians*, but to the *Lacedæmonians*; and all will be plain, if we consider that the *βίᾳ* is *tacitly* opposed to the *τέχνη implied* in the *δύναμις πολιορκητικὴ*, ascribed to the Athenians. This, too, the Scholiast seems to have perceived, by explaining *τοῦτον*, as he does by *τῆς τεχνῆς*. The *βίᾳ*, at which must be understood *ἐπὶ*, is for *βιᾶς ἕνεκα*, "as far as depended upon force." So Goeller, who has successfully seized the sense of the passage: "per vim si stetisset." Now, in *courage*, the Lacedæmonians were never deficient; it was skill only which they needed.

[4] *Became manifest.*] It seems that when some attempts had been made to carry the place by storm, but without success, when the Lacedæmonians seized this excuse to abandon the enterprise, and convert the siege into a blockade, that they might have a pretext for dismissing the Athenians. From the air of the passage, it is plain that they were dismissed immediately after the failure in the attempt to storm; and Mitford has no warrant for relating, that "it was in the tedious leisure of blockade that those heart-burnings arose, which led to national aversion between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians." It was *before* that the Athenians, depending too much on their being called in to assist, had too little dissembled that fancied superiority, warranted, indeed, by the prosperity of their country, which showed itself in vaunting language. In fact the whole temper and demeanour of the two nations were so contrary to each other, that occasion for mutual disgust and offence could not but arise, and produce first coolness and distrust, and then utter alienation.

[5] *Innovating.*] i. e. prone to form new plans, by a change of measures. See note supra, c. 70. The one here adverted to is that of taking part with the Helots, and assisting them to recover their liberty, and perhaps restore the lost independence of Messenia.

[6] *Strangers.*] *They* being of the Dorian race, the Athenians of the Ionic. It may be observed, that the ties of race were, in that unsettled state of society in Greece, stronger than those of alliance.

liance[7] which they had formed with them against the Medes, and entered into a confederacy with their enemies, the Argives; and moreover, the same alliance, cemented by oaths, was entered into by both parties with the Thessalians.

CIII. Those in Ithome having protracted the siege until the tenth year[1], and being no longer able to hold out, came to terms with the Lacedæmonians; the conditions of surrender being, that they should depart from Peloponnesus under safe conduct, and never set foot there again; or that whosoever might be found there, should be the slave of him who apprehended him. There had, moreover, been[2] aforetime a Pythian oracle given to the Lacedæmonians, "The suppliant of Ithometan Jove[3] to let go free."[4] They therefore departed, themselves, their children, and their wives; and the Athenians, out of the enmity they now bore to the Lacedæmonians, received them, and settled them at Naupactus, which they happened lately to have taken[5] from the Ozolian Locrians, its possessors.

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[7] *Renounced the alliance, &c.*] This, says Mitford, was the triumph of the party in opposition.

[1] *Tenth year.*] This arose not only from the unskilfulness of the assailants, and the slow process of blockade, but from the extreme strength of the place; for it appears from Plutarch Arat. 50., that the situation was almost impregnable.

[2] *There had moreover been, &c.*] The καὶ seems to hint at the *other* reason for allowing them terms; namely, that of *state policy*, which had, no doubt, the greater effect, though in no part of Greece was the Pythian oracle held in higher estimation than at Lacedæmon. A circumstance which had chiefly arisen from the natural partiality of the kings of Lacedæmon for an oracle, to which the success of the Heraclidæ in recovering their antient inheritance was mainly attributable.

The "*aforetime*" seems to refer to the two former Messenian wars.

[3] *The Ithometan Jove.*] This refers to some temple of Jupiter on Ithome; for the Grecian temples were usually situated on some conspicuous and lofty site, either a hill, or a promontory. I would observe that the reading of the Scholiast, Ἰθωμάτα, is confirmed by Pausan. p, 110, l. 123, 19. 1, 29, 51. and many other places, especially l. 4, 24, 3. which gives us some words following, of the oracle: ἢ μὴ εἶναι σφισι δίκην ἁμαρτοῦσιν ἐς τὸ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθωμάτα τὸν ἱκέτην.

[4] *Let go free.*] The term ἀφίεναι is equivocal, and might denote not only *deportation*, or suffering to evacuate Peloponnesus, but *manumission*. Great sagacity, as well as benevolence, was occasionally shown in these oracular responses.

[5] *Taken.*] The Athenians here, as often, certainly showed, if not good principle, yet excellent judgment in occupying a most favourable situation for the purposes of war and commerce, Naupactus (now Lepanto) commanding the gulf of Corinth. The Messenians there settled proved (as

The Megarians, too, forsaking the Lacedæmonians, came over to the Athenian confederacy; for the Corinthians pursued them with hostilities[6], on account of some dispute respecting the limits of their respective territories[7]. Then the Athenians occupied Megara[8] and Pegæ, and built for the Megarians the long wall from the city to Nisæa, and themselves garrisoned them. Whence, in no slight degree, first arose the violent hatred which they bore to the Athenians. Gr. "the Corinthians."

CIV. But now Inarus[1], son of Psammeticus, king of that part of Libya[2] which borders upon Egypt, making his sally[3]

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they were meant to be) a sore thorn in the sides of the Lacedæmonians and their allies.

[6] *Pursued, &c.*] Literally, hard pressed them with war. Such is the force of the phrase πολεμῷ κατεῖχον.

[7] *Dispute — territories.*] An antient one, says Mitford. We may suspect that the Corinthians demanded that the boundary should be the chain of Mount Gerania, and to be occupied by them, and perhaps also claimed the port of Pegæ.

The change of policy among the Megarians was, doubtless, brought about by the democratical party.

[8] *Megara.*] So called, I think with St. Byz. and Berkley, from the nature of the situation, which is rocky and cavernous. And so Hesych. explains it by κατάγεια οἰκήματα, καταγείους οἰκήσεις, καὶ βαραθρα οἰκία. Berkley derives the name from the Arabic מעראת. Steph. Byz. reckons up six towns of this name. But neither he nor his learned annotators notice the greatest of all; namely, the chief of the quarters of *Carthage*, and which the best modern descriptions show to have been very cavernous. As to the cities of late date, they obtained their appellation from the earlier ones, without any reference to their situation. *This* Megara was, doubtless, a settlement of the Cadmo-Phœnician colony.

It may be observed that the situation of Megara, with a strong mountain frontier upon the territory of Corinth, made it of great consequence to the Athenians, to whom, also, its two ports were of considerable importance.

[1] *But now, &c.*] The δὲ has a transitive force, on which see Hoogev. de Part. Gr.

[2] *Inarus — Libya.*] He is repeatedly called a *Libyan* by Herodotus, who says he was the son of Psammeticus, and a king. I am inclined to conjecture that he was of the *antient* royal family of Egypt, and was descended from the Psammeticus who died B. C. 617. It is not improbable that on Apries being put to death by his chief minister Amasis, his son, or some near relation, established himself among the Libyans bordering on Egypt, from whom descended this Psammeticus, who would thus be a Libyan. This Psammeticus is also called a king, by Herod. 3, 14. It should seem that his kingdom extended from the borders of Egypt to the parts of Cyrene; probably it was what afterwards came to be called *Libya Marmarica.* There is no reason to suppose that it comprehended the *Libya propter*, which lay south of the two other parts, the Cyrenaica and Marmarica.

[3] *Making his sally, &c.*] i. e. making it his strong hold and sally point.

from Marea, drew over the greater part of Egypt to revolt from king Artaxerxes, and, becoming himself their governor, called in[4] the Athenians to his assistance, who happened to be engaged in an expedition against Cyprus[5], with two hundred ships[6] of their own and the allies. They, leaving Cyprus[7], sailed up the Nile from the sea, and making themselves masters of the river[8], and two of the divisions[9] of Memphis, then car-

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It is strange that Smith should mistake an idiom so common in our author, and indeed the best writers.

Marea was situated on what was called the tongue or spit of land running out, and separating the Lake Mareotis from the sea.

[4] *Called in.*] Ἐπάγεσθαι, in the middle voice, signifies to call in others (*arcessere*) for one's benefit, i. e. for the purposes of assistance, alliance, &c.

[5] *Expedition against Cyprus.*] We find by Ctesias, c. 32. that this expedition was commanded by Charitimis.

[6] *Two hundred ships.*] Diodorus makes it 300. But the number is plainly erroneous, as he afterwards himself writes 200. Besides, διακοσίαις is confirmed by Isocr. de Pace, from whom the very same error may be corrected in Diod. l. 13, 25. Ctesias, indeed, c. 32. says, that *forty* Athenian ships proceeded to Egypt auxilii causa. Which Wesseling justly supposes to be an error of the scribes, but proposes no correction. I would for μ read ν, i. e. *fifty*. The extract from Ctesias appears to refer only to the *second* fleet sent out by way of reinforcement to the former, and consisting of fifty sail, as we find infra, ch. 110. The very same mistake (i. e. τριακοσ. for διακ.) occurs in Aristid. t. 2, 20. A. on this very subject. And that it is a mistake of the transcribers, is clear from t. 2, 54. C. where διακοσίας is found. True it is, that at t. 2, 69. A. he says, πλεύσαντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον πέντηκοντα καὶ διακοσίας τριήρεις δύοιν στόλοιν ἀποβάλομεν. But that evidently *includes* the fifty sent by way of reinforcement.

The expeditions to Cyprus and Egypt must have been very expensive to the Athenians. But they were enabled to support them by the considerable increase of contributions from the allies, and the removal of the treasury from Delos to Athens; both which events are, with reason, supposed to have occurred about this time, and were probably the first acts of Pericles.

[7] *Leaving Cyprus.*] They are censured for this hasty step by Raleigh, but well defended by Mitford 1, 385.

[8] *Rivers.*] By this, I conceive, meant not only the river itself, but the parts adjacent, especially the valley of the Nile. The Athenians, doubtless, passed up by the Canopic branch.

[9] *Two of the divisions.*] Not "two-thirds," as Smith renders it. Memphis, it appears, consisted of three *divisions* or *quarters*, two on the west side, and one on the east. That on the east, which is called Troja by Danville, was probably the Λευκὸν τεῖχος, the White Fortress (not *wall*, as Hobbes and Smith render). We may imagine it to have been *the court quarter*, and to have been so called, from consisting, chiefly, of the huge fortified palace of the king, which, doubtless, (according to an oriental custom which has continued from the times of antient Babylon down to our own) comprised the residences of the officers of state, and of all who were attached to the court, including a strong military force. These *royal quarters* were sometimes several miles round.

That

ried their arms against the third, called the White Fortress, in which some Medes and Persians had taken refuge, together with such of the natives as had not participated in the revolt.

CV. The Athenians then proceeded with a fleet, and in making a descent at Haliæ[1], had an engagement with the Corinthians and Epidamnians, in which the Corinthians came off victors[2]; and afterwards the Athenians had a sea-fight off Cecryphaleia[3] with the Peloponnesian fleet, in which they themselves gained the victory. After this, a war having

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That such is the true interpretation of the term Λευκὸν τεῖχος, is plain from Herod. 3, 91, 14. Περσέων τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι.

The court quarter, doubtless, derived this name from the colour of the stone of which it was built; and was so called, as the Schol. rightly observes, by way of distinction from the other two fortified quarters, which were walled round with *brick only*. Hence may be illustrated an oracle in Herod. 3, 57, 13. Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήϊα Λευκὰ γένηται, Λευκοφρύς τ' ἀγορὴ, i. e. with the white Parian stone, of which Herodotus proceeds to say the Prytaneum and Adora were built. And in a description of Persia (Modern Traveller, v. 1. p. 164.) is mentioned the strong hill-fort of Kullah Suffeed, *the white fort*.

[1] *Haliæ*.] Not *Halias*, as Hobbes. This was a sea-port of Hermione. The city and its territory, called Halias, (which occupied the chief sea-coast of Hermione) derived the name from being inhabited by *fishermen*; insomuch that St. Byz. calls the city Ἁλιεῖς. And so Diod. l. 11., and Xenophon. The situation of the city cannot exactly be ascertained, since no passage of any antient writer has enabled us to arrive at any certainty. I have, however, reason to think that it is best laid down by Boccage. The most exact antient account of its situation is to be found in Scylax, p. 20. who says it is at the mouth of the Argolic gulf. There, however, I conjecture for Ἁλία, Ἁλίας. I here formerly conjectured Ἁλαιᾶς; and so, perhaps, read Diodorus. Certainly, to call it *Halice*, (though such is the common mode of appellation) is incorrect; for *that*, as we learn from Hesych., was the name of the *district*.

[2] *Victors*.] Palmer and Duker (after Hudson) remark, that Diod. adjudges the victory to the *Athenians*. But in fact there is no discrepancy; for Diod. plainly has reference to *another* battle which took place some time (perhaps a year) afterwards, when the Athenians were commanded by Myronides; where, though the battle was somewhat undecided, yet he assigns them the victory, because they first set up a trophy; as also do Lysias and Aristides. Diodorus, however, in mentioning the Peloponnesians as present with the Corinthians, seems to have mixed up a circumstance which belonged only to the *former battle*; and this, too, he has carelessly omitted to mention.

[3] *Cecryphaleia*.] The name of a certain *promontory*, according to St. Byz., or, as our Schol., Pliny, and others say, an *island* on the coast of Epidaurus. Probably it was a *peninsula*; and this seems confirmed by the origin of the name, which (as Wasse very properly observes) is cognate with κεκρυφάλιον, a woman's *reticule*. It was, therefore, one of the many names

arisen between the Athenians and Æginetæ[4], a great sea-fight took place off Ægina between the two parties, in which they were assisted by their respective allies. The Athenians were the victors; and capturing seventy of their ships, they made a descent on the island, and besieged the city, under the command of Leocrates, son of Strœbus. Then the Peloponnesians, with a view to assist the Æginetæ, conveyed over three hundred[5] heavy-armed, who had before been auxiliaries[6] of the Corinthians and Epidamnians. The Corinthians, too, and their allies, occupied the heights of Geranea[7], and descended into the Megarian territory, thinking[8] it impossible for the Athenians to give assistance to the Megarians, as a considerable part of their forces was absent, both at Ægina and in Egypt: or, if they would come to their aid, they must raise the siege of Ægina. The Athenians, however, did not re-

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of places derived from some resemblance, real or fancied, to objects in nature or art; and, as it is easier to imagine a similarity of this sort in a *peninsula* than in an *island*, so it was, doubtless, the former.

St. Byz. says, that near it ἐνίκησαν Αἰγινῆται Ἀθηναίους. But as this is directly the reverse of what the historians narrate, and as Steph. is a writer of too much credit to be suspected of negligence or falsity, we may suppose that the scribe ought to have written Αἰγινῆτας Ἀθηναίοι.

[4] *Æginetæ.*] This war with the Æginetæ seems necessarily to have arisen out of the other; for the Æginetæ were attached to the Peloponnesians, both by consanguinity and interest, and had long been on ill terms with the Athenians.

[5] *Three hundred heavy-armed.*] It may seem strange that no greater a reinforcement was sent. But, perhaps, that was as large a force as they could hope to supply with provisions, while the Athenians commanded the sea, who otherwise could starve them, as they afterwards did the Lacedemonians at Sphacteria. Besides, they had hitherto taken no great part in the war, nor acted as principals, but only as auxiliaries. And, moreover, the invasion of Megara was meant to be a diversion of the enemy from Ægina.

[6] *Auxiliaries.*] These ἐπίκουροι were, probably, hired *Arcadians;* for the Arcadians were the *Swiss* of Greece. The above sense of ἐπὶ is frequent.

[7] *Geranea.*] Hence it appears, that these heights were in the Megarean territory. Geranea consisted of a *mountain range*, which stretched across the isthmus, and obtained its appellation (like many other mountains) from its form, it bearing some resemblance to a crane's neck. By Smith it is improperly called a *promontory*. Dr. Clarke, from actual inspection, says, it is "the top of a chain of hills stretching across the isthmus." But, from its very nature, the name must have applied to the whole chain. What he calls *the top*, is what is here meant by the τὰ ἄκρα.

[8] *Thinking it impossible, &c.*] This whole passage is had in view by Aristid. 1, 271. B. 2, 20. A and B., whence it appears that for οἱ κινήσοντες we should read ἢ κιν.

move the armament from Ægina, but those left[9] in the city, namely, the oldest and the youngest, proceeded to Megara, under the command of Myronides; and after an indecisive engagement against the Corinthians, the combatants were separated from one another, and each thought they had the better in the action. The Athenians (for they, however, had rather the advantage), on the departure of the Corinthians, set up a trophy.[10] But the Corinthians being received with reproaches by the older men in the city, after having made previous preparations for twelve days, again went forth, and *themselves* also, in quality of victors, set up a trophy in opposition. Upon this the Athenians, sallying forth[11] from Megara, slew those that erected the trophy, and engaged with and routed the rest.

CVI. The vanquished party retreated, and some no inconsiderable portion of them, being hard pressed in the pursuit, and missing their way, hurried into a field[1] belonging to a

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9 *Those left — youngest.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of these words, which have been mistaken from the *construction* not being properly understood. Now, this cannot be οἵ τε πρεσβύτατοι κ. ο. ν. τῶν ὑπολοίπων, because Myronides would not *select* the very old, and the very young, out of those that remained. The genitive, τῶν ὑπολοίπων, is put for the nominative, οἱ being understood. See Matth. Gr. Gr. § 297, 3. And the words οἵ τε πρεσβύτατοι, &c. are thus in apposition, and exegetical, either signifying that those left were only the very old and the very young: or that, together with the *men of military age* remaining, the old men and boys marched forth. It is probable that they were chiefly composed of the latter; hence, the taunts of the elder Corinthians.

10 *Set up a trophy.*] They were certainly justified in so doing. At least, in modern times, when, after a drawn battle, one party retires, and leaves the other in possession of the field, it is thought to be yielding up all claim to the victory. Yet there are exceptions; for when a battle has been fought by one army to impede another in the accomplishment of any important object, and then the other leaves, indeed, the *field of battle*, but goes forward and *executes its design* unimpeded, that is not thought to resign the victory. A remarkable instance of this was seen in the battle of Borodino.

It may be observed, that Diodorus assigns the victory to the Athenians, and says that they slew many of the Corinthians.

11 *Sallying forth.*] Here I would, with the most numerous and valuable MSS., read ἐκβοηθήσαντες, a term used by all the best writers. That of ἐκβοήσαντες, followed by Hobbes and Smith, is far less suitable. Nor do I know any one example of ἐκβοάω in the sense *sally* forth. I would observe, that this whole passage is had in view by Aristid. t. 1. 269 and 270.

1 *Field.*] Or *close;* for such is the primary sense of χώριον. It sometimes, however, denoted a *farm*, or *large portion* of ground, inclosed and

private person, which chanced to be encompassed with a great ditch, so that there was no outlet. The Athenians observing this, hemmed them in in front[2] with the heavy-armed, and stationing the light-armed around, stoned[3] all those that had entered. A heavy calamity was this to the Corinthians! The bulk of the army, however, effected their retreat home.

CVII. About this time the Athenians began to build their long walls to the sea, both that to Phalerus and that to Piræus. And now the Phocians, going to war with the Dorians, the mother-country of the Lacedæmonians, consisting of the three towns, Bæum[1], Cytinium, and Erineus, and

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separated from the rest. And so in the New Testament. See Schleusn. Lex. and Wahl's Clavis. The latter seems the sense *here;* for the χώριον appears to have had a *name* (which we can hardly suppose a simple field would), since, when Diod. says the battle was fought ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Κιμωλίᾳ, I think (with Wessel.) that he means this *farm:* and that, with his usual negligence, he makes it the field of battle. That names were originally given to *farms*, we may infer from Psalm 49, 11. "And they call the lands after their own names." And so infra, 108., we have *Œnophyta*, i. e. plots of vineyard ground. The close could not, however, have been large; for otherwise the complete stoning could not have taken place.

[2] *Front.*] i. e. in the entrance of the field.

[3] *Stoned.*] For the light-armed were chiefly composed of slingers. This unsparing cruelty chiefly tended to generate and perpetuate that violent animosity towards them, of which the Athenians afterwards tasted the bitter fruits.

[1] *Bæum, Cytinium, and Erineus.*] These must be understood as being in apposition with, and exegetical of, the preceding Δωριᾶς (for Δωρίδα), the name of the inhabitants for the name of the country, on which see Matth. Gr. Gr. § 429, 2. On the thing itself see Herod. 8, 31. The towns were, doubtless, small, and are seldom mentioned by writers. The province itself was a petty wedge-like nook of rugged territory, chiefly enclosed within the ranges of Œta and Pindus, or Parnassus. Between the account of Thucyd., and that of some other authors, there appears to be a discrepancy. The former reckons only *three* towns; probably because they were all that were originally settled by the Dorians. Though Pindus was added, and afterwards some others, which before had been part of the territory of the Dryopes. Thus, the Schol. on Pind. Pyth. 1, 121., speaks of *six*.

Here I cannot but notice the erroneous manner in which these names are often spelt. *Erineum*, I find put down by Mr. Mitford, and in some maps, as Dr. Butler's. Now it is certain, from Steph. Byz., and Tzetzes on Lycoph., that the nominative is Ἐρινεός. The latter rightly derives the name from a sort of fig grown there, and there only, as says the Etym. Mag. Thus, *Olynthus* had a similar derivation, on which see supra. The orthography of our author here is confirmed by Strabo, Ptolemy, Tzetzes, Conon Narrat., Scylax, p. 24. Scymnus Chius, v. 591. Pliny, l. 4, 7. and Æschines, p. 43.

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having taken one[2] of them, the Lacedæmonians went to their assistance[3] with 1500[4] of their own heavy-armed, and 10,000 of the allies, commanded by Nicomedes, son of Cleombrotus, regent of king Plistoanax[5], son of Pausanias, who was yet in his minority; and having compelled the Phocians to restore the city on terms[6], they were returning back again. And now, as to going by sea, if they should attempt to pass by the Crisæan[7] gulf, the Athenians had sailed round thither with a fleet, and were ready to hinder them; and to go by Geranea did not seem to be safe for them, as the Athenians were in possession of Megara and Pegæ. Besides that, Geranea was difficult to pass, and was constantly guarded by the Athenians,

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To exactly fix the situation of these towns is no easy matter. Steph. Byz. says, that Erineus was at the foot of Mount Parnassus. One might suspect that he wrote *Pindus*, but that Parnassus was a long *chain* of mountains which probably joined the chain of Œta. And our Schol. says, that they were all περὶ τὸν Πάρνασσον. That they were all very *small* towns, I find from Aristid. 2, 147. A.

[2] *Having taken one.*] Diod. says, that the Phocians had seized all the three towns.

[3] *Went to their assistance.*] With that religious regard to their mother country, which distinguished the Lacedæmonians.

[4] 1500—10,000.] Making, as Mitford thinks, together with the light-armed, 25,000 men. But this seems on overrated estimate.

[5] *King Plistoanax.*] Βασίλεως is usually joined with Παυσανίου, and Thucyd. has been censured by Meurs for calling him so, since he was only *Regent*. Duker, however, urges that he is so called by Plutarch and others. Yet he grants that it may be joined with πλειστ. Certainly it *may*, and I think *ought*. So it was taken by Diodor. and the Schol. August.; and this mode of interpretation is adopted by Gottleb. and Gail.

[6] *On terms.*] Namely, that they should be allowed to evacuate the place, and depart without molestation; including, perhaps, some engagement on the part of the Phocians, that they should not, in future, molest the Dorians. So Diodor. says: τοὺς τε Δωριεῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς διήλλαξεν. where see Wass. The naval force here employed amounted, as we learn from Diodorus, to 50 ships.

[7] *Crisæan.*] I have adopted the reading Κρισαίου, which is supported by six of the best MSS. And so Bekker and Goeller edite, though they make no remark. My reasons are these. The same is written by Herod. 8, 32., and is restored to Æschyl. P. V. 505. by Dr. Blomfield, who remarks, that κρίσα is found in Pind. Isthm. 2, 26. Anton. Liberal. c. 8. Etym. Mag. p. 515, 18. and in Homer, there cited by him, as also the Schol. on Lycoph. 1070. Eustath. p. 279. and Hesych. And I would add, that so Aristid. read here, as appears from 1, 272., and Diod. Sic. t. 5. p. 98. The same occurs in Hom. Il. β. 520. Κρίσαν ζαθέην. Pind. Pyth. 5, 49. and 6, 18. Κρισαῖος. Isocr. p. 524. Κρισαῖον πέδιον. Steph. Byz. Κρίσα, and Κρισαῖον πέδιον. Suidas, κρισαῖος κόλπος, κρισαία δὲ θάλασσα; in which last passage, however, I would read Κρησαια, i. e. *Cretensis*, as also in Zonar. p. 1256. The same error ought to be corrected in Pausan. 10, 13, 5. and Max. Tyr. t. 2, 251. Reiske.

who also were ready to exclude them from that course. They therefore determined to wait there, and, watching[8] their opportunity in Bœotia, consider by what way they might most securely effect their passage. Another reason[9], too, influenced their stay there; namely, that some citizens[10] of Athens were privately soliciting them thither, hoping to abolish democracy, and put a stop to the erection of the long walls, which were then building. The Athenians, however, sallied forth against them *en masse;* and of the Argives 1000, and of the other allies each[11] according to their quota, the whole force amounting to 14,000[12] men. They had undertaken this expedition against them, as supposing that they would be at a loss which way to effect their passage, and partly through a suspicion[13] of the

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[8] *Wait and watch.*] Both significations are included in περιμείνασι, at which must be understood τὸν καιρὸν, which is *supplied* in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 30, 9, 14. Diodor. says they wintered in Bœotia.

[9] *Another reason.*] Such is the full sense expressed in the idiomatical formula τὸ δὲ τι καὶ, which is rightly explained by Bauer *partim etiam.* An ignorance of this caused the *librarii* to alter the reading to τόδ' ἔτι, which has been rashly caught up by Benedict.

It appears from Diod. Sic. that the Lacedæmonians employed themselves, during their stay in Bœotia, in enlarging the walls of Thebes, and in subjecting the other cities, in order, it should seem, to form a balance against the Athenians.

[10] *Citizens of Athens.*] These persons were of the Aristocratical party, who, as Mitford observes (v. 2. 390.), " so far from considering Lacedæmon as a hostile state, looked towards it for relief from the oppression which they suffered under the present administration of their country, and for the restoration of that constitution under which Athens had become great, and without which they thought it could not long flourish."

[11] *Each according — quota.*] Such seems to be here the sense of ὡς ἕκαστον, which is omitted by Valla, and by Hobbes incorrectly rendered, " as they could be gotten together." It literally signifies " each in their order," as 1, 67. and elsewhere. This, however, does not imply that *all* the allies were present, since there would scarcely be time to call them together.

[12] 14,000.] Mitford says that, with the cavalry and the attending slaves, the number could scarcely be less than 30,000.

[13] *Through a suspicion.*] I have here adopted ὑποψία, from the conjecture of Benedict and Poppo, which is supported by the reading of two of the best MSS. And to the same opinion I myself came long ago; for the ἦν is of no authority, and was only introduced from a misconception of the construction, (of which Goeller adduces several examples), or from the following ἠλθ. Now, that being removed, ὑποψία must be the true reading.

With respect to the καί τι καὶ, here, with far less judgment, Benedict (after Gottleb.) would read καίτοι καὶ This elegant formula signifies *partim etiam;* and though it seems to be little known to editors and critics, the following are only a few of the examples which I have noticed. Pausan, 3, 6, 3. 3, 22, 9. 7, 9, 3. Plutarch Sertor. c. 13. Cic. 15. Appian. T. 1. 46, 18.

intended abolition of democracy. The Athenians were also joined by some Thessalian horse, who came in pursuance of a treaty of alliance: these, however, in the course of the action, went over to the Lacedæmonians.

CVIII. A battle[1] taking place in Tanagra of Bœotia, the Lacedæmonians and their allies came off victors, though there was a great slaughter on both sides. Then the Lacedæmonians, proceeding into the territory of Megara, and cutting down the trees[2], returned home by the way of Geranea and the isthmus. On the sixty-second day after this battle, the Athenians went on an expedition against the Bœotians, under the command of Myronides[3], and conquering them in a battle at Œnophyta[4], made themselves masters of Bœotia and

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Arrian Ex. Al. 1, 29, 2. 1, 23, 5. 2, 6, 9. and 10, 11. Joseph 779, 36. Soph. Phil. 274 and 308.

The *suspicion*, here mentioned, was especially excited by the long stay made by Nicomedes, in Bœotia, which they thought boded no good to them; and, suspecting intrigue, they sallied forth against Nicomedes and his troops, without waiting for them to make an attempt to pass.

[1] *A battle.*] It appears by Diod. that the engagement lasted *two days*, and that the victory was undecided. Wessel. remarks that both parties claimed it (and that the Lacedæmonians, in quality of victors, sent tenths to Delphi), but that (as Aristid. observes, Panath. p. 272.) the Athenians had the better claim to it. Yet, probably, the Lacedæmonians were left masters of the field; and even Aristid., the panegyrist of Athens (1, 172.), admits that the Athenians were worsted. At all events the Lacedæmonians accomplished their purpose in spite of the Athenians; and the battle had all the effects of a victory. Diodor., indeed, asserts that the battle was succeeded by a truce of four months, but says nothing about the return of the Lacedæmonians. Yet the Lacedæmonians could have no other object in view. Though at the same time there was probably *a truce;* for, otherwise, it is not easy to imagine how they could make their way over Geranea. The Athenian democrats would be glad to get rid of them; indeed nothing but their fear of an attack from the Lacedæmonians could justify the impolicy of endeavouring to stop an army in its progress home.

[2] *Cutting down the trees.*] i. e. vines, olives, and other fruit trees. Not the *woods*, as Hobbes and Smith ill render. For, as Mitford remarks, "it could little answer their purpose to delay their march by such laborious work as cutting down woods." This, it may be observed, was a sort of Gothic or Tartarian mode then commonly practised in war, and, indeed, continued to the present day in Greece, and throughout the eastern countries.

[3] *Myronides.*] See Suid. in v. and Arist. Lys. 800—9.

[4] *Œnophyta.*] This was not so much a *town* as a *plot of ground* forming one *farm* or hamlet. See supra c. 106, 1. Indeed the whole of the country in the vicinity of Tanagra was, as appears from Dicearchus, ἐλαιόφυτος, καὶ οἴνῳ τῷ γενομένῳ κατὰ Βοιώτιαν πρωτεύουσα. Polyæn. Strat. 1, 35, 1 & 2. has some matter on the subject of this battle, and especially makes mention of a stratagem then adopted by Myronides.

Phocis, dismantled[5] the wall of the Tanagreans, and took, as hostages, an hundred of[6] the wealthiest persons from the Locri Opuntii, and finally put a conclusion to their own long walls.[7] After this, the Æginetæ capitulated with the Athenians, conditioning to dismantle their walls, deliver up their ships, and pay tribute for the future. Then the Athenians, under the command of Tolmides, son of Tolmæus, cruised

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It may be observed, that the victory here gained was so much the more honourable to the Athenians, since their troops could not have been of the best description, considering the severe loss they had lately sustained at Tanagra, and the strong force employed in Egypt. Nay Aristides, t. 2, 150. says, Μυρωνίδης, τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξαγαγὼν, &c. It was, indeed, thought to be more glorious than those of Marathon and Platæa, and such as fell were found honoured with sepulture in the Œnophyta. Mitf. observes, that no detail of the battle remained in the time of Diodorus. That, however, is more than he was warranted in asserting; since, from some fragments of Theopompus adduced by Marx. on Ephor. p. 224. we may suppose that that historian entered not a little into detail. Several circumstances, too, may be gathered from Diod., Aristid., Polyænus just cited, Frontin. 2, 4, and 4, 7. Plato Menex. c. 13. and Alcibiad. c. 8. and Plutarch Apophth.

[5] *Dismantled.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of περεῖλον, a term which often occurs in Thucyd., and sometimes in Xenophon and Polybius. It is explained by the Schol. καθεῖλον. But that term signifies to *pull down*, whereas this only denotes to beat down the battlements, and make the walls unfit for defence; a distinction which not being attended to, has occasioned much needless obscurity in various passages of the Greek writers.

Tanagra being a border district of Bœotia towards Attica, seems always to have nourished a peculiarly bitter spirit towards the Athenians. Hence the first effects of its wrath usually fell upon *them*. See 3, 91.

It appears from Diod. that there were other actions also performed by Myronides in this successful campaign, as that he advanced into Thessaly as far as Pharsalus, to chastise the inhabitants for their late perfidy; but with little effect, except that of plunder and ravage, for he failed in an attempt upon Pharsalus.

[6] *An hundred of, &c.*] By taking these hostages, we may presume that the Locrians were more decidedly in the Lacedæmonian interest than the Phocians. On this subject may be consulted Pind. Olymp. 9. and Boeckh. Expl. Pind. p. 188.

[7] *Their own long walls.*] The one four, and the other five miles in length. And thus Athens and Piræus came to be considered as two parts of one city, distinguished by the names of the upper and the lower town. How it happened that maritime situations for great cities were antiently avoided, and how in after times the defect of such situations was remedied, by forming a port, has been before shown. When, however, the distance was great, the communication between them might, in time of war, be interrupted by any enemy superior in the field; and this to a city like Athens, which aimed at empire, and had many enemies, and often much of its domestic forces on distant service, was peculiarly inconvenient. To obviate this, as also in the spirit of Themistocles, which long animated the Athenian councils, and agreeably to the plan for insuring safety, as well as aiming at dominion, *Cimon*, it is believed, *planned*, and *Pericles executed*, the noble work in question.

round Peloponnesus, and burnt the naval arsenal[8] of the Lacedæmonians, took Chalcis[9], a city of the Corinthians, and

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[8] *Naval arsenal.*] Or *dock*, in which ships were laid up and preserved for future use. This was Gythium.

[9] *Chalcis.*] This was not in the territory of Corinth, but a Corinthian colony in Ætolia, at the mouth of the Evenus, and, like most other Corinthian settlements on the coasts of Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, &c. chosen with great judgment. The Athenians, it may be observed, had now strength to attempt *offensive* operations, secure in their long walls, and encouraged by their late victories.

As to the cruise round Peloponnesus, Thucyd. only gives the general heads; and Mitford does no more; though not a few important circumstances may be obtained from Diodor. and Polyæn. Stratag. 3, 3. From the former we learn that, though no one had ever before ventured to ravage Laconia, Tolmæus undertook to do it with only 1000 heavy-armed on board the fleet, accompanied, we may suppose, with the usual proportion of light-armed. These being granted him, he, by a clever stratagem, contrived to procure the co-operation of 3000 others of the choicest men. The fleet consisted of 50 sail. First, he touched at Methone in Laconia and took the place; but the Lacedemonians coming up, he was obliged to decamp. He then not only burnt the arsenal at Gythium, but took the city, and ravaged the territory (on which see Pausan. 1, 27. and Aristid. Panath. p. 271.). Thence he proceeded to Zacynthus and Cephallenia (for I would read ἐπλέυσε [διὰ] τῆς Κεφαλήνιας εἰς Ζάκυνθον); and subduing them both, he crossed over to Naupactus, and taking it by a coup de main, settled there the Messenians. It should, indeed, appear from Thucyd., that this last circumstance took place a short time before (see supra, c. 103.), but the words are not *certain*, and it is probably as Diodorus relates, since there is thus assigned a *reason* why the Athenians took Naupactus from the Locrians; they having, it may be supposed, participated with the Phocians in the late hostilities against Athens.

The above passage of Diodorus seems to have been had in view by Polyænus, l. 3, 3.; and from thence the corruptions of that passage may be emended; though such has been done by Masvick, except that for ἑκατον he would read ἕκοντα. But the true reading is ἑκούσιον, and εἴη must be altered to εἶναι. On the *number* of ships employed both authors coincide.

There is also a passage of Pausan. 1, 27, 6. which is of importance towards supplying information with respect to this expedition, and as it is (though the editors notice it not) miserably corrupt, I will cite it, for the purpose of emendation. Τολμίδης ὃς Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν ἡγούμενος ἄλλους τε ἐκάκωσε καὶ Πελοποννησίων τὴν χώραν, ὅσοι νέμονται τὴν παραλίαν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Γυθίῳ τὰ νεώρια ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τῶν Περιοίκων Εὔβοιαν εἶλε καὶ τὴν Κυθηρίων νῆσον. For ναυσὶν I read ναυσὶ ν', i. e. πεντήκοντα. Then the following words are (as the editors have seen) corrupt; but not to be emended by reading τὰ τῶν περιοίκων, which would make bad worse. It is strange that no one has perceived that the error centres in Εὔβοιαν, which can have no place here; for that island formed part of the *Athenian* dominions. For Εὔβοιαν I would read μὲν Βοιάς. *Boiæ* (not *Boia*, as in D'Anville and Dr. Butler) is a town on the coast of Laconia, just opposite to, and only a few miles from, Cythera, a little afterwards mentioned. See Pausan. t. 1, 426, 431, 432, and 433. What is meant by the τῶν περιοίκων, and especially as regards the Cytherians, is plain from Thucyd. 4, 54. where see note.

From

defeated the Sicyonians in a battle consequent upon a descent on their territory.

CIX. Meanwhile the Athenians and their allies still remained[1] in Egypt; and various were the circumstances and incidents[2] of the war in which they were engaged. For, first, they obtained possession of the whole of Egypt; and Artaxerxes sends Megabazus, a Persian[3], to Lacedæmon, with a sum of money, in order to induce the Peloponnesians to invade Attica, and thus divert the Athenians from Egypt. But when the business which brought him thither met with no success[4], and his funds were expended to no purpose, Megabazus returned back to Asia, carrying with him the rest of the

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From that diligent and faithful collector of antiquarian and historical facts, therefore, we gain a piece of information of which we should otherwise have been ignorant. More he also adds, which illustrates the too brief language of our author, but for which I must refer the reader to the work itself.

[1] *Still remained*, ἔτι ἐπέμενον.] Bekker, however, and Goeller edit ἐπεμενον. But the ἔτι is too important to the sense to be dispensed with. I would read, from some MSS., ἔτι ἔμενον. The επ arose from the ἔτι preceding. The Greeks used the phrases μένειν ἔν τινι, ἐπιμένειν τινι or ἐπὶ τινι, but not, if I remember, ἐπίμενειν ἔν τινι.

[2] *Incidents.*] For a full account of these minute particulars see Diod. Sic. l. 11, 77., between whom and Thucyd. there is no real discrepancy, but merely such a semblance of it as arises from a general, compared with a particular, statement.

[3] *A Persian*, ἄνδρα Πέρσην.] Smith and Gottleb. translate this, "a Persian noble." But there was properly no such thing as nobility in the empire of Persia. Nay, it is doubtful whether the phrase denotes *any* dignity or distinction; though there are passages of Herodot. (as 4, 143 and 144.) which countenance this. As to the passages here adduced by Gottleb. 2, 29. ἀνὴρ Ἀβδηρίτης, and ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, those are quite of another kind. Considering, however, the circumstances of the empire so recently conquered and held by the warlike Persians, it is possible that the *nomen gentile* Πέρσης ἀνὴρ carried with it a sort of dignity, of which those who bore it were proud, just as the Norman barons, who accompanied Duke William in his conquest of England, and settled there, always boasted of their Norman descent, and were proud to add the name *Norman* to their Christian name.

[4] *Met with no success.*] At οὐ προχώρει I would subaud, not τὰ κατὰ σκόπον, but πρᾶγμα, or ἔργον, which is supplied in Pausan. 2, 1, 5. And a little further on, for οὐ προεχώρησαν ἀρχὴν I would read ο. προεχώρησεν α., from MSS. The reading of the Cod. Vind. ο. π. ἔργον is from the margin.

The method of bribery here (so honourably for the Lacedæmonians) vainly employed, is such, as the most despotic empires by resorting to, have ever betrayed their weakness.

money; and the king sends Megabyzus[5], son of Zopyrus, a Persian, with a considerable force[6]; who, proceeding thither by land, defeated the Egyptians and their allies in battle, and drove the Greeks out of Memphis, and at last shut them up in the island of Prosopis[7], where they besieged them for a year and six months, until, by draining the channel, and drawing the water off another way, he caused the ships to be aground, and most of the island to become continent; and then, crossing over with his land-forces, he carried the island by assault.

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5 *Megabyzus.*] So I read, with the best MSS., and the editions of Bekker and Goeller. And I would add, that a similar emendation is made by Porson on Athen. p. 248. A. This orthography occurs, *and of this very person*, at Herod. 3, 160. 4, 43. So also Appian, t. 2. 723, 87. τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερέα ὃν Μεγάβυζον ἡγοῦνται. On this appellation, and its force, much has been said by Kuhn. Perizon., and Gronov. on Ælian, V. H. L. 2, 2., and Hemsterhus. on Lucian, 1, 134. Upon the whole, the true state of the case seems to be this, that Μεγάβυζος was originally a name of office and dignity; and, as it seems, ecclesiastical. To this purpose the above critics adduce Strabo, p. 909. Ἱερέας — οὓς ἐκάλουν Μεγαβύζους., and Hesych., to which I add the passage of Appian, above cited, and a very curious one of Theophyl. Simoc. p. 19. D., which has escaped all the commentators, and which proves that the Persians were accustomed to bear appellations of dignity derived from office: φίλον δὲ Πέρσαις ἐκ τῶν ἀξιωμάτων προσαγορεύεσθι ὥσπερ ἀπαξιούντων τὰς ἐκ τῆς γεννήσεως ὀνομασίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι. Such, too, is the case at the present day, throughout the whole of the east. Gronov., moreover, shows that that was the name given to the prefects of the magi and of the priests. Yet, it would seem from Hesych., who says, that the name Μεγαβύζοι denoted καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερεῖς, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ Πέρσων βασίλεως, that it comprehended *military* as well as *civil* rank. But, *possibly*, that which had originally been a name of office and dignity, became at length a mere proper name.

6 *With a considerable force.*] This, as we find from Diodor., had been *collected* during the spring and summer of 457. The autumn and winter had been employed in *disciplining* them; and, in the following spring, they were led to their destination. Diod. says, these were accompanied by a fleet of 300 ships.

7 *Prosopis*] Of this place little is said by the geographers. It is confounded with the *nome* of Prosopis, afterwards called Nicion, from its capital. But so extensive a tract, though insular, could not be defensible by *any army* however great. It was, we find, an island, and probably that from which the nome derived its name. Doubtless, it was an island not so much *in the Nile* as formed by two branches of it, or one formed by the Nile and a very wide and deep *canal*, which would well answer to the term of our author, διώρυχα. In one of these *branches* the Athenian triremes lay; and *that* the Persians contrived to dry, by drawing off the water, and making it run in the other branch.

In what part of the *nome* this island was situated it is impossible to say. Probably, somewhere on the branch called the Agathos dæmon.

CX. Thus were the affairs of the Greeks brought to ruin after a war of six years, and a few only out of many, passing through Libya to Cyrene, were saved[1], while the rest and the greater part perished. Thus Egypt passed again under the dominion of the king of the Persians, except the tract of [2]*marsh-*

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[1] *A few — saved.*] This appears to be little reconcileable with the statement of Diod., who (in a passage of rhetorical hyperbole), to the circumstance of their passing through Libya to Cyrene, adds others; namely, that, after burning their stranded vessels, they, resolving to act worthy of their reputation, and with a valour exceeding that of the Greeks at Thermopylæ, held themselves in readiness to fight it out to the last extremity; and that then the Persians, to save the effusion of blood, allowed them to evacuate the place, and leave Egypt; which they did by the way of Cyrene. But this is scarcely consistent with the expression of our author, εἶλε τὴν νῆσον; and had they obtained the terms mentioned by Diodor., why should they not have evacuated Egypt by the way of the Canopic branch of the Nile? Their having gone by *Cyrene*, which Diod. himself admits, seems to strengthen the statement of Thucyd., and induce us to suppose that, on the capture of the island on the east side, some of the most resolute abandoned it on the west side, and passing the Nile, took their course to Cyrene, crossing the desert, either by the way of the oases of Ammon, Augela, and other *oases*, until they reached *Libya proper*, and the settlements of the Greeks, which they might do in about twenty-eight days. See Calliaud's and Drovetti's journey to Siwah, or some account of them in the Modern Traveller, Egypt, vol. 2. p. 196 and 215. Perhaps, however, they would take their course, first, to Parætonium, on the coast of the Mediterranean, and from thence, chiefly by the sea-coast, to Cyrene. After Parætonium, they would not be long before they reached the Greek settlements.

This journey may, in some respects, be compared with the famous *Anabasis* of the Greeks, recorded by Xenophon; and which, indeed, might have been partly suggested by it.

[2] *Marsh-land.*] Sometimes called the βουκόλια. See Scalig. on Euseb. p. 101. We, elsewhere, read of the "marshes of the Nile," and "the marshes of Egypt." Hesych., in Σάριν, places them between the Tanic and Pelusiac mouths of the Nile. See Strabo. That name was also given to the part of lower Egypt included between the Bolbotian and Sebennytic mouths. (Gottleb.) It is probable, that the tract extended from the Canopic to the Tanitic mouth. How far it may have extended upland, is very uncertain; but that it stretched to a considerable distance, we find from what follows. We are not, however, to suppose that it was absolutely all marsh, but consisted principally of low grounds occupied with pasturage, and capable of being inundated at pleasure; in fact much resembling the lowest parts of Holland and Flanders, and our own *marsh-land* in Norfolk, and *Holland* in Lincolnshire, to which travellers now find a great similarity. It was called by the Egyptians *Bashmur*.

The inhabitants were not only occupied in grazing vast herds of cattle, but, in such parts as chiefly consisted of water, lived mostly in boats, and supported themselves by fishing; nay, it appears that they were skilful mariners, and this tract of country very populous, for Æschyl. Pers. 39. speaks of them thus: Ἑλειοβάται, ναῶν ἐρέται Δεινοί, πλῆθός τ' ἀνάριθμοι. where Dr. Blomfield refers to Heliod. 1, 2. which I had myself noted. In that passage the manners of these marshlanders are graphically

land, over which Amyrtæus[3] held dominion. This, from the extensiveness of the marshes, and the courage of the inhabitants (who are esteemed the most warlike of the Egyptians), they could not subdue. But Inaros, the king of the Libyans, who had been the author of all this disturbance in Egypt, being taken by treachery, was crucified.[4] And now fifty triremes from Athens and the other allies, coming to relieve part of the fleet, put in at the mouth[5] Mendesium, knowing nothing of what happened. These the army attacking from the landward, and the Phœnician fleet from the seaward, destroyed most of the ships, the remainder effecting their escape back. Such was the termination which befel the great expedition of the Athenians and their allies to Egypt.

CXI. And now Orestes, son of Echecratides, king of Thessaly[1], being exiled from thence, persuaded the Athe-

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described; and in many respects bear a striking resemblance to those of the fishermen now living in that country, about the Lake Burullas, or Bourlous, which, probably, in antient times, was only the fenniest part of the tract in question. See Abresch on Æschyl. ubi supra. It appears from Steph. Byz. that it had a *city* called Ἕλος.

[3] *Amyrtæus.*] On this person see Herod. 2, 140. and 3, 15. That he was an Egyptian of Sais we find from Euseb. ubi supra, who, however, has erred in fixing the chronology. See Wessel. on Herod. ubi supra, and Diod.

[4] *Crucified.*] A punishment much in use in Persia, and which had taken its origin in the east, (ever the region where atrocity of punishment has been, though to little purpose, resorted to for the suppression of crime). It had, as we find from the antient histories of China, been employed in that country many centuries before this period. That it was an Egyptian punishment, we find by Justin, l. 30, 2. Hudson refers to Lips. de Cruce, and Casaub. on Baron. Exerc. 16. § 77. Herod. and Ctesias say he was crucified ἐπὶ τρισὶ σταυροῖς, which might more properly be termed *impalement* (also an oriental punishment, still in use in the East), and of which Casaub. refers to another example in Plutarch Artax., where the unhappy wretch is said to have been *skinned alive* previous to impalement.

[5] *Mouth.*] Literally, *horn;* probably because it refers not so much to the mouth itself, as to the spit of land which juts out into the sea from Thmois, and meeting another which runs from Pelusium, forms the *mouth* or *horn* in question. That it may have this signification (though unnoticed in St. Thes., is clear from Lycophr. 1069. where the term is used for ἀκρωτήριον; and also from its being given as a *name* to some Promontorial spots. Such is the very use of the word in our names, *Corn*-wall, *Ciren*-cester, and *Horn*-castle.

[1] *Of Thessaly.*] i. e., as I imagine, a part of Thessaly; for though mo-

nians[2] to restore him to his country; who taking with them the Bœotians and Phocians, their allies, advanced as far into the interior as Pharsalus, and became masters of the country, so far[3], however, only as extended to a short distance from their encampment (for the Thessalian cavalry hindered them from proceeding far from it), but they neither took the *city* nor succeeded in any other object of the expedition, but returned back again with Orestes, without accomplishing any thing. Not long after this, 1000 Athenians, embarking on board the ships at Pegæ[4] (which was then in their possession), coasted along to Sycion, under the command of Pericles, son of Xanthippus, and disembarking, defeated in battle such of the Sicyonians as engaged with them; and then, taking on board

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narchy was the universal form of government in that province, yet it was communicated to many, who were, for the most part, little more than *petty military chiefs*, like the barons of the middle ages; though they all acknowledged a sort of allegiance to the principal chieftains; namely, of Pharsalus (who is here meant) and of Larissa. See 2, 22. and 4, 78.

[2] *Athenians.*] To these he had recourse, as possessing much influence in the affairs of Thessaly, between which and Athens there had subsisted a very antient bond of amity.

As to the circumstances which led to this exile, we are left wholly in the dark. There is, however, reason to think that it arose from the conflict of the two parties, which we find from 4, 78., subsisted in Thessaly, the Athenian, or democratical; and the Lacedæmonian, or aristocratical: the former of which we may suppose Orestes had supported.

[3] *So far — encampment.*] This might well be, from the want of cavalry, and the inadequacy of the forces which they brought with them, which would be lost in so wide a province as Thessaly. They had, doubtless, expected much co-operation from the democratical party; in which, it seems, they were deceived, and the chief object they had in view, the putting the democratical party in possession of the administration, was wholly unattained. Indeed that very party seems to have wisely waved its temporary interest, to unite in resisting all interference from a foreign power.

The historians who have treated of this expedition, might have gathered something, in addition to the brief statement of our author, from Aristid. t. 2, 48. B.

[4] *The ships at Pegæ.*] Where, it seems, they always kept a squadron, as being a station very important to their commercial interests and political influence in the Sinus Corinthiacus.

The 1000 must be understood of the heavy-armed only. The allies, consisting of light-armed, archers, &c. would raise the number, probably, to several thousands, and the sailors were always held in readiness to co-operate with the land forces. It appears from Diod. that the fleet amounted to fifty triremes.

some Achæans[5], and crossing over[6], they warred against and laid siege to Œniadæ, in Acarnania; they, however, failed to take it, and then returned home.

CXII. Afterwards, at the expiration of three years, there was a truce for five years concluded between the Peloponn-

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[5] *Some Achæans.*] Namely, of those who favoured the Athenians, or who had now come over to them, i. e. the democratical party.

[6] *Crossing over.*] Namely, the Sinus Corinthiacus; probably to Naupactus; for the comma ought not to be placed (as in some editions) after Ἀκαρνανίας, but (with the Schol.) after πέραν. And so Gottleb., Bekker, and Goeller. The same ellipsis occurs in Matt. 8, 18 and 28. 14, 22. It has been rightly taken by Plut. Peric. c. 19. ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν Ἤπειρον (I would read ἠπειρον) ἐκομίσθη τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχελῷον, Ἀκαρνάνιαν κατέδραμε. But in the last words Plutarch errs egregiously. None of the Acarnanians were enemies of the Athenians, except the Œniadæ. So I. 2, 102. Οἰνίαδας ἀεὶ πότε πολεμίους ὄντας, μόνους Ἀκαρνάνων. See also 3, 7. But what shall we say to Diod., who writes, εἰς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν διαβὰς πλησίον Οἰνιαδῶν, ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις προσηγάγετο? Now here Diod. would *seem* to have fallen into the same error of punctuation above remarked, as also Aristid. t. 2, 48. Yet, then, that historian will be asserting what is point blank contrary not only to Thucydides, but to plain fact; for the city of Œniadæ was taken neither then nor afterwards. I therefore rather suspect that the text is corrupt, and for πλησίον I would read πλὴν τῶν, and place the comma not after Οἰν., but διαβάς. Thus Diod. will be reconciled with Thucyd.; and προσηγάτετο may very well be explained (as is justified by many examples), *brought over* to the Athenian interest. For though the Acarnanians might before, except the Œniadæ, have been well affected to the Athenians, yet they had not till then heartily espoused their cause.

I cannot but notice the error of Hobbes and Smith, who write *Œnias*. It is clear from the testimonies of Thucyd., Xenophon, Diodor., Dionys., Strabo, Plutarch, Pausan., Aristid., St. Byz., and others, that the name of the city was Œniadæ, and that the *nomen gentile* was Οἰνιάδης, or rather, as appears from the coins, Οἰνιάδας. Œnias was, as we learn from St. Byz., the name of the *district*, and that I would not derive from Œneus, the father-in-law of Hercules, but from οἶνος, and suppose it to refer to the wine made there, like the *Œnophyta*, mentioned supra. Thus Οἰνιάδαι was derived from Οἰνίας, and originally denoted all the inhabitants of the *country*, but was afterwards confined to those of the *city*, who then, as in many other cases, took a name which properly only denoted the inhabitants.

It may be observed, that Thucyd. here adds τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, because there was (as we learn from St Byz.) another Œniadæ in Œtæa. On its situation see the authors cited by Palmer Antiq. p. 398. seq., from whom it appears to have been at the mouth of the Achelous, amidst lakes and marshes; though whether on the right or left bank, is not certain; and geographers place it, some on the one and some on the other. There is more reason to suppose the *former*, since Polyb. says, it was at the farthest verge of Acarnania, and the Achelous separated it from Ætolia. If, however, our Scholiast be right in saying that it occupies the place of the modern *Dragamiste*, that point, by the aid of the *earlier* maps of modern Greece, might be determined.

nesians and the Athenians; and now the Athenians kept themselves free from any *Grecian* war, but engaged in an expedition against Cyprus[1], with a fleet of two hundred ships, under the command of Cimon; and of these sixty sailed to Egypt (being sent for thither by Amyrtæus, the ruler of the marsh-land), and the rest besieged Citium[2]; but Cimon dying, and a famine having arisen[3], they retired from Citium, and sailing beyond Salamis in Cyprus, they engaged, both by sea and land, with the Phœnicians and Cilicians; and, having conquered in both battles, they retired homeward, and the ships which had gone to Egypt having then returned, accompanied them. After this the Lacedæmonians engaged in what was called the *sacred war*[4]; and having gained possession of the

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[1] *Cyprus, &c.*] The policy of the expedition has been severely censured by Sir W. Raleigh, in his history, but partly defended by Mitford. Both, however, have overlooked a most important passage to this purpose, in Plutarch Cim. c. 18. init., and which assigns the true cause which impelled Cimon to undertake the expedition.

[2] *Citium.*] A city of no mean degree, originally colonised by Belus, king of Tyre, as we learn from St. Byz. in Κάπηθος; though Joseph. Ant. 1, 7., from a specious resemblance, refers the origin to Chittim, one of the sons of Noah; and as that was undoubtedly the name given to the island by the Phœnicians, so this may have been that assigned to Citium, as being the chief city. And the name sometimes occurs with the double τ. This city appears from Suid. to have been small; though, by its successful resistance to the attacks of so powerful an armament commanded by so able a general, it must have been of considerable strength, and was famous as being the birth-place of Zeno, Apollodorus, and Apollonius, and other celebrated persons. Diod. l. 12, 3. says that the Athenians *took* Citium, and *also* Μαλὸν, or, as Wess. rightly reads, Μάριον (another name for Arsinoe), a town situated between Citium and Salamis. One might suspect that he read ἐξεπολιόρκησε, but that both MSS. and the context defend the common reading. Perhaps the ἐξεπολιόρκησε was only true of the other town. A more remarkable discrepancy it is, that Diod. narrates the victories over the Phœnicians as having happened under the command of Cimon; and yet both Suidas and Æmilius Probus testify that he died *at* Citium (though even that may imply *before* Citium). But the truth is, that Diod. has here followed other, and certainly inferior, authorities.

[3] *Dying — arisen.*] Our author hints that the failure might be attributed to the death of Cimon, and the famine; for it seems that the Athenians at home relied too much on the army providing for its own subsistence in Cyprus, and neglected to send supplies.

[4] *Sacred war.*] The two leading states, Lacedæmon and Athens, were jealous of the influence arising from having the custody of the temple at Delphi. The Lacedæmonians were desirous that it should be in that of the *Delphians*, who were always favourable to them; the Athenians, on the contrary, wished to give it to their allies, the *Phocians*. It does not appear that the Lacedæmonians made any exertion to support the claim of the

temple at Delphi, delivered it to the custody of the Delphians. The Athenians, however, on their retiring, went on an expedition thither, and gaining possession of it, delivered it to the Phocians.

CXIII. Some time after these events, the Bœotian exiles, being in possession of Orchomenus and Chæronæa, and some other places of Bœotia, the Athenians undertook an expedition against them[1], with 1000 of their own heavy-armed, and the allies according to their quotas, under the command of Tolmides, son of Tolmæus; and having taken Chæronæa, they retired, leaving a garrison. But as they were on their way, the exiles of Orchomenus, and together with them some Locrians, and some Eubæan exiles, and such others as were of the same party, attacked them[2] at Coronea[3], and having gained the victory, slew some, and took others captive. Then the Athenians evacuated the whole of Bœotia, having entered

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Delphians, probably as knowing that such would have required a stronger force at sea than was at their command.

Mitford thinks we may fix on this point as the æra of the most extensive power of the Athenian state. "On the continent of Greece (continues he) it commanded Megaris, Locris, Phocis, and Naupactus [and influenced Bœotia]. In Peloponnesus an Athenian garrison held Træzene. Athenian influence governed all Achæa properly so called; and even Argos was but a subordinate ally. The large and fruitful island of Eubœa had long been an appendage of Attica, and all the other islands of the Ægean, except Melus and Thera, and part of Crete, most of the Grecian cities of Asia Minor, and all those in Thrace, the Hellespont, and the Propontis." To which we may add Thurium in Italy, founded then, or very shortly afterwards, and a few other scattered settlements.

[1] *Undertook an expedition, &c.*] On this unfortunate affair the editors and historians should have adverted to two important passages in Plut. Peric. c. 18., and Æschines, p. 38. init., from the former of whom it appears that this expedition was undertaken against the advice of Pericles.

[2] *Attacked them, &c.*] It appears from Diodorus that the attack was from an ambush; by which the defeat is accounted for. Diod., too, says that it proceeded ἐκ τῶν Βοιωτῶν συστραφέντων, which seems very probable, and the ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης is a very comprehensive term.

[3] *At Coronea.*] By this we may understand the *territory* of Coronea. Thus Plutarch says it was περὶ Κορ. Pausan., indeed, says it was ἐν Ἀλιαρτίᾳ, and Xen. Men. 3, 4. ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ. But both those places may be taken like this of our author. And there is no material discrepancy, since the field of battle might be so situated as to be nearly equidistant from all three places; and in that case it is not unusual for a battle to be named differently, as in that of Jena, or Auarstadt.

The *Locrians* here mentioned were, as the Schol. tells us, those of Opus.

into a treaty, by which it was stipulated [4] that they should receive back the prisoners; and the Bœotian exiles having returned, they, and all the rest [5], again recovered their independence.

CXIV. Not long after this, Eubœa revolted [1] from the Athenians; and Pericles having already crossed over thither, news was brought him that Megara had revolted, and that the Peloponnesians were about to make an irruption into Attica; also, that the Athenians in garrison were slain by the Megareans, except such as had taken refuge in Nisæa. Now the Megareans had made this revolt, calling to their aid the Corinthians, and Sicyonians, and Epidaurians. Then Pericles speedily brought his army back from Eubœa. And after this the Peloponnesians, under the command of Plistionax, son of Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, made an irruption into Attica, as far as Eleusis, and towards Thria, and devastated the country. They, however, proceeded no farther, but retired [2] homeward. Then the Athenians again passing over [3]

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[4] *Stipulated.*] It may seem strange that the Athenians should so easily have been brought to relinquish Bœotia. But the narration of our author is very brief and general; and the truth seems to be, that the Bœotians were too united to be easily subdued; besides, they had given the Athenians a rude shock at Coronea. It is moreover probable that the prisoners were persons of consequence, and as very many families would be interested in the matter, thus the treaty was brought about partly by their management. Aristid. t. 2. p. 48., who has our author in view, commends the Athenians for it, ὅτι τὴν τῶν ληφθέντων ἐν τῇ μαχῇ σωτηρίαν πλείονος ἀξίαν κρίναντας, &c.

[5] *All the rest.*] Mitford is at a loss to know who these were. They were, I conceive, the Locrian and Eubœan exiles.

[1] *Eubœa revolted.*] This might very well be expected after the easy manner in which the Athenians yielded up their dominion over Bœotia and Phocis. On this revolt some further information may be gathered from Aristid. t. 3, 226. A. where for εἶναι I would read ἴέναι.

[2] *Retired.*] Bribed, as was reported, by Pericles. So at least says Plutrch in Pericle.

[3] *Passing over.*] i. e., as we learn from Plutarch, with 50 ships, and 5000 heavy-armed. He also adds, Χαλκίδεων τοὺς ἱπποβότας λεγομένους πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέροντας ἐξελάλεν. These *Hippobotæ*, we may suppose, were, like the Γεώμοροι, *landed proprietors* of estates in the vicinity of Chalcis, which were adapted to the breeding and feeding of horses, and therefore very valuable. Such persons would be likely to be of the aristocratical party, and strive to rescue Eubœa from dependence, and especially democratical dependence.

into Eubœa, under the command of Pericles, subdued the whole of the island.

CXV. The rest of it they admitted to conditions [1], but the Hestiæans [2] they expelled, and occupied their lands with their own people; and having retired from Eubæa, they, not long afterwards, made the thirty years' peace with the Lacedæmonians and their allies, restoring Nisæa, and Pegæa, and Træzene, and Achæa [3]; for these places of the Peloponnesians

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[1] *Admitted them to conditions.*] Literally, put them to conditions, imposed conditions on them. By these they were to remain, and occupy their lands; which was a favour denied to the Hestiæans, who, we may suppose, were the prime movers of the revolt. And indeed Plutarch, ubi supra, says, that with *those* only the Athenians dealt harshly, because, having captured an Athenian ship, they put the crew to death. Thus it was a favour that they were not sold for slaves. But even the rest of the Eubœans were not very mildly dealt with, from what we find by Aristoph. Nub. 213. cited by Gottleb. ὑπὸ γὰρ ὑμῶν παρετάθη (i. e. Eubœa) καὶ Περικλέους, where the Schol. explains εἰς φόρον ἐξετάθη, *racked them up* with tribute.

Thucyd. does not say whither the expelled Hestiæans went; but we learn from Theopompus ap. Strab. that they took shelter in Macedonia. We are told by Diod. that the number of Athenian colonists was 1000; though Theopomp., ubi supra, says 2000.

[2] *Hestiæans.*] Such is the true orthography in *Attic* Greek. The name ought always to have the aspirate. The ι for ε is *Ionic*, though D'Anville and others erroneously write *Istiæa*. The town is generally supposed to have been the same with *Oreus* (now Oreo) mentioned in Lysias, Demosth., and others, ap. Wass. It seems probable, however, that Oreus was built on a somewhat different site, perhaps immediately adjoining that of Hestiæa, and founded by these very Athenian colonists. On Oreus see Travels of Anach.

[3] *Restoring Nisæa, &c.*] There is some difficulty connected with this passage, as regards Achæa, at which the commentators and critics universally stumble. Hudson observes: "quæ fuerit Achæa juxta cum ignarissimis ignoro." To understand it of the *province*, is, they think, preposterous; and all are agreed that some *city* must be meant; and Palm., Huds., Gottleb., and Smith would read Χαλκίδα: but this is a mere conjecture, utterly unsupported by authority, and destitute of even probability; hence it is rightly rejected by Poppo. He, however, stiffly maintains that the *province* can by no means be admitted, but some *city* must be understood; *what* he cannot venture to define; for though there were several towns called Achæa (see Steph. Byz., to which I add, that an Achæa in Rhodes is mentioned by Ergeas ap. Athen. 360. E.), yet none that is here suitable. Goeller contents himself with citing Poppo. It is many years since, viewing the matter in the very same light, I struck out a conjecture which is at least far milder and more probable than Χαλκίδα, namely, Ἀλαιᾶς. Now of this town Ἀλιεῖς, mention is made supra 1, 105. where see note; and so in Diod. Sic. t. 4, 251. and Steph. Byz. This place, indeed, is often found in conjunction with Trœzene by Thucyd. So 2, 56. 4, 45. Xen. Hist. 6, 2, 3. Strabo, p. 541. Or we might conjecture Ἀλαίαν scil. γῆν. For if from Ἀλιᾶς come Ἀλικὸς and Ἀλικὴ (forms which are found in Pausan., St. Byz., and

the Athenians had occupied. But in the sixth year there was a war between the Samians and Milesians respecting the possession of Priene; and the Milesians being worsted in the contest, went to the Athenians, and inveighed bitterly against the Samians. There also took part with them some private persons[4], who wished to change the form of government. The Athenians then proceeding to Samos with a fleet of forty sail, established democracy[5], and took hostages of the Samians, fifty boys and as many men, and deposited them at Lemnos; and leaving a guard over them, they departed. But some of the Samians, who could not endure [the democracy], but fled

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Eustath.) why not Ἀλιαῖος, which, indeed, I find in Plutarch in Pyrrh. and Sylla. So St. Byz. Ἀλήϊος, and p. 88. Τρυφῶν δ' ἐν παρωνόμοις Ἀλαῖος, καὶ Ἀλαιαῖον, where I conjecture Ἀλιαῖον or Ἀλάϊον. There is no proof, however, that the Athenians were ever in settled possession of this town; and therefore it seems most prudent to retain the common reading, which I am especially induced to do, not only because the same words occur at 4, 2., but because I find such was the reading of Aristid. See t. 3. 3, 247. t. 2. 69. A. 1, 295. A. t. 2, 48. A., which passages also confirm the *position* of Achæa that I have from the best MSS. adopted. And notwithstanding what the critics say, there is no well-founded objection to understanding it (with Benedict) of the *province*. Thus Mitford is " at a loss to see the difficulty." It appears abundantly from ch. 111. that Achæa was one of the *subject allies* of Athens; and the only difficulty rests in ἀποδιδόναι; though that will vanish, if we suppose a *dilogia;* for *restore*, as applied to Achæa, will only mean, *restore it to its independence*. As to the difficulty of understanding it of the whole province, that is imaginary; since we have only to suppose it refers to *that part* of Achæa (always a divided province, and at best but a small one) which had joined the Athenian alliance; and which, from the smallness of the quota of troops furnished, we may conceive not to have been very large.

[4] *Private persons.*] i. e. not in the administration of public affairs. These were, doubtless, of the aristocratical party, which seems also to have prevailed at Miletus. It is no wonder that the Athenians should have taken part with the Milesians, since they were then under democratical government. The change meditated was to aristocracy.

[5] *Established democracy.*] For, as we find by Plutarch in Pericl. c. 25. and Diod. l. 12, 27., aristocracy or oligarchy had before been prevalent. The βουλόμενοι preceding we may interpret not only of *intent*, but partly of *execution*.

On this affair of Samos much light is thrown by Aristoph. Vesp. 282. and the Schol. there. The command of the armament was given to Pericles, who was reported to have taken part with the Milesians against the Samians by the intreaties of Aspasia. But that must have been mere scandal, for the policy of Athens could allow of no other course. Another story is related by the same author (Plutarch), and with no better foundation, namely, that Pissuthnes endeavoured to bribe Pericles with 10,000 pieces of gold to leave things as they were at Samos, but in vain. Diod. says that he not only established democracy, but levied a contribution of eighty talents from the Samians. And from him it appears that the whole business was done in a few days.

to the continent, leagued themselves with some of the most rich and powerful of the city[6], as also with Pissuthnes, son of Hystaspes, then governor of Sardes[7]; and pledging themselves to mutually support each other, and having collected about seven hundred hired auxiliaries[8], they passed over by night to Samos. And, first, they made an attack upon the democratic party, and brought most of them into their power. Then, having conveyed away by stealth their hostages out of Lemnos, they made an open revolt, and the Athenian garrison and governors resident with them they delivered up unto Pissuthnes, and immediately prepared an expedition against Miletus. The Byzantines, too, participated with them in the insurrection.

CXVI. But as soon as the Athenians heard of this, they made sail to Samos with sixty ships; sixteen, however, of which were not employed; for part went to Caria, to watch the motions of the Peloponnesian fleet, and others to Chios and Lesbos, to summon[1] them to render assistance. With forty-four ships, however, under the command of Pericles and nine colleagues, they, at the island of Tragia[2], engaged with seventy of the Samians, of which twenty carried soldiers[3] on

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[6] *Powerful of the city.*] And who were, doubtless, of the aristocratical party.

The οὐχ ὑπέμενον of our author is well explained by the τῶν βουλομένων τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν εἶναι of Diod.

[7] *Governor of Sardes.*] Or Satrap, as he is called by Diod.

[8] *Hired auxiliaries.*] Such is a frequent sense of ἐπικούροι. Diod. says the troops were given them by Pissuthnes. But probably he *sent*, and they engaged to *pay* them.

[1] *Summon*, περιαγγέλουσαι.] Literally, deliver a message or summons. The περι refers to the different places at which the summons would be delivered. See Matth. Gr. Gr. p. 851.

[2] *Tragia.*] There is every reason to think this is the reading of our author. And yet the *plural* is used by Plutarch and Strabo. Though the singular form, with the dipthong αι (Τραγαια), used by St. Byz.; for this seems to be the same island with that which he describes as being near the Cyclades; but that description is so vague that it is impossible to *fix* its situation, and, from the words following, it should rather seem to have been an island near Samos.

The island seems to have been so called from having once abounded in goats. Thus the name, Goat Island, often occurs in modern geography. See the Edinburgh Gazeteer.

[3] *Carried soldiers.*] With this expression Reiske, on the parallel passage of Plutarch Pericl. 26. has been so perplexed, as to run into no little absur-

board. All these chanced just to have sailed from Miletus; and the Athenians gained the victory. And there afterwards came to their aid forty ships from Athens, and twenty-five of the Lesbians and Chians; and having effected a descent on the coast of Samos, they besieged the city with three walls [4], and also blockaded it by sea. And now Pericles, taking sixty ships from the blockading fleet, went in haste to Caunus and Caria; intelligence having reached him that the Phœnician fleet was approaching; for Stesagoras and others had gone from Samos, with five ships, in order to bring up the Phœnician fleet.[5]

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dity of explication. By Hobbes it is wrongly rendered, "such as served for transport of soldiers." It appears from 6, 43. that the ships in question were not merely *transports*, but vessels of somewhat stronger make, and heavier burden (see l. 6, 43.) adapted to carry soldiers (or what we call *marines*) as well as sailors. This custom of employing soldiers on board ships of war to fight on the decks, had gradually been gaining ground from the time of the Persian war, and it was especially resorted to when a *pugna stataria* was to be maintained. See l. 7, 62. The Scholiast rightly explains: στρατιώτας ἄγουσαι τοὺς μέλλοντας πεζομαχεῖν; and he adds, ἃς καὶ ἱππαγώγους καλεῖ. But the *Hippagogi* were *horse transports*. See l. 6, 4, 3. and the note. These last words were, I suspect, not from the Schol. but from the margin.

The word στρατιώτις is rare; but I am enabled to furnish two examples which confirm the above interpretation. Xen. Hist. 1, 1, 36. νεῶν στρατιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν; Diod. Sic. t. 9. p. 114. ταχυναυτούσας μὲν τριηρεῖς πλείους τῶν, &c. ἑκατον δέκα, τῶν δὲ βαρυτέρων στρατιωτίδων.

[4] *Walls.*] The Scholiast explains it τειχίσμασι, *ramparts*. Or he might mean *fortified camps*, or *fortifications*; which is somewhat countenanced by l. 3, 6. But the former is preferable. Of the three walls, the innermost was a wall of circumvallation, the second a wall also of circumvallation connected with the former, so as to form, as it were, one thick wall, the interstices being converted into barracks, see l. 3, 21.; the third, or outermost, was one of contravallation, for defence against the attacks of the islanders outside of the city.

[5] *Stesagoras—fleet.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage, which has been ill-understood by the commentators and translators. For, according to the sense commonly ascribed to the words, οἱ ἄλλοι would be worse than useless; and that assigned by Hobbes and Smith is not permitted by the terms. There need, however, have been no difficulty made, if they had consulted the Scholiast, who points to the truth *quasi digito*, by simply observing that Stesagoras was a *Samian*. He had, it seems, been sent, (as had also others), together with five ships (to ensure his safety), for the purpose of bringing up the promised Phœnician fleet. The Universal History, 6, 426., by a strange mistake, makes him the commander of the Samian fleet which defeated the Athenians.

The above sense of ἐπὶ is frequent in the best writers, and also occurs at l. 4, 13., where, in my edition, I shall give several examples.

Having learned this news, Pericles felt it the more necessary to sail against the Phœnician fleet.

CXVII. Meanwhile the Samians having suddenly sallied forth, and attacking the blockading squadron [1] when off its guard, destroyed the guard-ships, and engaging with the rest of the fleet, as they sailed out against them, defeated them [2], and were masters of the sea opposite for fourteen days, bringing in and carrying out whatever they pleased. But Pericles returning, they were again blockaded by sea: and now an aid of forty ships arrived from Athens, commanded by Thucydides [3], Agnon, and Phormio; also twenty came under Tlepolemus and Anticles, and thirty from Chios and Lesbos. And now the Samians stood their ground, indeed, for a short engagement [4]; but being unable to make effectual resistance, they were reduced, in the ninth month [5] of the siege, and em-

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[1] *Squadron,* στρατοπέδῳ.] Some take this word to denote the *camp.* Others, as Gottl., Heilm., and Kistem., the *fleet;* which is preferable to the version of Hobbes, who renders it *harbour,* or that of Smith, *station.* But it seems to signify, in a general way, *armament, squadron.* So in a similar passage of l. 1, 137. ἀφράκτῳ is ill rendered by Portus, Hobbes, and Smith, *unfortified;* better by Kistem. "non satis firmato." But the true sense seems to be what I have assigned, of which we have an example in Soph. ap. Hesych. in ἀφρακτὸς, and in Thucyd. 3, 83.

[2] *Defeated them.*] Plutarch Pericl. 27. adds καὶ πόλλους μὲν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἑλόντες, πόλλας δὲ ναῦς διαφθείραντες, where I read αὐτάνδρας and διαφθείραντες, ναῦς. He also subjoins, that they insulted over their prisoners by stamping on their faces the Athenian owl.

[3] *Thucydides.*] The son of Milesias, and long the rival of Pericles. A colleague, too, in this command was Sophocles the poet.

[4] *Short engagement.*] Perhaps that in which Aristot. ap. Plut. says Pericles was defeated.

[5] *Ninth month.*] It would appear by this delay that Pericles did not resort to any very daring measures, but was content with closely blockading, and endeavouring to starve out the Samians. And this is exactly what Plutarch says, whose words are these: δαπάνῃ καὶ χρόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τραύμασι καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν περιγένεσθαι καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος. This, in fact, was systematically the method pursued by Pericles, and it was worthy of so great a general. So Mitford (Greece, t. 3, 127.) says, "A battle, according to a great modern authority, is the resource of ignorant generals; when they know not what to do, they fight a battle. It was almost universally the resource of the age of Pericles; little conception was entertained of military operations, beyond ravage and a battle. His genius led him to a superior system, which the wealth of his country enabled him to carry into practice. His favourite maxim was to spare the lives of his soldiers; and scarcely any general ever gained so many important advantages with so little bloodshed. It is said to have been his consolation and his boast, in his dying hours, that he never was the cause that a fellow-citizen wore mourning." Plutarch also relates an ingenious expedient by which Pericles sought to relieve the tedium of the blockade. Diod., indeed, from Ephorus, says that he made frequent storming assaults; and that he first formed and used battering rams, &c. But it appears from

braced the conditions of demolishing their walls; delivering up their ships; engaging also to repay by instalments the money expended[6] on the siege. The Byzantines also came to terms, agreeing to become subject as before.

CXVIII. Not many years after these events happened, the matters above related concerning Corcyra and Potidæa, and whatever else[1] was intervenient[2], afforded a pretext for the present war. Now all these transactions, whether of Greeks against each other, or against the Barbarian, happened in the course of about fifty years, which elapsed between the retreat of Xerxes and the beginning of the aforesaid war; during which period the Athenians had both confirmed their rule[3] and advanced to a great height of power.[4] Now the Lacedæmon-

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Heracl. Pont. cited by Plutarch there, that *those* had been already invented by Artemon several generations before. It is not improbable that Pericles might then occupy his leisure, and relieve the tedium of the blockade, by making experiments and improvements upon military machines, and putting in practice new plans by partially using them against the enemy; but as to the frequent storming assaults, that circumstance seems to have been inserted merely to fill up the description, it frequently occurring in similar passages of the historians.

[6] *Money expended.*] This, as we learn from Ephorus ap. Diod. was 200 talents. But that is surely too small a sum. It should rather seem to have been the first instalment.

[1] *Whatever else.*] i e., says the Scholiast, the profanity of Cylon, &c.

[2] *Intervenient.*] I have seen no reason to follow recent editors, in cancelling the word μεταξὺ; since we may far better account for its *omission*, than its *insertion*; especially as it is used in a not dissimilar manner (i. e. as an adjective or adverb) both by Thucyd. and others. One example I shall select among several others which I have remarked, Polyb. l. 14, 1, 9. τὰ μεταξύ.

[3] *Confirmed their rule.*] Namely, over their allies. Smith renders, "established their dominion on a solid basis." But thus the next clause would be a vain repetition. The expression may be well illustrated from a kindred one at c. 7, 6. ἀρχεῖν ἐγκρατῶς, where see the note; also from 6, 92. ἐγκρατῶς ἐπέρχομαι.

We have seen, from the preceding chapters, how the Athenians gradually drew the bands of rule closer and closer, until from being acceptable to the confederates, they became odious.

[4] *Great height of power.*] It is truly observed by Mitford, vol. 3. p. 62. "that though the Athenian dominion, within Greece, had been greatly contracted by the conditions of the thirty years' truce, and by the losses which led to it; yet the remaining empire had been gaining consistency, during fourteen years which had since elapsed under the able administration of Pericles; its force was now such that no single state of Greece could undertake to cope with it; and even the extensive confederacy over which Lacedæmon presided, was, at the instant, far from being in condition to begin hostilities."

ians, though they perceived, did not hinder it, except for short intervals, but mostly kept quiet (being, indeed, at all times never hasty in going to war, unless when compelled by necessity, and, moreover, being sometimes hindered by domestic broils); nor did they exert themselves, until the power of the Athenians had plainly risen to a formidable height, and had begun to encroach on their confederacy. Then, indeed, they thought it no longer to be endured, but came to the conclusion that they should go to war with them, and that a vigorous attack should be made, and every exertion be used to demolish the Athenian power. Thus then it was decided by the Lacedæmonians that the treaty was violated, and that the Athenians had done them wrong. They sent, moreover, to Delphi, and consulted the god whether it would be advisable for them to go to war. The response (according to report [5]) was this: "that victory would attend them if they carried on the war vigorously [6], and that he would assist them, whether invoked or uninvoked."

CXIX. Whereupon, having again called together the confederates, they chose [1] the second time to put it to vote whether it would be advisable to go to war. And the deputies having come from the confederates, and a congress being formed, the rest said what they thought proper; most of them bitterly criminating the Athenians, and giving their opinion for war. And also the Corinthians (fearing for Potidæa, lest it should be lost before help arrived,) having previously gone

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[5] *According to report.*] There is a significancy in this expression, by which, perhaps, our author hints at some *management* on the part of the θεωροί, or those sent to consult the oracle. The directors, however, of that solemn puppet, the Delphian oracle, were always well inclined to the Lacedæmonians.

[6] *Victory would — vigorously.*] Such was the sense in which the Lacedæmonians understood the response. But perhaps we may discern the usual artifice of the priests to save their credit, which ever way events should turn; for at πολεμοῦσι something is left to be supplied; if αὐτοῖς, then it will refer to the Lacedæmonians; but if the article τοῖς, then it will be a *sententia generalis*, which might apply to *any*, and therefore to the Athenians, if they should prove victorious. And the latter part of the response is well adapted to the *sententia generalis*. The whole was, doubtless, as usual, couched in verse, and formed a distich.

[1] *Chose.*] Such seems to be the sense of ἐξούλοντο, which Hobbes has passed by, and Smith erroneously rendered *designed*.

round and canvassed the states[2], entreating them to vote for the war, then themselves also advancing (*last* as before), addressed the assembly thus:—

CXX. "We no longer, confederates, censure the Lacedæmonians, they having both themselves resolved on the war, and convoked us for this very purpose. It is, indeed, the *duty* of ruling states, while they enjoy all private rights on no more than an equal footing with the rest, to provide for the public welfare, as in other matters they enjoy priority of honour.[1] Now such of us as have already had any intercourse with the Athenians, need no admonition to be on their guard against them; but it behoves those who are situated somewhat inland, and not in a place of common resort and traffic[2], to know that, unless they render assistance to those in the lower and maritime districts, they will find more difficulty in the conveying down of their produce[3], and in the receiving back of

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[2] *States.*] i. e. the deputies who represented the states.

[1] *It is indeed — honour.*] Such I had many years ago decided to be the sense of this difficult passage; and my opinion is confirmed by that of Goeller. Mitford's version is specious, and elegant, but inaccurate. The τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας cannot signify, "paying attention to their particular circumstances." The Scholiast has rightly indicated the sense; and it is truly remarked by Abresch, that there is an allusion to the words of Sarpedon in Hom. Il. 12, 315. to which I add a very similar passage in Xen. Anab. l. 3, 1, 37. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, — καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε. καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμος ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι, καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἤν που δέῃ.

The ἐν ἄλλοις the Scholiast well explains by ἐν προεδρίαις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις. But the interpreters have failed to observe the paronomasia in προσκοπεῖν and προτιμᾶν; and the ellipsis of μόνον after ἐξ ἴσου.

[2] *Traffic.*] The orator has a view to Corinth itself. See 1, 7, and 13. By those situated inland are meant the states in the interior of Peloponnesus, as the Arcadian and some others.

[3] *Produce.*] Such as corn, oil, wine, &c. For the term ὥραια especially denotes the fruits of the earth, and whatever food is formed from them. See the Lex. Xen.

With respect to κατακομιδήν, that is a very rare word, which I have not elsewhere met with. Καταγωγὴ occurs in this sense in the Schol. on Pind. Olymp. 5, 18. Ἀντίληψις is also very rare in the sense it here bears. The whole passage is imitated by Appian, t. 1, 427. τὴν τῶν ὡραίων διαθεσὶν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν; and Livy, l. 5, 54. "flumen quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devenantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur." Hence is well illustrated an ill understood passage of Eurip. Suppl. 209. where, among the benefits of the gods, Theseus recounts: Πόντου δὲ ναυστολήμαθ' ὡς διαλλαγὰς ἔχοιμεν ἀλλήλοισιν. ὧν πενοῖτο γῆ.

such commodities as the sea gives to inland regions.[4] Nor ought they to be indolent[5] judges of what is now said, as if it did not concern *them*, but to expect that if ever they betray the maritime states, the danger will come to their own doors[6], and that they are now consulting not less for *themselves* than for us; and that therefore it behoves them not to be slow in exchanging peace for the war [proposed to them]. For it is the part of *prudent* men, unless when wronged, to remain quiet; but of *brave* men, when injured, to exchange peace for war, and on the contrary, when opportunity offers, from hostility to proceed to pacification; and neither, on the one hand, by any success in war, to be puffed up, nor, on the other, to be so far enamoured of the tranquillity of peace[7] as to suffer themselves to be injured. For he who, to secure this gratification, acts the coward, will, if he sits inactive, be speedily deprived of the sweets of that very inactivity for which he sacrificed the rewards of industry. And he who in war becomes insolent by success, considers not that he is buoyed up with a treacherous confidence. For many ill-planned schemes has chance made successful, when they happened to be formed against[8]

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[4] *Inland regions.*] Such is, I conceive here, the sense of τῇ ἠπείρῳ. And this is required by the context, and though rare, may be supported by examples from our author himself; though the commentators adduce none. So 4, 12. τῷ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἠπειρώταις καὶ τὰ πέζα κρατίστοις, τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις, &c. And Herodian, 8, 2, 7. τὰ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν κατακομιζόμενα παρεῖχεν ἐμπορεύεσθαι τοῖς πλέουσι, τὰ τε ἀπὸ θαλάττης τοῖς ἠπειρώταις ἀναγκαῖα — ἀνέπεμπεν εἰς τὴν ἄνω γῆν.

[5] *Indolent.*] Such seems to be the true sense of κακοὺς, which is little understood by the commentators. The Latin translators avoid the difficulty, by rendering word for word. Hobbes and Smith, venturing upon interpretation, take it of *erroneous judgment*, which is nothing to the purpose. It is strange none should have seen that, as κακὸς is often used in the sense of *ignavus*, so it *may*, and the context requires that it should be taken in the figurative sense, *dull, listless, indolent, indifferent, uninterested.* A similar expression occurs in Eurip. Elect. 374. πονηρῷ χρήσεται κροτῇ; and in 1 Corinth. 10, 15. ὡς φρονίμοις λέγω· κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ὃ φῶμι.

[6] *Come to their own doors.*] So Juvenal, "Tua res agitur," &c. Mitford *paraphrases* thus: "Ultimately thus we are all equally interested in the matter on which we are going to decide; differing more in regard to the time when we may expect the evil to fall upon us, than the degree in which it will affect us."

[7] *Tranquillity of peace.*] So Hom. Od. φ. 598. ἡ σύχιον εἰρήνην.

[8] *Happened to be formed against.*] Literally, to meet with. For though Bekker, from several M.SS., edits τυχόντων, I agree with Goeller in retaining the common reading. My reason is, not only that it yields a better sense, but that it is far easier to account for it than for the other. Certainly the

worse-advised ones: and yet more are there which, though seemingly well-advised[9], have encountered disgrace, and come to nought. For no one displays equal activity in executing, as confidence[10] in meditating, plans; but we form our counsels in security; in carrying them into effect we, amidst the terror which surrounds us, fall short of our previous confidence.

CXXI. "As to ourselves, it is from suffering much injury and many grievances, that we now have recourse to arms[1]; and when we have avenged ourselves of our foes, we shall, in due season, lay them down. Success will, on many accounts, be likely to attend us, as being superior both in numbers and military skill, and as yielding a uniform obedience to orders.[2]

Scholiast read *τυχοντα*. On the *sentiment* compare Pind. Pyth. 8, 103–9. and the Schol., as also Thucyd. 5, 102. and Herod. 7, 4.

[9] *Though seemingly well advised.*] The words of the Scholiast, *εὐβούλων τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντα* are not meant to *explain*, but to *supply* what is wanting in the sentence. And Hobbes has adopted the clause in his version. But the method of the Scholiast is too bold. Our author, perhaps, did not intend so exact a *parisosis*, nor is the clause necessary to the sense.

[10] *For no one — confidence.*] Such seems to be the sense. The *ὁμοῖα* is for *ὁμοίως*; as in Eurip. Hec. 402. and fragm. Alcm. 8. And the *καὶ* is to be referred to *ὁμ.*, both being equivalent to *pariter ac*, as 7, 28. The *πίστει* is well explained by the Scholiast *θάρσει*, though very incorrectly by Goeller, "propter fiduciam." The commentators compare 1, 141. With the *ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται* I would compare 1, 84. *ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι*.

The latter part of the sentence is misapprehended by all the commentators. *Μετὰ δέους* (which indeed is *omitted* by Goeller) is rendered *cum metu*, or *præ metu*, "through the prevalence of fear," as Smith renders. But this would not be true of a really courageous man. Besides, as there is an antithesis between *μετὰ ἀσφαλείας* and *μετὰ δέους*; and as the former has reference to the *circumstances* which surround the persons in question, so must the latter; and *δέους* may very well denote "things which are calculated to inspire terror;" as in Herodian ap. Steph. Thes. in v. *οὐδέ τι δέος ἦν ἀπὸ βρεττανίας*. At *ἐλλείπομεν* the Scholiast supplies *πράξεως*. But this is too bold. I would supply, from the context, *ὡς ἐνεθυμεῖτο*. In rendering *δοξάζομεν*, "form our counsels," I have followed the Scholiast. It signifies literally, "we form our opinions and projects."

[1] *Have recourse to arms.*] Or, "are roused to war." Literally, "rouse up a war." So the Latin *excitare, suscitare bellum*. A somewhat too poetical expression, borrowed, as the commentators tell us, from the Homeric *ἔγειρε δὲ φύλοπιν αἰνήν*. Yet, as they might have observed, it is sometimes found not only in vehement declamation, but in plain prose; as Polyb. l. 15, 1, 2. *ἐγείρειν τὸν πόλεμον*; Xenoph. *εἰ πόλεμος ἐγερθείη*; and Hipp. 1, 19. *ἦν πόλεμος ἐγειρῆται*. The *ἐγείρειν στρατίαν* cited by Gottl. is of another kind; and the phrase *ἐγείρειν* is *not*, as he reckons it, equivalent to *bellum inferre*, but a much stronger expression.

[2] *A uniform — orders.*] i. e. being under an uniform discipline which

Then as to a *navy*, in which their strength consists, we shall soon be able to provide one, both from the means [3] which we severally possess, and from the wealth [4] laid up at Delphi and Olympia: for by borrowing this, we may be able, by the offer of higher pay, to draw away their foreign seamen.[5] Indeed

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extends to *all*. Such is I conceive, the sense, which has been strangely misunderstood by the *translators* (for the *commentators* take no notice of the passage). Hobbes renders, "all of one fashion;" Smith, "we advance with uniformity." And so Mitford understands it of *unanimous zeal*. But these intepretations are alike inadmissible. The one I have adopted springs naturally from the words, and is both agreeable to the context, and to what we know of the Peloponnesian discipline. See l. 2, 11. s. f. which passage is the best commentary on the present one. That ἶέναι εἰς τὰ παραγγελόμενα is to be understood of *obedience* to *orders*, is clear from 3, 55. ἶέναι δὲ ἐς τὰ παραγγελόμενα εἰκὸς ἦν προθύμως. So also Appian, 2, 80, 24. παρήνεσεν ἑτοίμους ἐς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εἶναι; and 2, 246, 11. ὀξέως ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα χωροῦντες.

In thus touching on the prompt obedience to orders which extended to every class of a Peloponnesian army, the orator seems to advert to the *want* of it in the Athenian forces, where the influence of democracy often made men as disobedient in the field as they were tumultuary in the *agora*.

[3] *Means.*] Hobbes and Smith wrongly understand it of *wealth* and *competent stores;* alike at variance with the sense of οὐσίας, and with the positive testimony of Archidamus, supra c. 80. fin. where speaking of money, he says: πλέον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν, καὶ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν, οὔτε ἑτοίμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φέρομεν. nay with what almost immediately follows the present passage. Certain it is that οὐσία only signifies the *substance* or *means* which any one possesses, be it more or less.

[4] *Wealth, &c.*] "From this passage" observes Mitf. "and some following ones (l. 1. c. 143. and l. 2. c. 9.) that through some revolution, not particularly mentioned by Thucydides, but probably a consequence of the thirty years' truce, not only Delphi was again brought under Lacedæmonian influence, but the Phocian people were gained to the Lacedæmonian interest; or, which would operate to the same purpose, were put under oligarchical government." To which I would add, that the temple at Olympia would be at the command of Lacedæmon, the Elians, the guardians of it, being in their confederacy. It must be remembered, that the temples were the great *national banks* of Greece, where alone money, or valuable property could be deposited in safety, and from whence it was allowed for the guardian nation of each to take what was indispensably necessary for urgent occasions, so that the money, or value were faithfully repaid. Such appears both from the present passage, and especially from 2, 13. where Pericles enumerating the *ways and means* (as we term it) of the state, reckons up even the ἀναθήματα and the ἱερὰ σκέυη, the χρήματα ἱερῶν and even the gold about the colossal statue of Minerva. Then he uses expressions which show the *occasions* and *conditions* of this application of sacred property; namely, χρησαμένους δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ, ἔφη, χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστῆσαι πάλιν.

[5] *Foreign seamen.*] The orator, here, evidently speaks of *freemen*, though there is reason to think that the Athenian fleet was in a great degree manned with *slaves*. Who these foreign seamen were, we are not told; but they were plainly not Greeks, but Barbarians, enlisted from all the many maritime countries with which the Athenians had such extensive

the force of the Athenians is rather purchased and mercenary, than native [or self-derived]. Ours will be less liable to such a disadvantage; its strength consisting rather in persons than property. If, too, they lose but a single sea-fight, they are, in all probability, utterly subdued[6]: but should they successfully resist us[7], we, on our part, can take a longer time in which to exercise ourselves in nautical practice — and when once we have attained an *equality*[8] of *skill*, our *courage*[9] will surely secure us the victory. For *this* advantage, which we possess by nature, can never become theirs by instruction; whereas the superiority which they now possess by knowledge, we may remove by practice. And in order to provide means for these purposes, we must raise contributions: for hard indeed[10] it were if their confederates should not be backward to pay contributions, though for the enslavement of themselves; and we should scruple to expend our money in order to avenge ourselves on our enemies — in order to be ourselves saved — and not to be deprived of that very property, and withal have it used as a means of doing us mischief.

CXXII. "Other expedients of war, too, are in our power — the exciting of their allies to revolt[1] (which will be the

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commercial connections, both the Euxine, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Africa, Italy, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and Gaul.

[6] *Utterly subdued.*] Because (as the Scholiast subjoins,) they have no strength at land to repair defeats at sea; whereas if we be conquered at sea, we can repair the loss by our strength at land.

[7] *Successfully resist us.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of *ἀντίσχοιεν*, which is ill rendered by Hobbes and Smith, *hold out, continue the contest*, a sense not agreeable to what follows. The expression seems to be an Attic euphemism for "should be worsted," which sense is required by the context. Mitford, however, has not ill paraphrased it by, "should that not be immediately obtained."

[8] *Attained an equality.*] Literally, placed our skill on an equality with theirs.

[9] *Courage.*] i. e. *superior* courage, to which the Peloponnesians always laid claim. The *δήπου*, which is rendered *certe, surely*, must yet be regarded as expressing not absolute certainty. And so, sometimes, the Latin *utique*. Indeed *δήπου* often means no more than *opinor*. See Hoog. de Part. 158. seq.

[10] *Hard indeed.*] Literally, "otherwise it were hard." The *ἤ* is for *εἰ δὲ μή*, a very rare use.

[1] *Exciting — revolt.*] Hobbes and Smith wrongly render, "a revolt of their allies;" whereas *ἀπόστασις* ought to be taken in an *active* sense, as its verb *ἀφίστημι* often is.

most effectual means of withdrawing the revenues from which they derive their strength), and the erecting of fortresses in their territory [2], together with many other methods, such as no one can now foresee: for least of all does war proceed on any determinate [3] or specific plans, but rather of itself it contrives, according to the occasion, what is to be done; wherein he who engages in it with the best regulated temper [4], is the surest of success; while he who wants that controul over himself, is very likely to fail of it. Let us consider, too, that if indeed there were differences to each of us against equally-

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[2] *Erecting of fortresses, &c.*] The syntax is here to be referred to that rule by which verbals take the case of their verb. The force of the terms ἐπιτειχίζειν, ἐπιτείχισμα, and ἐπιτειχισμὸς is learnedly illustrated by Hemsterh. on Lucian Nigr. c. 20. with the ὁδοὶ τοῦ πολέμου just before Gottleb. compares Tacit. Ann. 2, 5. *præliorum vias.*

This expedient was afterwards tried, and not unsuccessfully, by the erection of Decelia. But it would have been little effectual, had not the Athenians so weakened themselves by rash and Quixotic foreign expeditions as to leave too few to defend their home territories. Hobbes indeed remarks, that "though this be here said in the person of a Corinthian, yet it was never thought on by any of that side, till Alcibiades put it into their heads, when he revolted from his country." If so, there would thus be a sort of *anachronism.* But such is not the case. It is, indeed, very possible, that the Lacedæmonians had never thought of building a fort at *Decelia* till it was suggested to them by Alcibiades. Yet it is not improbable that they had before had thoughts of the thing in a general way. And as to this being put into the mouth of a Corinthian, I must take exception to that expression; for from the explicit declarations of our historian, supra c. 22. (on which see the notes,) we may very well suppose that such a suggestion was *really* now made by the Corinthians.

[3] *Determinate,* ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς.] Abresch compares Procop. B. P. 2, 26. ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις. He might have more appositely adduced Eurip. Hipp. 461. χρῆν σ' ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, &c. Plutarch Cress. 2. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τετράγμενα σιτεῖται κατὰ τὸν Ἀρκίδαμον. (where, however, the writer's memory deceived him,) Procop. p. 78, 12. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἐδόκει χωρεῖν. Malchus ap. Corp. Byz. 1, 116. D. ἐν νῷ βάλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον οὔτε ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς εἰωθότα χωρεῖν. Also Agath. καὶ τις ἀγνώσειεν ἂν ὡς τὰς τῶν πολέμων τροφὰς (I read τροπὰς), οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς ἀναγκῆς, (I would read ἀναγκῃ), συμβαίνειν.

[4] *With the best, &c.*] The εὐοργήτως is ill rendered by Haack, *modica irâ impulsus,* as ὀργισθεὶς by Portus "qui irascitur." There is no peculiar notion of *anger,* but, in a general way, *passionateness,* or the ill regulation of the temper. And εὐοργ. is well explained by the Schol. εὐτρόπως. He also truly adds, that ὀργὴ signifies ὁ τρόπος, *the temper.* It is strange that the commentators should have overlooked the Hesychian gloss εὐόργητος. ὁ τῇ ὀργῇ εὖ χρώμενος; and that they should not have noticed that εὐοργησία occurs in Eurip. Bacch. 641, and Hipp. 1042. and is explained by the Schol. πραότητι. where see Monk. The ὀργισθεὶς is rendered by Bauer, "qui vehementius et festinantius et cupidius in bello versatur, zu heitzig," too hotheaded. So the προπετεῖς at 2 Timoth. 3, 4.

matched [5] adversaries, concerning boundaries of territory, that might be borne.

" But now — the Athenians are a match for us altogether, and moreover, separately, they are an *overmatch.* So that unless we, jointly and collectively, by every tribe and every city, resist them, they will, without trouble [6], overcome us when taken separately. And *defeat*, remember, *defeat* (grating as it may sound to your ears) carries with it nought but *open slavery* [7] : which to be *brought into doubt* were disgraceful [8] to Peloponnesus — that so many states should suffer under the oppression of one! Wherein we shall either seem to suffer deservedly, or to endure it through cowardice, and thus manifestly appear degenerated from our forefathers, who gave liberty to Greece; whereas we, alas! we do not secure it for ourselves, but suffer a tyrant state [9] to establish itself among us, though we think it right to depose monarchs [10] in any single city. We are, I say, at a loss to conceive [11] how such

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[5] *Equally matched.*] That such is the sense of *ἀντιπάλους* (as at 1, 142. and often) is clear from the sentence following. And yet Smith renders it *foes;* though that mistake is trifling compared to the one just after, where he renders *οἰστὸν ἦν* " there would be need of perseverance," and Gail, " il sauroit se defendre." Both these translators seem to have been led into error by Hobbes, who renders, " we must undergo them." But they might have avoided it, by consulting the Schol. and Portus; though indeed it is one of the tritest idioms of the language.

[6] *Without trouble.*] Smith renders " without a struggle," erroneously referring it to the *Peloponnesians.* I would observe that the passage is imitated by Agath. p. 83, 6.

[7] *Carries, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Joseph. 792, 5. *τὴν δὲ ἀποτιμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο φέρουσαν ἢ ἀντικρὺς δουλείαν ἐπιφέρειν λέγοντες.*

[8] *Which, &c.*] So Herod. 7, 10, 38. *καίτοι λόγω ἀκοῦσαι δεινὸν,* &c. Hence may be emended and illustrated Theophyl. Sim. p. 124. D. *τὸ νικᾷν ὑπερένδοξον, καὶ τὸ τῆς δευτέρας* (I conjecture *ἕτερας,* as in Thucyd. 3, 49.) *τυχης βαρὺ καὶ λεγόμενον.* And hence may be illustrated the force of a passage of Soph. Trach. 250. *τοῦ λόγου δ' οὐ χρὴ φθονεῖν — προσεῖναι.* With the *ἀντικρὺς δουλείαν* I would compare (besides Joseph just cited) Plut. C. Gracch. *ἀντικρὺς ἐχθρὰν.*

[9] *Tyrant state.*] On this *adjectival* use of *τύραννος* I have much to say, which I must reserve for my edition.

[10] *Depose monarchs.*] i. e. *tyrants.* For *μονάρχος* is often used in this invidious sense. That the Lacedæmonians were ever averse to tyrants we find from 1, 18. The Corinthians had long put down tyrants, as indeed had the rest of the Peloponnesian states.

[11] *At a loss to conceive.*] Such seems to be the sense of *οὐκ ἴσμεν,* which has long been misunderstood. I was formerly of opinion that it might signify, " we are not aware."

conduct can escape [12] the imputation of these three most pernicious of faults — *stupidity* [13], or *cowardice*, or *neglect*. For from these you are assuredly not exempt, while you are hastening towards that disposition which hath been so injurious to many — *contempt of your enemy;* and which, from its having brought failure on many, has received the opposite denomination of *folly*.[14]

CXXIII. "But what avails it to blame the past, farther than may be of service to the business which occupies the present? It is ours, by remedying the present, to labour for the welfare of the future [1]: for by toils to acquire virtue and honour [2], is a peculiar and hereditary maxim of our country. Nor ought you to change this custom, though you

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[12] *Escape.*] Literally, "be liberated from." An elegant use of ἀπήλλακται, on which I shall further treat at 3, 65. On the expression *these three*, Wasse observes, that it is a favourite one with our author; and he gives examples from Prov. 25, 3. Lucret. l. 5. init. Thucyd. 6, 73. Aristoph. Nub. Demosth. Cor., and 1 Cor. 13, 13. To which I add Aristid. t. 2, 68 and 249.

[13] *Stupidity.*] i. e. in not perceiving that we are injured. So the τὸ ἀναισθητὸν, supra c. 69. which see. On the first and third the Corinthians treated in their former oration.

[14] *Folly.*] The point of this wit cannot be represented in a foreign language; and, indeed, to say the truth, it seems a somewhat frigid conceit, though it appears to have been not unused by the orators of that time. One or two similar ones have been before remarked. Matth. Gr. Gr. paraphrases the καταφρονήσει, *contempt of the enemy*, and, because this is connected with an advantageous opinion of oneself, *self-conceit*. Among the many passages which I could cite, the following one may suffice: Dionys. Hal. p. 286, 39. σωφρονέστερον ἡγοῦνται καὶ διὰ κενῆς φοβηθέντας αὐτὴν φυλάξασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονήσει ἐπιτρέψαντας ἀναπαπῆναι.

[1] *But what avails — future.*] A sentence which, for its perpetual truth and importance, deserves to be written in letters of gold. Ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν is explained by the Scholiast προσθεῖναι τοῖς πόνοις. But that is mistaking the sense of επι, which is better expressed by Hesych. ἐπικαταμύειν. ἢ ἐπιπονεῖν, where the editors adopt the conjecture of Abresch, ἐπικατάμενειν. But though mild, it does not give the right sense. I believe the true reading to be ἐπικάμνειν, which word occurs in Ælian and the later writers. The present construction of ἐπιταλ. may be illustrated from Joseph. 788, 3. ἐπιτ. τοῖς ἔργοις.

[2] *Virtue and honour.*] Such seems to be the full sense of ἀρετάς, which is not so much for δόξαν ἀρετῶν (like the δοξάν ἀρετῆς μελετῶσιν at c. 11.) as a sort of Hendiadys. Gail renders it, "les fruits de la vertu." This is a very rare use, though the commentators neither remark it, nor give any examples. The only one known to me is l. 2, 45. ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς περὶ ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ.

be now somewhat advanced in wealth [3] and honour. For it is not just that the advantages which were obtained in penury, should be lost in affluence [4]. Nay, rather does it behove us to proceed (as we are in many respects justified in doing) with alacrity to the war; especially from the oracle of the god, and the assistance which he hath promised to render us; and also, since we shall have the whole of the rest of Greece [5] to second us, partly from a principle of fear, and partly from that of interest.[6] Nor will ye be the first to break the treaty (which, indeed, even the God, by recommending the war, considers as violated [7]): nay, ye will rather redress the wrongs of that breach. For those are not the breakers of treaties who only repel injury, but those who are the first aggressors.[8]

CXXIV. "Seeing, therefore, that to enter into the war is on every account conducive to your interest [1]; since we unite

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[3] *Wealth.*] Hobbes renders, *honour*. I suppose because the Peloponnesians are known to have been poor. But the wealth here meant is only *comparative;* i. e. in comparison with what their forefathers possessed. In this they made, it seems, some advances. It is, however, not improbable that, as πλοῦτος (like our *wealth*, in old English,) signified general prosperity, (so in our Liturgy, "grant him in health and wealth long to live,") so it may have that sense here.

[4] *Affluence.*] This, like the *wealth* just before mentioned, was only comparative; though by the use of the term περιουσία (literally *superabundance*), it is hinted that their wealth was only the possession of *something* over and above their wants. And πλούσιος is well explained by Hesych. περιουσίας κύριος.

[5] *Whole of Greece.*] This is surely a great hyperbole, unless the orator might suppose that the Athenian allies would speedily all desert them.

[6] *Partly, &c.*] The smaller states (especially those bordering on Attica) would be actuated by the former, and the greater ones by the latter, as hoping to share in the spoils of Attica. There seems especial reference to Bœotia.

[7] *As violated.*] παραβέβασθαι. It is strange that Suidas should direct this to be taken in an *active* sense. As to his words following, πάνυ ἀκολούθως, it is not surprising that they should have perplexed Port., Duker, and Kuster, since they are *corrupt*, but so as to admit of easy emendation. I read ἀνακολούθως, i. e. contra usum. Thus the enigma is resolved. But the lexicographer is mistaken in his first principle; and our Scholiast seems to be in the right.

[8] *For those, &c.*] So Dionys. Hal. 435, 1. s. f. μὴ δόξωμεν λύειν τὰς ὁμολογίας πρότεροι, γνωτωσαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄρχοντες ἀμυνόμενοι.

[1] *Seeing therefore, &c.*] Such is the sense of καλῶς ὑπαρχον. So καλῶς is often used with εἶναι and ἔχειν both in Thucyd. and the best writers.

in persuading you to it; since, too, it is the most stable of all dependencies, when the interests of states and individuals are the same.[2] Delay not, then, to render assistance to the Potidæans, who are Dorians besieged by Ionians (the contrary of what was wont to be), and to vindicate[3] the liberty of the other Grecian states. For it is a case that admits of no delay; nor is it fitting that *those* should be suffering injury while waiting [for assistance[4]], and *these* (if we shall be known to have met together, and not ventured to avenge ourselves) ere long to experience the same fate. No — confederates, but, considering that matters are brought to extremity, and moreover that what has been said suggests the best counsel[5] for the emergency, *decree the war*, not deterred by the prospect of immediate danger, but anticipating the sweets of that longer continuance of peace which will result from it.[6] For as by war peace is the more firmly assured and established; so to avoid war for the sake of quiet, involves not less of danger. And finally, being of opinion that the tyrant state set up in Greece, is set up alike to the peril of all; threatening the present subjugation of some, and meditating the future enslavement

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[2] *Since, too, &c.*] With the common reading and version of the words I must confess myself not satisfied, as yielding a feeble sense, and ταῦτα a frigid repetition. I therefore read ταὐτὰ, from the excellent MS. A., which confirms the conjecture of Reiske. And this has been very properly edited by Goeller, with whom I agree that thus we have a *sententia universalis*. Yet it is meant to be especially applied in the present case. *Sometimes* it happens that the interests of the state and of private persons do not coincide; and in that case Pericles ap. Thucyd. l. 2, 60. has supplied us with an excellent political maxim.

To advert to a philological point, εἴπερ here expresses what Hoogev. de Part. p. 190. calls the *conditio sine qua non*, and is rendered *quandoquidem*, Anglicè, *if, indeed, as is the case*.

[3] *Vindicate.*] Literally, go after, seek to acquire. Not *restore*, as some translators render, and *fetch again*, as Smith.

[4] *Those should — assistance.*] Such is clearly the sense, though the translators have not seen it. The ἐνδέχεται has a double meaning; and περιμ. is used absolutely; though the sense requires something to be supplied from the context.

[5] *And that what — counsel.*] Such seems to be the full sense of καὶ ἅμα τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, in which, perhaps, from modesty, the full meaning is not expressed.

[6] *But anticipating, &c.*] Such seems to be the complete sense. In passages like this, where the meaning is rather briefly hinted at than fully evolved, a paraphrastical version can alone effect the object of all translation.

of all — let us go forth, and *down with it.*[7] Thus may we ourselves pass the remainder of our lives in secure independence, and also restore freedom to our already enslaved countrymen."

CXXV. So spoke the Corinthians. Then the Lacedæmonians, having heard the opinions of all, put to vote the whole of the assembled states in order [1], both the greater and smaller; and the majority voted for war. But though war was thus decreed, it was not possible, for want of preparation, for them immediately to set about it. It was therefore decided that each state should provide itself with whatsoever was necessary[2], and that there should be no delay. Yet scarcely was a year consumed in these needful preparations; for before that period they proceeded to invade Attica, and to openly carry on the war.

CXXVI. In the mean time, however, they sent ambassadors to the Athenians, charged with various criminations, in order that, if they should not hearken to their demands, there might be as strong a pretext as possible for going to war. And first, the Corinthians, by their ambassadors, required of the Athenians that they should drive away the pollution of the goddess.[1]

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[7] *And down with it.*] Such is the real meaning of παραστησώμεθα, which is oddly rendered by Hobbes, "let us bring it into order by the war." Παραστήσασθαι often signifies to *subdue*, both in Thucyd. and other writers, as 3, 35. 4, 79. So also *prosternere* in Latin; as Cic. Phil. 14, 10. Hostem prostravit, fudit, occidit.

[1] *In order.*] It seems by this that the suffrages were delivered in order, according to the rank of each state. And from the last words it should appear that sometimes the inferior states were not permitted to vote.

[2] *Necessary.*] This same phrase ἐκπορίζεσθαι τὰ προσφορὰ τῇ στρατίᾳ occurs in Herod. 7, 20. A similar use of τὰ προσφορὰ is found in Æschyl. Choeph. 699. where see Dr. Blomfield.

[1] *Drive away —goddess.*] i. e. banish those who had been guilty of the pollution of the temple of Minerva, and had thereby incurred an anathema, or excommunication, which, according to the invariable rule of Pagan theology, adhered even to such persons' *posterity* (as was also the case in the Mosaic law), at least until complete atonement had been made. Now *that*, it was urged, had, in this case, never been rendered. And the pretence for this demand was, a fear lest the unexpiated pollution should draw down the vengeance of the goddess in some calamity which might affect all Greece; to prevent which, the Lacedæmonians, as assertors of the common welfare, demanded that the banishment should be made, and the contamination cleansed and expiated.

Now the pollution had been thus incurred: — There was one Cylon [2], an Athenian of old time, a victor in the Olympic games [3], a man of noble birth and considerable consequence. He had, moreover, married [4] a daughter of Theagenes, a Megarean, who was then tyrant of Megara. This Cylon, on consulting the oracle at Delphi, received the response [5], that on the most solemn festival of Jupiter he should seize the citadel. Wherefore, having received forces from Theagenes, and induced his friends to cooperate in the attempt, when the Peloponnesian Olympic games came on [6], he seized the citadel,

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The following digressions (as they are called, though, in fact, not such,) respecting Cylon, Pausanias, and Themistocles, are very celebrated. In the first of which our author relaxes from his usual severity and contortness, insomuch that the antients used to say that here the lion laughed.

On this story of Cylon, see also Herod. l. 5, 71. Plut. Sol. p. 84. A. and other authorities mentioned by Goeller, who also refers to Diog. Laert. 1, 110. and Corsini F. A. 3. pp. 64 and 72., and Duker, to the Scholiast on Aristoph. Eq. 443. To which I add Plut. de Serâ Numinis Vind., and also Pausan. 1, 28, 1., from whence we gather two particulars, his personal comeliness, and the kind of game at which he obtained the prize.

The commotion of Cylon took place in the forty-second Olympiad, or, as some say, the forty-ninth. Cylon had gained the prize in the thirtieth Olympiad, or, as some say, the thirty-fifth. Many may be inclined to prefer the *earlier* date of this attempt, because, as Palmer remarks, it seems little suitable to a man of sixty. But the workings of ambition are seldom over even at that age.

On comparing this narration with Herod. 5, 71. it appears plain that our historian had read Herodotus.

[2] *Cylon.*] Κύλων seems to be derived from κυλλὸς, *lame*. So the name *Claudius*. Not unfrequently, indeed, have names taken their origin from personal peculiarities. So *Longshanks* among our English kings, and Genghiz Khan, i. e. the *lame* Khan, among the Asiatic ones.

[3] *An Athenian, &c.*] Here there is a variation of reading. The chief difference is, that some copies place the Ὀλυμπιονίκης before the ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος; others, after it. The *latter* is adopted by the recent editors. Yet the former is defended by Herod. 5, 71. Nor will there be any difficulty, if the Ὀλ. be taken parenthetically. As to the notion of Benedict and Haack, that the text of Thucyd. has been corrupted by the scribes from Herod., it is very wild, and supposes more learning in the scribes than they possessed. It is more probable that the *contrary* alteration was made for *facility*.

[4] *Married.*] Here also Palmer fancies some inconsistency. But, in fact, there is none; for we are not told the *time* at which the marriage *took place*; nor can we say how long it might have been before his attempt.

[5] *Response.*] It should seem that he had been harbouring views and forming projects of political aggrandisement, and had been consulting the oracle as to the steps he should pursue.

[6] *Came on,* ἐπῆλθεν.] Goeller, indeed, (after Poppo) edits ἐπῆλθον. But, perhaps, there is no sufficient reason for the change; at least the vulg. was read by Liban., who, in his Orat. p. 85. A. thus imitates the passage:

with a view to usurp the tyranny. This period he had fixed on, as regarding it the greatest festival of Jupiter, and as supposing that it had some reference to *himself*, as having been a victor of the Olympic games. But whether this *greatest festival* spoken of was meant of one in Attica, or elsewhere, he had never considered, nor had the oracle declared[7]: for the Athenians, too, have a festival called the *Diasia*, which is said to be the greatest festival of Jupiter Milichius[8]; on which the city, in full concourse, offer up, many, not living victims, but the old country sacrifices.[9] Supposing, however,

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ἐφεστήκει τὰ Διασια. This use of ἐπέρχεσθαι is also found in Appian, t. 1, 752. ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς.

Here, the Scholiast observes, *Peloponnesian* is mentioned, because there were other Olympia both in Macedonia and at Athens. On which Duker refers to Spanheim on Morell. Epist. 1 and 5. pp. 14, 82, and 303.

[7] *Declared.*] It had probably been worded (as usual) with studied ambiguity. So Hobbes well remarks, "The oracles were always obscure, that evasion might be found to salve their credit; and whether they were the imposture of the devil, or of men, which is the more likely, they had no presention, nor secure wise conjecture of the future."

[8] *Milichius.*] Duker observes, that of this there is frequent mention in the antients, and it appears that not only at Athens, but elsewhere, the Jupiter Milichius was worshipped; also that the cognomen was given to other gods besides Jupiter.

[9] *In full concourse—sacrifices.*] There are few passages of our author on which more difficulties have been raised than this. Some have doubted the correctness of the reading; others have questioned the accuracy of the fact. Castellanus de festis Græc., referred to by Duker, endeavours to prove from Xen. Anab. 7, 8, 5. and Aristoph. Nub. 407. that bloody sacrifices were used in honour of Jupiter Milichius on the *Diasia*. But the former passage will only prove it of sacrifices to Jupiter Milichius *generally;* though no good reason can be imagined why such should not have been offered up also on the Diasia. The words of Aristoph. Διασίοισιν ὤπτων γαστέρα τοῖς συγγίνεσι are more decisive; for as to what Duker urges, that the roast-meat in question might have been sacrificed to *other* gods *on the Diasia*, or *to none at all*— that seems no very creditable way of evading the argument. It might as well be pretended respecting the kinds of food used on certain festivals in the Romish church, that the use of them, in any particular case, was no proof of the religious duty, because the persons, perhaps infidels, may have no regard to the festival. *Custom* is here all that is necessary to be supposed. Again, when Suidas in Διὸς κώδιον speaks of the skins of animals sacrificed to Jupiter Milichius, it is in vain urged by Duker, that these *might not be slain on the Diasia*. Such an argument is so evidently strained, as to merit no attention. Are we, then, to conclude that Thucyd. has been *mistaken*, or has written what is contrary to fact? Neither can well be supposed, and therefore some alteration of reading may with reason be thought of. Gyraldus read in a MS. οὐχ ἱερεῖα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ. But that is merely a conjecture, devoid of authority. The Scholiast, indeed, supplies us with one (for his words contain not an *explanation*, but only a *var. lect.*); namely, πανδημεὶ ἑορτάζουσι. θύουσι δὲ

that he had rightly discovered the sense of the oracle, he set himself about the enterprise. But the Athenians, on hearing

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πολλοί, &c. And this is adopted by Abresch and Hemsterh. on Lucian Timon 7., the latter of whom also reads ἀλλ' ἄγνα θύματα, which he supports from Pollux, 1, 26. But though Pollux evidently reads ἄγνα, yet it seems to have been from the margin, especially as it is found in *no one* MS.; which also is a sufficient argument against the former conjecture, it evidently savouring of alteration to get rid of a difficulty.

The words must, therefore, be left as they are, and our endeavours turned to remove the difficulty by change of punctuation or interpretation. And here I have nothing better to propose than that of Bredov., Haack, and Goeller, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα α. θ. ε. The πανδημεὶ and the πολλοὶ are, as they observe, inconsistent with each other. At θύουσι there is the usual ellipsis of ἄνθρωποι, like the Germ. *man*. In this, therefore, I must acquiesce; though I cannot but wish for some example of a similar idiom.

The ἱερεῖα were the animals sacrificed, the bloody sacrifices. See Schweigh. on St. Thes. 4416. A. And from the evident opposition in the next clause, θύματα may very well be supposed to mean the *unbloody sacrifices*, consisting of the fruits of the earth, or some preparations from them. Pollux, indeed, understands by θυμ. the ἀρώματα and θυμιάματα, such as σμύρναν, λιβάνωτον. But though such were in use in sacrifices (thus I find from Athen. p. 3. that the inside of the victim was sometimes stuffed with those), yet they would hardly be called θύματα, not to mention that the use of θύμα for θυμίαμα is confined to the *Ionic* dialect. Besides, I suspect that Pollux had not in his copy ἐπιχώρια, which is by no means favourable to that sense of θύματα. I therefore acquiesce in the explanation offered by the Scholiast, who takes the θύματα (or rather the θύματα ἐπιχώρια, for so the Scholium should be headed) to denote certain cakes, or paste figures formed after the similitude of animals. On which curious, but obscure, subject the commentators are silent. The following illustrations may, therefore, be acceptable. Pausan. 10, 8, 5. and 7, 24, 2. makes mention of these πέμματα ἐπιχώρια in this sense; and especially at 8, 2, 1. Διά τε ὠνόμασεν Ὕπατον πρῶτος, καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχὴν, τούτων μὲν ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲν θῦσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάνου καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι. See Harpocr. in πέλανος. These πέμματα are also mentioned in other passages which throw some light on the *origin* and *purpose* of this kind of sacrifice. So Herod. 2, 47. speaking of the sacrifice of animals to Luna and Bacchus (i. e. the Isis and Osiris of the Egyptians) says, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου, σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὗς, καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας, θύουσι; also Plut. Lucull. 498. A. C. 10. οἱ Κυζικήνοι ἠπόρουν βόος, πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ σταιτίνην πλάσαντες τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησαν; Appian, 1, 752. ἐπελθούσης δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἐν ᾗ θύουσι βοῦν μέλαιναν, οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες, ἔπλαττον ἀπὸ σίτου. Æsop. Fab. λς. ἐπειδὴ βοῶν ἠπόρει στεατίνους ποίησας βόας, ἐπὶ τοῦ βώμον κατέκαυσεν. Bekker, too, refers to a passage of Suidas, where paste oxen are mentioned.

This custom, I suspect, was very antient, and introduced into Greece by the Cadmæan colony from Egypt. And probably it had been from time immemorial in use in the east, since it seems to have been carried from thence into the earliest of all oriental colonies, the one to America. See Humboldt's Researches into the Monuments of America, vol. 1. p. 196. speaks of these πέμματα as in use among the Mexican idols made of the flour of kneaded maize. And so Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 31, 25. says, εἴδωλα ποιοῦντας ἀνδρείκελα. Hence we may see the force of ἐπιχώρια here, which

of it, ran to arms en masse out of the country to oppose it, and taking post before the citadel, besieged them.[10] The time, however, growing long[11], the Athenians, worn out[12] by the labours of the siege, most of them departed, committing the care of the guard to the nine archons, and giving them full authority[13] to manage the whole business as they should judge best. For at that time the archons administered most of the state affairs. Then the party with Cylon, being closely

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does not mean *peculiar to the country*, as Hobbes and Smith render, nor *usual in the country*, as Goeller, but *such as the old inhabitants of the country used*, and which were probably still in use among the rustics, or the old fashioned and more religious, especially of the poorer sort. For such πέμματα were held to be as agreeable to the gods as sacrifices of animals. Nor is the above sense of ἐπιχ. unfrequent in our author. That in the earliest ages the fruits of the earth alone were offered, we have the authority of holy writ; and Kistem. refers, as testimonies of this, to Porphyr. de Abstin. 2, 6. and Pausan. 1, 26.

[10] *Taking post, besieged them.*] The terms προσκαθίζεσθαι and πολιορκεῖν are properly only applicable to a *place*, as 1, 134, and 5, 61. And βοηθ. is used simply in the sense *run to arms*; as 3, 22. βοηθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φυλακῆς. Yet, in both these passages, the sense of *succouring* is also *implied*.

The γινώσκειν, a little before, signifies *discern*, as 1, 132., and Æschyl. Agam. 1538. ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ἔργον.

[11] *Growing long.*] Literally, being drawn out into length, or protracted. For such is the sense (and not, as Bauer renders, *accedente*). So Lucian, t. 1. 356. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐς μήκιστον ἐπεγίνετο. The var. lect. here, ἐγγινομένου, is preferred by Hemst.; and the phrase is elegant (on which see my note on l. 8, 9.), but it rather denotes the *intervention* than the *protraction* of time. As to γενομένου, which Gottleb. says is more frequent, that would not here have any propriety; nor is it frequent. As to the passages of Herod. 1, 73. and 2, 175. adduced by him, I suspect that both are corrupt. In the former, for χρόνου δὲ γενομένου I conjecture χρόνου δ' ἐγγενομένου; and in the latter, for ἐκγεγονότος I would read ἐγγ., from the conjecture of Schweigh.

[12] *Worn out.*] *Attriti.* So 4, 61. τετρυχωμένος, "worn out with labour," and 7, 28. τετρυχωμένοι πολέμῳ. And so ἄχθεσθαι τῇ προσεδρίᾳ, which very frequently occurs in Dio Cass. and Procopius. Προσεδρεία is, indeed, a very strong term, on which see Eurip. Or. 93, and the Schol.

We may suppose the fatigues of the siege, by what Aristoph. Lys. 282. says, of a similar siege of one who had seized the citadel: οὕτως ἐποχιόρκησ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρ' ἐφ' ἕπτα καὶ δέκ' ἀσπίδων, πρὸς πύλαις καθεύδων, where by the ἕπτα καὶ δεκ' ἀσπίδων is meant, that the line was seventeen deep (see Thucyd. 5, 68.); by which we may judge of the care taken that no one should break through and escape.

[13] *Full authority.*] But not, as Perizon. on Ælian V. H. 13. (referred to by Duker) has shown, so as to be subject to give no account of the proceedings to the people. He also observes, that Thucyd. says τότε, because afterwards the matter was much altered, the power of the archons being, in many respects, much diminished by Solon.

besieged, were in a miserable condition[14] through scarcity both of bread and water. Whereupon Cylon and his brother privily made their escape out; but the rest, being now hard pressed, and some even dying of famine, went and seated themselves as suppliants[15] at the altar in the citadel. But the Athenians who were entrusted with the guard of the place, when they saw them dying[16] in the temple, induced them to rise[17] and leave their asylum, stipulating[18] that no harm should be done them. Then they led them away, and put them to death; not sparing even some who, by the way, took refuge at the altars of the venerable goddesses. And from hence they[19] and those descended from them were pro-

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[14] *Miserable condition.*] Such is the sense of φλαύρως ἔχειν. So our author in Athenæus: ὁρα νῦν — τὴν ἀλώπεχ' ὥς φλαύρως ἐκοινώνησεν ἀετῷ τότε. And Aristoph. Nub. 1303. φ. πράγματα.

[15] *Seated themselves, &c.*] For that was the posture adopted by those who took refuge at an altar. See Eurip. Heracl. 33., Andr. 44., and Æschyl. Suppl. 232.

[16] *Dying.*] i. e. ready to die; for they would not wait till some were dead, since it was their purpose to prevent the pollution which was thereby supposed to be occasioned to a sacred place. See 2, 53.

[17] *Induced them to rise.*] It is strange that some of the translators should understand it of ordering and *forcing* them to rise; since force is inconsistent with the *condition* just after mentioned (though that is omitted by Smith), and which is recorded by Herod. 5, 71., and also by Plutarch Solon, c. 12., who, moreover, adds a circumstance which illustrates the brief narration of our author; and proves that the suppliants did not so entirely rely on the faith of the Athenians, but adopted an expedient which seemed to give them still a hold on the protection of the goddess; namely, to fasten a long cord round the altar, and keep hold of it till they should come to some place of safety. The cord, however, broke when they had advanced as far as the altar of the venerable goddesses, on which (Plutarch adds) the Athenians rushed upon them, as if out of the protection of the goddess, and slew them; nay, even some who had reached the altar in question.

Ἀνίστημι is a vox solennis de hac re, as just after, c. 128. Soph. Œd. c. 276., and Joseph. p. 335, 8. Ἀπάγω is also an usual term of being led to execution; as 3, 68. See my note on Acts 12, 19.

[18] *Stipulating.*] This may seem not to agree with the accounts of Herod. and Plutarch, from whom it appears that they were to submit themselves to trial. But that is not inconsistent with the expression of Thucyd. It only supplies what the brevity of this account has left wanting. On the same principle, other discrepancies may be reconciled; as when Herod. says, καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη· οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι, we may supply τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, or τοῦ πράγματος, as 4, 164. Or, it may be rendered, "not being able to succeed in keeping it."

[19] *They.*] Not the Athenians generally (as Hobbes supposes), but only those who had perpetrated the deed, or had excited the others to its commission, as it was said the Alcmæonidæ had done.

nounced guilty of sacrilege towards the goddesses.[20] Wherefore the Athenians expelled these sacrilegious persons. Afterwards, too, Cleomenes[21], king of Lacedæmon, in conjunction with the Athenians (then labouring under civil commotion) likewise expelled them, driving out those who were alive, and even digging up and casting out of the borders the bones of those that were dead; yet they afterwards returned again, and some of their posterity are yet remaining in the city.

CXXVII. This pollution, then, the Lacedæmonians ordered to be purged, with this especial pretence of righting what was wrong towards the gods[1]; but chiefly knowing that Pericles, son of Xanthippus, was, by the mother's side, obnoxious[2] to it, and supposing that if he were exiled their business with the Athenians would be more easily brought to a prosperous termination.[3] However, they did not so much expect that he would suffer this, as they reckoned that they should thus involve him in calumny and reproach, as though the war were in some measure occasioned by his disaster.[4] For he was become the most powerful person of his time,

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20 *Guilty, &c.*] So Aristoph. Eq. 445. *α. τῆς Θεοῦ*, and Synes *α. τοῦ Θεοῦ*. So also Pausan. 7, 25. (on this very act) *ἐναγεῖς τῆς Θεοῦ*.

21 *Cleomenes, &c.*] On this circumstance see Herod. 5, 70, 72. And on casting out the bones of the dead, see Plutarch in Solon., both referred to by Duker. It appears, plainly, that the purging the pollution was then a mere pretence, employed by a faction to accomplish its purposes. Hence, when that faction lost its power, the reliques of the opposite one rallied, overpowered it, and recalled their exiled friends.

1 *Pretending, &c.*] I have adopted the punctuation of Kistem. and Hack, *ἐλαύνειν, δῆθεν*, &c. This is required by propriety; since *δῆθεν* (which has here the sense *forsooth*, implying pretence) can only be joined with *τιμωροῦντες*. Thucyd. here first mentions the pretended purpose of this order, and then the real aim.

2 *Obnoxious.*] Προσεχόμενον. Which is for *ἐνεχόμενον* or *ἔνοχον ὄντα*. And so an anonymous writer, ap. Steph. Thes. *αἵματι προσεχόμενος*. We may, therefore, very well dispense with Reiske's conjecture.

3 *Their business, &c.*] So Gail: ils comptoient obtenir plus aisement ce qu'ils voudroient des Athenians. The version of Hobbes and Smith is not permitted by the turn of the sentence, even if we were to read *προσχωρήσειν*; whereas *προχ.* is often so used, as 1, 109. and 3, 4. *οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστευον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προχωρήσειν*.

4 *Disaster.*] For none of the Athenians, of *any* party, could consider it otherwise than an accidental calamity, and not proceeding from any fault of his.

conducting things as he pleased in the administration of affairs; and he was in all things opposed to the Lacedæmonians, dissuading the Athenians from making any concessions, and urging them to the war.

CXXVIII. The Athenians, on their part, required of the Lacedæmonians that they should purge away the pollution occasioned by the affair at Tænarus.[1] For formerly the Lacedæmonians, having persuaded[2] some suppliants of the Helots to rise and leave the temple of Neptune at Tænarus, then took them, and put them to death. On which account, they suppose, the great earthquake at Sparta befel them. They ordered them to purge away also the pollution contracted to the temple of Minerva Chalcicœcus, which happened in the following manner, — After Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian, had been at first recalled by the Spartans from his government at the Hellespont, being brought to trial by them, he was acquitted, indeed, of the offences laid to his charge, but was no longer sent abroad by the state. Having, however, procured an Hermionian trireme[3] on his own private account and without any authority from the Lacedæmonians, he proceeds to the Hellespont, to cooperate, as he gave out, in the Grecian war, but, in fact, to negotiate matters with the king of Persia; which he had formerly essayed, aspiring after the monarchy of Greece. Now it was from the following circum-

[1] *Purge away, &c.*] i. e. banish those, or their posterity, who had been guilty of sacrilege at Tænarus.

[2] *Persuaded.*] Or, induced them by promises or conditions. See supra, 126. No. 13.

[3] *An Hermionian trireme.*] Hudson thinks that Ἑρμ. denotes the name of the ship, since the antients used to give names to their ships incribed on their prows. But though the *fact* be true, it seems here little to the purpose; not to say that Ἑρμ. would have been unlikely to have been the name of a Lacedæmonian trireme; or, if it had, it is difficult to conceive how Pausanias could have had it without the authority of the government.

In explaining Ἑρμ. by ἀπὸ Ἑρμιόνης πόλεως Λακωνικῆς, the Scholiast means a city in the Lacedæmonian confederacy, which Hermione was. It seems that some of these petty states, though they kept ships, seldom manned them; and it may be imagined that Pausanias had sufficient influence with the administration of that state, to procure the use of the ship in question. Indeed, it seems to have been thought by persons of distinction, unworthy of them to use any ship but a trireme. Thus, Alcibiades went on the first expedition to Sicily in his *own* trireme.

stance, first that he laid the king under an obligation, and thereby made a beginning of the whole transaction: — Having, on his first advance [4] to Byzantium, after departing from Cyprus, become master of the city, which had been occupied by the Medes and some relations and kinsfolk [5] of the king, who were taken in it; he then sends them off to the king, without the knowledge of the other allies, pretending [6] that they had made their escape. This affair he had transacted through the medium of Gongylus, an Eretrian, to whose charge he committed Byzantium and the prisoners. He had also sent Gongylus to him, bearing a letter, of which (as was afterwards discovered) these were the contents: — "Pausanias, the general of Sparta, wishing to oblige thee, sends thee back these prisoners of war. It is also my intention [7], if it meets with thy approbation, to espouse thy daughter, and make Sparta and the rest of Greece subject to thee. This I, moreover, account myself able to accomplish, with due cooperation and counsel on thy part. If, then, this proposal seemeth good to thee, send some trusty person to the coast, by whom we may in future hold our correspondence."

CXXIX. Such were the contents of the letter, which Xerxes approving of, sends off Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, to the sea-coast, and orders him to assume the government of

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[4] *First advance.*] Not *presentia*, as some render. On the above signification see Steph. Thes., to whose examples I add Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 40, 5.

[5] *Relations and kinsfolk.*] These terms, the Schol. remarks, differ. They must here comprehend relations both by consanguinity and affinity.

[6] *Pretending.*] Literally, "that they had escaped him." This construction of ἀποδ., with the accusative, is rare, and little noticed by the lexicographers. As the commentators make no remark on it, the following examples may be acceptable. Dionys. Hal. 70, 25. ἀποδράσω τοὺς ἄγοντας. Procop. p. 11, 24. ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξυμπάντας ἀφῆκεν ἴέναι· τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτὸν.

[7] *My intention.*] In the change of person here, there is nothing at which the critics need have stumbled, conjecturing ἀποπέμπω. See Abresch. Dilue. in loco, and the note, supra 1, 1. Of the γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, in the sense above assigned, I would adduce examples from Appian, t. 2. 757, 31. Arrian, E. A. 1, 1, 10. and 3, 19, 2. 4, 3, 4. 5, 14, 2. Zosim. 1, 55, 1. Philostr. V. A. l. 2, 21. The σὲ ἀρέσκει is old Attic, which also occurs in Eurip. Or. 204. οὐ γὰρ μ' ἀρέσκει.

the satrapy of Dascylitis[1], dismissing Megabates, who had the government before; and withal charged him with a letter[2] in answer, to transmit[3] as speedily as possible to Pausanias at Byzantium, shewing the seal[4], and whatever he should desire him to do respecting his own affairs, to despatch it with all diligence and fidelity. Then he, proceeding thither, performed all other things as he was commanded, and delivered the letter. Now the king's reply was as follows:— "Thus saith king Xerxes to Pausanias. On account of the persons whom thou hast sent safe across the sea to me from Byzantium, a benefit is laid up[5] in our house, registered for

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[1] *Dascylitis.*] On this satrapy Duker refers to Steph. Byz., and Goeller to Strabo, p. 861. The limits of this satrapy, he thinks, were about Antandrus. And I had myself long ago formed the same opinion. The satrapy took its name from a city in Bithynia, called Δασκύλιον, not far from which is a lake, called, in D'Anville's map, Lacus Ascanii, the same, I imagine, with the λίμνη Δασκυλῖτις mentioned by Steph. Byz. and Eustath., as also Plut. Luc. 9. τῆς δὲ Δασκυλιτίδος λίμνης πλεομένη 'ακατίοις. That the region hereabouts was called Dascylitis, and the above lakes were the same, appears also from Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 38.

[2] *Charged him with a letter.*] Literally, "committed a letter to his charge (for delivery)." 'Αντεπιτίθημι is a rare word. I know of no other example than Joseph. 758, 33. A. γεγραφότος πρὸς αὐτὸν, — ἀνεπιτίθει, &c. 'Αντεπιστέλλω occurs in Arrian and Herod. 3, 42, 18. where the simple ἐπιτίθημι is found. Valcknaër adduces an example from Demosth. In this sense it properly means to lay upon any one the charge of *delivering a letter.*

[3] *Transmit.*] Such is the sense of διαπ., which term literally signifies "to pass any thing from one to another." See Steph. Thes. 7347. A. It is to be understood of the letter which, it seems, Megabates was to deliver in person.

[4] *Shewing the seal.*] Not the *signet*, as Smith renders; for it is not likely that the king would send *that.* Σφράγις is here, as often, used for σφράγισμα. The present passage is illustrated by a similar one of Xen. Hist. 7, 1, 39. καὶ ὁ Πέρσης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δεῖξαι τὴν βασίλεως σφραγῖδα, ἀνέγνω τὰ γεγραμμένα.

This passage (Brisson says) is the only one that makes mention of the King of Persia's seal. Here the Schol. adduces three traditions as to the *representation* on the seal. 1., That it was the picture of the king; 2. that of Cyrus, the founder of the monarchy; 3. the horse of Darius, by whose neighing Darius obtained the kingdom. See Herod. 3, 88, 17. In like manner, the seal of Agamemnon and the other Pelopidæ, was (as appears from the Schol. on Soph. Elect.) an *ivory arm*, plainly an emblem of the *power* of the founder of the dynasty of whom Thucyd. relates, that he obtained the kingdom ἅτε δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον. Another explanation is hazarded by Ttetzes on Lycoph. 152. To these three traditions I would add a *fourth*, derived from Polyæn. Strat. 8, 27. τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι σφραγὶς βασιλικὴ εἰκὼν ἔστιν ἀναδεδυμένη τὰς τρίχας ἔχουσα 'Ροδογούνη.

[5] *Laid up, &c.*] We learn from Herodotus that such *benefactors* were called *Orosangæ;* on which Duker refers to Brisson de Regno Pers., Heraldi. Advers. 1, 9. and Grot. on Esther, 6, 1. The names of these were

ever and indelible. With thy proposals I am well pleased; and let neither night nor day [6] hinder thee from performing [7] aught that thou hast promised me, nor stop at any expence [8] of gold and silver, or any greatness of military force (if such be any where requisite) to effect thy designs. But with Artabazus, a trusty person, whom I have sent unto thee, do thou transact my affairs, and contrive so as shall be best for the credit and advantage of both."

CXXX. On the receipt of this letter [1], Pausanias, who had before been held in great honour [2] by the Greeks, on account of his command at Platæa, was now far *more* elevated, and could no longer endure to live according to the established customs of his country, but apparelling himself after the Median fashion [3], he went forth from Byzantium, and made

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recorded in a *royal book*, which Hack supposes to have been the *Historical Annals*, whence Ctesias professed to have drawn information; or was, as Goeller thinks, part of the διφθεραὶ βασιλικαὶ mentioned by Diod. 2, 32. This custom (he continues) is not unfrequently alluded to by the antients, as Herod. 8, 85. Diod. 15, 12. Charit. 7, 5. 8, 3. 2, 7. Plato Gorg. 506. C. Philo T. 2, 151. Mang.; he refers, also, to Dorville on Charit. Lysias p. 365, 259. Lucian 3, 413. and 7, 171. For a more particular explanation of the phrase (if any be necessary), I must refer the reader to Goeller's note, to whose references I add Liban. Epist. 1397. Synes 207 C. Plato in Polit. 1. Xenoph. de Vectig. c. 3. (by whom the idea is applied to the Athenian people), Procop. 344, 10. Liban. Orat. 417. C. Joseph. 564, 41. Xen. Hist. 1, 1, 21. Philostr. V. A. 4, 46. Thus Themistocles, by counselling the Athenians not to break down the bridge of the Hellespont, thereby intended to lay up a benefit with the King of Persia. So Herod. 8, 110. ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσεα.

[6] *Let neither, &c.*] i. e. let no distinction of night or day hinder, &c. So in a kindred passage of Herod. 5, 23, 15. ποιήσουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἂν κεῖνος ἐξηγεηται, καὶ ἡμέρης καὶ νυκτός. See my note on St. Luke, 2, 37.

[7] *Hinder thee from performing.*] Literally, be any hindrance so as to make thee relax in performing.

[8] *Nor stop at any expense.*] Literally, " let it not be any hindrance." κεκωλύσθω is for κώλυμα ἔστω. And we are to repeat ὥστε ἀνεῖναι, &c. from the preceding. The present passage (I would observe) is referred to by Aristid. T. 3. 681. D.

[1] *On the receipt, &c.*] The letter was also, as appears from Chrysermus ap. Stobœi Serm. p. 228, 10., accompanied by 500 talents of gold.

[2] *Held in great honour.*] And consequently maintained a dignified and elevated demeanour. For *that* the words following πολλῷ μᾶλλον τότε ἦρτο require. He had always, it seems, shown no little hauteur.

[3] *He could no longer, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Procop. p. 17, 10. 103, 11. 191, 19. 208, 30. 237, 28. and Choricius Orat. Fun. ap. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. 8, 876. which passages support the old reading καθεστῶσι,

a journey through Thrace[4], accompanied by a body-guard of Medes and Egyptians. He also caused his table to be laid in the Persian mode [5]; nor could he conceal his ambitious purposes [6], but even in trifling matters he showed beforehand

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cancelled by Bekker. The new reading, however, is countenanced by Pausan. 2, 9.

The English and French translators here, as usual, put *Persian* for *Median;* a charge which can seldom be justified, but is, in the present instance especially, injudicious, since those who know any thing of the Persian empire, as it then subsisted, need not be informed, that the Median and Persian dresses differed materially, as indeed, did, in some respects, those of most of the *provinces* belonging to that vast empire. This is clear from the very antient sculptures at Persepolis described by Chardin, Niebuhr, Kæmpfer, Le Brun, Porter, Ousely, and Morier. The *Median* dress consisted of a long full robe with flowing skirts to the ankles, and full loose sleeves reaching to the wrists; accompanied with earrings, collars, and sometimes bracelets. In front, about the centre of the waist, the robe was gathered up, and fell in regular folds over each thigh. On their heads they wore the high fluted tiara. Whereas the *Persians* were attired in a *short tunic*, reaching only to the knees, with long tight sleeves, and the whole of the dress so close that not a fold appears in the representations. On the head is a round topped cap, like the Phrygian *bonnet*. The waist is bound with a belt and buckle, from which is suspended a broad and short, but stout, sword worn on the right side.

Why Pausanias chose the Median, rather than the Persian attire, is evident, namely from its gorgeous magnificence. See Xenophon Cyr. l. 8. στολὴν Μηδικὴν — ἐνδύεσθαι. The Grecian costume differed totally; the vest being short, and as appears from Appian, 2, 726, 33., of a square form. For he there says of Mark Anthony, στολὴν εἶχε τετράγωνον Ἑλληνικήν. That the material of which the above Median robes consisted, was silk, I find from Suid. T. 3, 308. E. Σηρικὴ, ἐξ ἧς εἰώθεσαν τὴν ἔσθητα ἐργάζεσθαι ἣν πάλαι Ἕλληνες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν. Also Procop. ap. Suid. τὴν ἐσθῆτα — ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ἕλληνες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν, νῦν δὲ Σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσι.

[4] *A journey through Thrace.*] One may suppose that such a journey would not be without its purpose; and probably that was, to examine the country, sound the inclinations of its rulers, and make them subservient to his own ambitious purposes.

[5] *Persian mode.*] Some MSS. read *Median.* But the common reading is doubtless the true one; and is confirmed by Nepos: "epulabatur more *Persarum.*" I cannot, however, with the Scholiast, take the word simply to denote *luxurious* (though most of my readers will remember the "*Persicos* odi, puer, apparatus" of Horace). It is probable that the Persian table was set forth in a different manner to the Median, and, perhaps, held the midway between that and the Grecian, and, therefore, was safer for Pausanias to adopt than the other.

I would observe that παρετίθετο, (by a use of the middle voice something resembling the *Hiphil* conjugation in Hebrew), signifies "caused to be set for him." The passage is imitated by Joseph. 1314, 29. τράπεζαν γὰρ ἄθεσμον παρετίθετο.

[6] *Nor could he, &c.*] This clause has been almost transcribed by Procop. 103, 13. 105, 18. 126, 26. 174, 19. 237, 28. 300, 31. where for ἑστᾶναι I would read ἱστάναι. The passage seems also to have been in the mind of Capitolinus, who thus speaks of Gordius: "Superbus — qui se in novitate

what he meant hereafter to practise upon a larger scale. He, moreover, began to make himself difficult of access [7], and displayed such a choleric temper [8] to all indiscriminately, that no one could endure to approach him; which, moreover, tended as much as any thing to cause the allies to go over to the Athenians.

CXXXI. On hearing of which, the Lacedæmonians had at the first recalled him on that very account; and when, after going out the second time, unauthorized by them, in the Hermionian ship, he was found to act in the very same manner; and when at last, being forcibly expelled [1] from Byzantium by the Athenians, he returned not back to Sparta, but news came to them that he had fixed himself at Colonæ [2],

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et enormitate fortunæ *se non tenuit.*" And so Herodian 1, 15, 9. ὁ Κόμμοδος μήκετι κατέχειν ἑαυτὸν, &c.

[7] *Difficult of access.*] Nepos renders it, " aditum petentibus non dabat, superbe respondebat." The term occurs in a similar sense in Eurip. Iph. Aul. 345. Aristid. 1, 112. B. δυσπρόσοδον παρέχων ἑαυτὸν. It is placed among the epithets of a tyrant by Pollux, 1, 42., not to mention various other passages illustrative of δυσπ. and εὐπρ., δυσπρόσιτος and εὐπρ., δυσπροσήγορος, δυσπροσοιστὸς, δυσόμιλος, ἀπρόσοδος, δύσεδρος, which I shall adduce in my *edition;* suffice it to say, that this whole passage is almost copied by Dio Cass. p. 11, 13. δυσπρόσοδος τε καὶ δυσπροσήγορος καὶ τῇ ὑπεροψίᾳ τε καὶ ὠμότητι τασαυτῇ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοιῶς ἔχρητο ὥστε κ. τ. λ.; and 860, 30. καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλέπῃ ἔχρητο; also Joseph. 770, 39. of Herod. ἀνὴρ ὠμὸς εἰς πάντας ὁμοίως. Hence may be emended 765, 42. ἐξηγρίωσεν ἀκράτῳ τῇ ὀργῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ εἰς πάντα χρώμενος, where read πάντας, from the conjecture of Hudson. So Zonar Hist. t. 2, 15, 33. closely imitates this passage, as does Appian, 1, 530, 80. σκαιὸς ἐς πάντας ἐγίγνετο, where Schweigh. very causelessly conjectured πάντα, which would be *inserting* the very error that may now be emended from Josephus. Finally, such a person as Pausanias may very well be characterised in the words of Virg. Æn. 3, 621. " nec visu facilis, nec dictis affabilis ulli."

[8] *Choleric temper.*] For the ὀργῇ must be taken not so much of *anger* in particular, as that choleric temper which shows itself in so many odious forms.

[1] *Forcibly expelled.*] The expression of the original βίᾳ ἐκπολιορκηθεὶς is a very strong one. And though Smith takes it in a figurative sense of being forced to leave, by the opposition raised against him by the Athenians (and so Gottl. and Haack, who compare 1, 134. ἐκπολιόρκησαν λίμῳ); yet it is not improbable that a scene took place there very similar to that recorded between Charles XII. and the Turks at Bender.

[2] *Colonæ.*] The name signifies *knolls.* The site of this town is thus described by Strabo, 851, 1. ἄλλαι δ' εἰσιν (scil. κολωναὶ) ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκτὸς Ἑλλησποντίᾳ θαλάττῃ, Ἰλίου διέχουσαι σταδίους τετταράκοντα πρὸς τὸν ἑκατόν.

For ἱδρυθεὶς I would read ἰδρυνθεὶς, used by Homer, Herod., Xen., Diod., and which is found in the Scholiast and many MSS.

in the Trojan territory, was practising with the Barbarians, and was making his abode there for no good; then indeed, they could no longer contain themselves, but sending a herald with a scytale[3], the ephori ordered him not to depart from the herald; otherwise that the Spartans would declare war[4] against him. But he, willing to incur as little suspicion as possible, and trusting that he should be able, by money, to rid himself of the accusation, returned the second time to Sparta, and was put into confinement by the ephori; for they have the power of so treating even the king.[5] Afterwards, however, he contrived so as to be allowed to go forth, and offer himself to trial with any who chose to implead him.[6]

CXXXII. No decisive evidence, however, had the Spartans to bring forward, neither his enemies nor the state at large, on which they might safely rely in punishing capitally a person of the royal race, and at that time invested with high dignity[1]; for he was uncle, and regent-guardian[2] to Plistarchus, son of Leonidas, yet a minor, who was king. But by his transgression of the laws and customs of his country, and his

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[3] *Scytale.*] This signifies properly a *staff;* here, a form of letter used by the Lacedæmonians in this manner: they had two round staves of one bigness, whereof the state kept one, and the man whom they employed abroad kept the other; and when they would write, they wrapped about it a small thong of parchment; and having thereon written, took it off again, and sent only that thong, which, wrapped likewise about the other staff, the letters joined again, and might be read. This served instead of cypher. It seems Pausanias retained his staff from the time he had charge at Byzantium. (Hobbes.) See an excellent description of it in Plut. Lysand. p. 444. D.

[4] *Declare war.*] This seems somewhat harsh as respects an individual from a state, and therefore it may be supposed to mean, that they would declare him a public enemy. A phrase often used by the Romans, and occurring in Livy and other historians.

[5] *The king.*] These words have an emphasis, and therefore I have prefixed *even.* This is said because Pausanias was *regent.*

[6] *Chose to implead him.*] He had, it seems, before obtained his liberty by bribery, and now he so depended upon his influence and power, as to suppose that few would be found hardy enough to implead him.

[1] *High dignity.*] Even royal. Τιμῆς is taken κατ' ἐξοχήν. Thus the passage is cited by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Agam. 42. διῳρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκήπτρου τιμῆς; where the very learned editor also compares Eurip. Hipp. 1276. βασιλήϊδα τιμήν, and takes τιμὴν in the sense *imperium,* as Hom. Il. z. 193. which comes to the same thing.

[2] *Regent-guardian.*] Such, Plutarch says, were called πρόδικοι.

imitation of Barbarian manners, he had given them many causes of suspicion that he would not contentedly acquiesce in his present situation [3]; especially when they brought to their consideration whatever else in his conduct had deviated from [4] their established institutions, and particularly, that he had formerly presumed, of his own private authority, to inscribe on the tripod [5] which the Greeks had dedicated at Delphi, as the first-fruits of the spoils of the Barbarians, the following distich [6]: —

> " Pausanias, Græcia's chief, o'erthrown the Mede,
> To Phœbus this memorial hath decreed."

This couplet, however, the Lacedæmonians had immediately [7] ef-

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[3] *Would not contentedly, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the difficult phrase *μὴ ἴσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι*, on which the commentators make no remark. The question is, what is to be supplied at the elliptical phrase *τοῖς παροῦσι*. The Scholiast supplies *ἤθεσι* or *ἔθεσι*, which is confirmed by Pausan. l. 2, 9. *νόμοις τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος*. And such *may* be the sense. But thus it is not easy to see the propriety of *ἴσος*; and it seems better to adopt such an interpretation as shall give some probable sense to that word. It is manifest that Pausanias affected a superiority to his countrymen, nay, even to the co-king. And this seems to be noted in *ἴσος*, which is used as in a kindred passage of 6, 16. where Alcibiades says, *οὐδὲ γε ἄδικον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μέγαφρονοῦντα μὴ ἴσον εἶναι*. In either case *not equal* signifies *not equal only*, i. e. superior. At *παροῦσι* may be supposed the usual ellipsis of *πράγμασι*, meaning *situation*. In fact there is here a blending of two phrases; namely, he was not willing to be equal but superior to what he then was; or, he was discontented with his present situation.

[4] *Deviated from, &c.*, *ἐξεδεδιήτητο*.] The *ἐκ* is for *ἔξω*, *præter*. And *δίαιταω* is often used of *conduct*. As the commentators have omitted to treat on the term, the following illustrations may not be unacceptable. Dio Cass. 555, 71. *πολλὰ ἔξω τῶν πατρίων ἐξεδεγτήθη*; Dion. Hal. Ant. 337. ε. *τῶν πατρίων*; Athen. 556. C. *εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ ἔθη ἐκδεδιητημένη*; Joseph. 1314 and 1015. Appian 1, 394. and 2, 501. In Agath. p. 65. *οὐδὲ μὴν βίῳ ἀρίστῳ ἐκδεδιητγμένος*, I would read *ἐνδ.*, as propriety requires.

[5] *Tripod.*] This, the Scholiast tells us, was afterwards removed from thence by the Roman emperor, and placed in the Hippodrome at Constantinople.

[6] *Distich.*] i. e. a couplet consisting of an hexameter, or heroic, and a pentameter, or elegiac, verse. This circumstance and the verses themselves are detailed, perhaps from hence, by Demosth. contr. Neæram.

[7] *Effaced.*] Literally, *beat out;* alluding to the mode by which the inscription would be obliterated. It is the opposite to *κολάπτω*, to stamp, engrave. So Herod. 5, 59, 3. *γράμματα — ἐπὶ τρίποσι τισι ἐγκεκολαμμένα*; and Appian 2, 584. *ἐν τῇ στήλῃ κεκόλαπτο*. It appears, too, from Demosth. contr. Neær. 1378. that this act of the Lacedæmonians was not voluntary, but that they were compelled to it by a judgment which had been given against them before the Amphictyons, on the prosecution of the Platæans,

faced from the tripod, and inscribed [8] on it the names of the states which, having united in the defeat of the Barbarian, dedicated the offering. This action, then, was also now numbered among the delinquencies of Pausanias; and from the situation in which he stood, it was so much the rather thought to have been done in furtherance of his present design. They learned, too, that he was tampering with the Helots; and, indeed, such was the case: for he had promised them freedom and citizenship, if they would join in the insurrection, and co-operate with him in his projects. But not even *then* [9] did the ephori think proper, especially by reliance on the testimony of Helot informers, to proceed to a measure of such unusual severity towards him (in accordance, too, with the rule which they observe towards one another, namely, not to be hasty in resorting to measures of extremity [10] respecting any Spartan, unless on indubitable proofs); until at length (it is said) the person who was about to carry the last letter for the king to Artabazus (an Argilian, who had once been his minion [11], and

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who acted for the other Greeks. This sentence (he says) adjudged them to pay a fine of 1000 talents, efface the inscription, and engrave another containing the names of the states which had taken part in the battle. He also says that the Lacedæmonians conceived much ill-will, on this account, against the Platæans, and afterwards found means to take vengeance.

[8] *Inscribed.*] The couplet said by Diod. to have been inscribed, is thought by Wessel. never to have been really so. It should seem to have been only written as a *fit* inscription for it.

[9] *Not even then.*] This long-suffering lenity seems to have been occasioned by some of his friends in the Ephori, and the administration in general. *One* such, it is evident from c. 134. that there was in the former.

[10] *Measures of extremity.*] Βουλεῦσάι τι ἀνήκεστον signifies, literally, to take such a step as cannot be recalled or remedied. An euphemism for capital punishment; as 3, 45. and Herod. 1, 137. *αἰνέω τόνδε τὸν νόμον — μηδένα ἐπὶ μίῃ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάϑος ἔρδειν.*

[11] *Minion.*] Or pathic. Gottleb., however, maintains, that it must be taken in a good sense. And he refers to Ælian V. H. 3, 12. And, indeed, Xen. de Repub. Lac. says, that Lycurgus *ἐποίησεν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μηδὲν ἧττον ἐραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσϑαι ἢ γονεῖς παιδῶν, ἢ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται.* Which is strong language; but it rather shows what Lycurgus was anxious to make the Spartans, than what they really *were* in general, especially in the later times of his institutions. It will no more prove the point in question than the strict injunctions of Jesus Christ and his Apostles to moral purity will prove that Christians in general are chaste and temperate. Besides, in a character otherwise so flagitious as was that of Pausanias, where is the wonder if, amidst his imitation of other Persian manners, he should have adopted a vice for which that country has ever been infamous.

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was much attached to him) turns informer. This man was alarmed, on chancing to reflect that no one of the messengers before him had ever returned[12]; and (first procuring a counterfeit seal[13], in order that, if he should be mistaken in his suspicions, or Pausanias should ask again for the letter to alter any thing in the writing, he might escape detection) he then proceeds to open the letter; in which, as he had suspected[14] something of that kind, so he found it written therein, that he was to be put to death.[15]

CXXXIII. He then showed the writings to the ephori, who, indeed, gave more credence than before to the suspicions of his guilt; but wishing to be yet ear-witnesses of something said by Pausanias himself, it was contrived[1] that the man

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It may seem strange that the term should have a plural form, though a singular sense. But this is no more than is found in many other words; as Eurip. Hippol. Ἱππόλυτος, ἄγνου Πιτθέως παιδεύμηατα.

[12] *That no one, &c.*] So Justin. 2, 15. "scribit præterea Xerxi, quoscunque ad se nuntios mississet, interficeret, ne res loquacitate hominum proderetur."

[13] *Procuring a counterfeit seal.*] i. e. causing a seal to be made similar to that which stamped the impression on the letter. This he probably did by contriving to get a stamp from the original seal, which was probably a signet or seal-ring. See Jeremiah, 22, 24. Of the various modes by which such were counterfeited, a full description may be seen in Lucian in his Pseudomantis. Pollux, indeed, 8, 27. seems to have read παρασημηνάμενος. But unless that were an error of memory, it must have been *ex glossa*. The common reading, too, is confirmed by an imitation of Dio Cass. 435, 40. παραποιησάμενος τὰ καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα. The παρα here denotes *præter*; another example of which sense occurs in Aristoph. Conc. 226. παροψωνοῦσιν.

Meursius, in his Miscellanea Laconica, l. 3, c. 6. in an interesting treatise on the Lacedæmonian seals, tells us, that the seals, or seal-rings, were of *iron* up to the time of Pliny. And he informs us, on the authority of different writers, that the seal of Helen had engraven on it a *fish*; that of Clearchus, *dancing Caryatides*; that of king Areus, *an eagle holding a serpent in its talons*. See Exod. c. 28, 11.

[14] *Open the letter, in which, &c.*] So Livy, l. 33. 28. conscientia ictus, aperit literas.

[15] *He found—death.*] Matthiæ, in his Gr. Gr. § 296. says that the construction is, Αργιλιος ἐνεγεγραπτο κτείνειν. for ἐνεγ. Αργ. κτείνειν. But it is more simple to suppose κτείνειν to be put for κτείνεσθαι, with a subaudition of ὥστε. Moreover, what is proper of the *thing*, is asserted of the person; of which Matth. adduces an apt example from Isocr. In fact it is the same in the common Latin phrase *proscribere aliquem*.

[1] *It was contrived.*] Ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς and ἐκ παρασκευῆς, like the Latin è composito, are used of what is contrived or plotted. So Æschin. ap. Steph. Thes. ἐκ π. καθεζόμενοι. Hobbes has ill-rendered it *by design*. By *whom* this device was contrived, is not clear. Smith assigns it to the Ephori.

should go and take sanctuary, as a suppliant, at Tænarus [2], and there frame a booth, built double [3] (or hollow) by a partition, in which cavity he hid some of the ephori. Pausanias then going to him, and demanding the cause of his taking sanctuary, they understood [4] plainly the whole affair; the man expostulating with him about what was written concerning him, and laying open the other particulars, point by point; urging that he had never yet deceived [5] him in any of his em-

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But it is more likely to have originated with the *Argilian*, whose name (by the way) Thucyd., out of contempt, has not chosen to record. He merely calls him *the man*, as we say the *fellow*.

[2] *Take sanctuary at Tænarus.*] That this was an asylum, appears not only from the present passage, but from Pausan. 134, 40. Plut. Agis 11 and 16. Polyb. 9, 34 and 9. Polyæn. 2, 81, 3. Aristoph. Lys. 1320. The temple was situated in the celebrated promontory of the same name. Indeed, equally true and well known is it that temples of Neptune were so situated; (as, in fact, the antients usually chose high situations for all their temples, doubtless to excite the devotion of travellers.) See Eurip. Cycl. 317. To double promontories was certainly in the then imperfect state of nautical science, a most difficult and dangerous operation; and, therefore, no wonder is it that such sites should have been selected, on which to erect temples Ποσειδῶνι σωτῆρι.

Pausanias says that the temple in question was like a cave. And we may suppose that it was excavated out of the rock of the promontory, like many early oriental ones, as, for instance, that of Ellora.

[3] *Hut built double.*] In one of the walls, probably one which abutted upon some part of the building of the temple, or the wall of the περίβολος. It may, indeed, seem that the building of a hut had little to do with his taking asylum there. But it should appear that suppliants did not always take refuge within the walls of the temple (which, in many respects would be an inconvenient abode), but sometimes chose to rear a booth or hut in the close, or τέμενος which surrounded the temple, and which being supposed to belong to it, (as our church-yards to churches,) was included in the jus asyli. See infra 133. The Argilian, then, contrived to make one of the walls double or hollow, and placed the Ephori in the cavity. For such seems to have been the manner of the thing, which is not made clear by the translators and commentators. This view is confirmed by a passage of Joseph. 845, 35. imitated from the present: ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς καλύβης, ἐνδοτέρω διαφράγμασιν ἑτέραν ἀπειληφυῖας. Yet Nepos writes thus: "Hanc (scil. asam) juxta, locum fuerunt sub terra, è quo posset audire si quid loqueretur cum Argilio." Wesseling thinks he followed some other authority. But why he should here desert one whom he so regularly follows, it is difficult to imagine. It should rather seem that he read the words of this passage otherwise, namely καὶ σκηνησαμένου διορύγματι (for διαφράγματι) καλυβήν. Σκηνὴ sometimes signifying a *cavern*.

This hut was probably formed of boards. On which see note on 2, 52.

[4] *They understood.*] Not, as Smith renders, "they heard distinctly all that passed;" for that would have nothing to do with what precedes, and was not *necessary* to be told. Besides, it would require πάντων.

[5] *Deceived.*] I have followed the interpretation of Suidas and other antient lexicographers, which is adopted by Duker, Kistem, Levesque, Abresch, Bauer, and Haack. Though by Steph. Thes., Reiske, Gottl.

ployments on the business of the king; and yet was now, forsooth, to be *likewise* honoured[6] with the reward which attended so many other messengers, namely, to be put to death. The truth of all this Pausanias acknowledged; bidding him, however, not to be exasperated at what had happened, and pledging his faith that he might safely leave[7] sanctuary; urging him, too, to depart with all speed on his journey, and not obstruct[8] the matter in hand.

CXXXIV. Having distinctly heard these words, and now possessing certain knowledge of the truth, the ephori withdrew for the present, and proceeded[1] to apprehend him in the city; and it is said that, when he was about to be apprehended in the public street[2], on viewing the countenance of one of the ephori, who was advancing towards him, he perceived the business he was come about[3]; especially as another,

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Wyttenbach, and Goeller, it is explained, "brought into danger." But that signification, though it is found elsewhere, is here far less suitable. The Scholiasts seem to have been much perplexed with the term. Yet one of them nearly adopts the former interpretation.

Of the word in question I shall subjoin several examples in my edition.

6 *Honoured.*] Spoken ironically. The commentators, however, dwell too much on the προ, which is *absorbed* in the sense *honour*. In rendering the rest of the sentence I have, I trust, attained the true sense; though the difference of idioms forbade a more literal version.

Τοῖς πολλοῖς cannot signify *most*, since *all* of the messengers, it seems, had been put to death; but "*the many, those many.*" A rare sense. The Schol. takes the τοῖς π. for τοῖς πᾶσι. See my note on Matth. 20, 28.

7 *Safely leave.*] Ἀναστάσεως, (which was causelessly suspected by Steph. and Gesner), depends upon περὶ understood; and, as Bauer remarks, is put emphatically for *safe departure*.

8 *Not to obstruct, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Procop. 132, 42. δείσαντες μὴ — τὰ πρασσόμενα διακωλύσῃ.

1 *Proceeded, &c.*] The commentators stumble at the expression ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο, because the attempt was not successful. And the Schol. explains it, "were about to make," "wished to have made." Hobbes and Smith render, "intended to, or determined to apprehend him." Here, however, as often, we have only to take the imperfect tense of action *commenced*, but *interrupted;* i. e. they *would* have apprehended him. They did not apprehend him at *Tænarus*, probably because they were provided with force sufficient to seize one who, doubtless, was not without many attendants, and would be likely to make a desperate resistance.

2 *In the public street.*] Such is, I believe, the sense usually ascribed to ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. And, indeed, the streets of Sparta would not ill correspond to the expression. But, perhaps, it may signify, "on his way." So Nepos, "in itinere." And thus the Pythagorean dict., not to hasten ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

3 *Perceived, &c.*] Hence may be emended Joseph. 857, 3. imitated from this passage: γνωρίσασα ἐφ' ἑχώρει. where the MSS. read ἐφ' ὅν ἐχ. and

out of good-will, secretly gave him intimation by a nod or beckoning [4]; on which he ran at full speed towards the temple of Minerva Chalcioecus [5] (for the τέμενος, or sacred

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Hudson conjectures ἐφ' ὅν. I would read ἐφ' ᾧ. Other examples may be seen in my note on Rom. 5, 12.

[4] *Nod or beckoning.*] Though the commentators take no notice of the expression νεύματι ἀφανεῖ, yet it deserves some attention. Nepos may *seem* not to have read it, since he has *vultu significabat.* Yet there is no var. lect. and the νεύματι ἀφ. was read by the antients. So Xiphil. 1278, 60. νεύματι ἀφανεῖ χρώμενος. Liban. Or. 892. E. νεύματι χρώμενος. Clem. Alex. Strom. 338. D. νεύματι ἀφανεῖ κεχρημένων. Plut. Arat. 20. διὰ νεύματος ἔδηλωσε τῷ Τέχνωνι φεύγειν. Besides, Nepos may have read νεύματι, and supplied προσώπου or the like, (so Pausan. 10, 31, 2. νευματι προσώπου. Herodian 7, 8, 21. τράχεσι προσώπου νεύμασι.) or ὀφθαλμῶν, as Sirach 27, 22. Psalm 34, 22. Hor. Serm. 1, 9, 65. and Aristoph. Babyl. ἐννεύει μὲ φεύγειν οἴκαδε. Or χειρὸς might be supplied. So Onosand p. 90. παρασύνθημα γίγνεσθαι νεύματι χειρός. Herodian 1, 9, 7. χειρὸς νεύματι. Joseph. 1278, 46. καὶ τῷ νεύματι τῆς χειρὸς, &c. Herodian 4, 113. τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφρασε. See more in my note on Luke 1, 22.

[5] *Temple of Minerva Chalciœcus.*] The version of Hobbes here is singularly confused, and indeed erroneous, as varying from the original. He also wrongly interprets ἱερὸν of both the temple and the ground on which it was situated.

With respect to the temple here mentioned, it was the most venerated and celebrated in Sparta. The epithet *Chalciœcus*, of course, properly appertained to the *goddess;* but, by a frequent metonymy was often applied to the *temple.* So Livy, 35, 36. Ætoli circa Chalciœcon (Minervæ est templum æreum) congregati cæduntur. The goddess, however, obtained her epithet from some peculiarity in the building of the temple. What that was, interpreters and the antiquaries are at a loss to discover. The Schol. supra 128. gives *three* opinions, the two first of which alone deserve attention. 1. Either because it had a brazen chapel; or 2., from the solidity of the edifice. Thus the *murus aheneus esto* of Horace; and so Zach. 6, 1. "*mountains of brass.*" Of these two the former seems preferable. From Pausanias l. 3, 17, 3. we learn that it was built (or formed) by Tyndareus. And he seems to have thought that it had been of brass, from his words at p. 321, 15. Sylb. which are as follows: "That the temple should have been of brass is no great wonder, since we know that Acrisius formed a brazen chamber for his daughter, and that the Lacedæmonians had the temple of Chalciœcus, which remains to this day." He also says that both the temple and the statue were of brass. And he adduces other examples of brazen buildings. To which it may be added, that Procop. p. 204. ult. says the temple of Janus was ἅπας χαλκοῦς. Livy, too, (ubi supra) seems to have been of the above opinion. Yet it is difficult to believe this of any more than the νεὼν, (*cella*) or sanctum sanctorum, at least if we understand it of solid brass. But I cannot help suspecting that the edifices in question were only *coated with brass plates.* And indeed Dr. E. D. Clarke in his Travels, vol. 2, 153. and 3, 734. says that the Greeks sometimes coated buildings with metallic plates. And he testifies that he saw vestiges of them in the ruins of the gymnasium at Alexandria Troas. To which I would add, that Livy, l. 41, 20., says the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus had not only the roof of gold, but that all the *walls* were plated with gold. His account may be illustrated from Procop. p. 97, 92. who says that the roof was of

close, happened to be near at hand), and took refuge there before they could overtake him. Then, in order to avoid the inclemency of the open air [6], he entered into a small building [7], which formed part of the temple, and there sat down quietly. They, for the present indeed, were too late [8] in the pursuit, but afterwards proceeded to unroof [9] the building; and having ascertained that he was within, and cut off from all egress, they then blocked up [10] the doorways, and stationing

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brass, richly *plated* with gold. In like manner I would understand the *aurea domus* of Nero mentioned by Sueton., and also Hom. Od. 4, 72., φραζέο — χαλκοῦ τε στερόπην καδδώματα ἠχήεντα Χρυσοῦ τ', &c. Vestiges, too, of metal plates have been found in the ruins of Memphis and other Egyptian cities, and of Persepolis. The custom of thus adorning buildings is not only of oriental origin, but of the most remote antiquity; for it seems to have been carried to America in that colony which ascends far beyond the records of history, or even of tradition. So Bernhardo de Diaz, in his History of Cortez, says that the inside walls of the temples at Mexico were cased with silver plates. So also were those of the royal palace in Peru.

[6] *To avoid, &c.*] For this part of Peloponnesus is at times very cold, the winds sometimes blowing very keen from Mount Taygetus, with snow or sleet. Of the numerous illustrations of the original, which I have brought together, I select the following, since the word ὑπαίθριος has no example in Steph. Thes. Liban., Orat. 383. ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωρῶν. Diod. Sic. 6, 81. *v.* διακαρτερεῖν. Dio Cass. p. 33, 33., and often *v.* διαιτᾶσθαι. Herod. 4, 7. *v.* κατακοιμᾶσθαι. Plato Symph. § 23. *v.* κοιμᾶσθαι. Æschyl. Agam. ἐν οἰκήμασιν Ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων Δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαγέντες., and Prom. v. 113. ὑπαίθριος δεσμοῖσι πασσαλευτὸς ὤν., where Dr. Blomfield has conjectured ὑπαιθρίοις. But that seems not necessary. The common reading is defended, besides the above passages, by Aristophon ap. Athen. p. 238. D. ὑπαίθριος χειμῶνα διάγειν. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 389, 3. *v.* μένειν, and others which I could cite.

[7] *Small building.*] Perhaps a sort of chapel, or perhaps the *pronaos*. The genitive τοῦ ἱεροῦ is not so much taken partitively, as there is an ellipsis of προσεχόμενον, ἐνεχόμενον, or the like. Goeller refers to Manson. Sparta, vol. 1. p. 2. p. 21.

[8] *Too late.*] Namely, to attain their purpose. Such a clause is generally left to be understood in ὑστερεῖν.

[9] *Unroof.*] Probably the roof was covered with tiles. So 4, 48. διελόντες τὴν ὀροφὴν, ἔβαλλον τῷ κεράμῳ, *the tiling*. See my note on Mark 2, 4. ἀπεστέγασαν τὴν στέγην. There is a very similar passage in Xen. Hist. 6, 5, 9.

This was done, not so much that he might suffer from the weather (as is usually supposed), as that they might have a perfect view of his situation, so as to remove him before he expired.

[10] *Blocked up.*] Both the antient and modern commentators understand this of *building up* the door-ways. And Diodor. relates a story, that his mother brought the first brick. So also Lycurg. C. Lever. p. 166., Nepos, Plutarch, and Tzetzes, nay, Chrysermus ap. Stob. Serm. p. 228., has a similar story respecting his *father*. This might induce us to doubt the story altogether, and suspect that it was founded on a misunderstanding of our author's meaning. For ἀπωκοδόμησαν (which Nepos well renders *obstrux-*

themselves there, utterly starved him to death.[11] When they perceived that he was just[12] at the point of dying in the chapel, they carried[13] him out of the sacred precincts[14], while yet breathing; and on being removed he immediately expired. At first they were going to cast him into the Ceadas[15],

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erunt) cannot properly denote *building up* (neither would that be *necessary*, as the Lacedæmonians were stationed at the doors); but *blocking up*, ἀπέφραξαν. And it is remarkable, that of all those who relate the story, not one has used ἀποικ., but ἀνοικ., ἀνακτίζω, ἐναποικ.; and our author has πυλίδα κακῶς ἐνφκοδομημένην at 6, 51. And so Herod. 3, 117. τὰς διασφαγὰς τῶν οὐρέων ἐνδείμας., whence, in Œneas Poliorc. p. 443. Ern. τὰς πύλας ἀνέδειμαν, I would read ἐνεδ. And so Arrian, E. A. 6, 29, 6. τὴν θυρίδα λίθῳ ἐνοικοδομήσαντα. Indeed, whether ἀνοικ. *can* signify this, I doubt; and, therefore, in Apollodorus, l. 2, 5., Pseudo Themistocles, and Lycurg., as also Polyæn. 2, 38, 1., I would restore ἐνοικ., from *one* good MS. Be that as it may, I find no proof that ἀ π οικ. can signify this. The only passage that countenances it is in Polyæn. 7, 30. τὰς πύλας τοῦ τείχους ἀπωκοδόμησαν. But there I doubt not the true reading is ἀνφκ. On the contrary, in Heracl. de Polit. p. 431. ὅπως μὴ ἀνοικοδομῶσιν αὐτὰς (scil. τὰς ὁδοὺς) I would read ἀτωκ., which ought also to be restored in Xiphilin, 1340, 77. for ἐπωκ., scil. τὰς πύλας.

[11] *Stationing themselves, &c.*] The expressions προσκαθεζόμενοι and ἐξεπολιόρκησαν are figurative, and translationes *è re militari petitæ*. They are imitated by Lucian Tyrannic. t. 2, 148.

Such persons it was thought lawful to exclude from food, drink, and raiment. So Eurip. H. F. 52. πάντων δὲ χρεῖοι τάσδ' ἕδρας φυλάσσομεν Σιτῶν, ποτῶν, ἐσθῆτος, κ. τ. λ.

[12] *Just.*] Such is the sense of ὥσπερ εἶχε, which often signifies no more than εὐθὺς both in Thucyd., Herod., and other good writers. Hobbes and Smith, however, not aware of this idiom, run into error; the latter rendering, "observing how bad he was." Of the idiom in question (which has frequently perplexed commentators) I shall abundantly treat in my edition.

[13] *Carried.*] Smith absurdly renders, *led* him out, as if a person at the last gasp could walk.

[14] *Sacred precincts.*] Such the context requires; for into the temple, properly so called, he had never advanced.

[15] *Ceadas.*] Or Cæadas. There is here a diversity of reading. All the recent editions have *Ceadas*. See Wasse and Duker. And κεάδας, I must observe, is also supported by Pausan. l. 4, 8, 4. where he has plainly the present passage in view (and therefore for ἐσξάλλουσι I would read ἐμέ.) Also by Simplic., Nicephorus, Basilius, and Suidas, cited by Meurs. Misc. Lacon. And I long since emended in Plut. Agid. 19. for ἀπάγειν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Δεκάδα., εἰς τὴν καλουμένην κέαδαν. I now find I have been anticipated by Leopard Emend. l. 13, 14. (though he less correctly, I think, reads καίαδαν.) The mistake arose there from confounding an uncommon with a common word. As to the Δ, it arose from the N preceding. But, to proceed, perhaps there are more authorities for καίαδαν, which, moreover, is defended by some cognate words in both Greek and Latin, as καίετον, or καιετὸς. Caïeta (whence the name of the place) as we learn from Eustath. on Hom. Il. β. 581. (referred to by Duker) signified a *rent* or fissure in the earth, occasioned by an earthquake. Hence in Hesych. καίατα (for that is only another form of the same word) ὀρύγματα. ἢ τὰ

wherein they are accustomed[16] to throw the bodies of malefactors; but afterwards it was decided to bury him somewhere thereabouts.[17] But the Delphian deity afterwards directed them by oracle to remove his sepulchre to the place

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ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καταῤῥαγέντα χωρία I would read ῥώγματα; for Strabo, p. 367. (here cited by Wasse) says that καιετοὶ is the name given to οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν ῥωχμοί, such as are frequent in the Lacedæmonian territory, which, for that reason, has in Homer the epithet καιετάεσσα. Yet I confess the common reading is countenanced by our Scholiast. Eustath. also has the forms καιέτας or καιάτας. All these, then, favour the αι.

Neither will etymology or the proprietas linguæ assist us in determining the reading. For the κεάδας may, as Heyne and Goeller think, be derived from κεάζω and κέω, *findo*. Yet καιάδας may equally well be derived from καίω, cognate with κάω or χάω, χαίω, whence χάζω and χάσμα. And when I consider how strongly it is supported by the cognate words, I am inclined to give it the preference. There is, however, a discrepancy in the explanation of the word by the antients, which may deserve attention. By some the place is represented as merely a *vast fissure*, or, as Basil explains, βάραθρον αὐτοφυὲς. While others, as Strabo, Eustathius, and Phavorinus, describe it as a *prison*, or subterranean cavity. And our Scholiast, as a τόπος ὀρωρυγμένος, i. e. a pit or place dug by human labour, and formed by art. We may, however, suppose that it had been originally no more than barely a huge fissure (such as are frequent in Peloponnesus), and was used as a sort of golgotha, or place in which to toss the bodies of malefactors. In process of time, however, it seems to have been enlarged and converted into a subterranean prison. There was also a place at Athens called the *barathrum*, used as a prison, but which probably had been at first only such a golgotha, though afterwards something corresponding to the place *formerly* subsisting in our prisons, and called the *condemned hole*. The use, however, of subterranean prisons seems to have been an *oriental* custom. So Zechariah 9, 11. I have sent thy prisoners out of a horrible *pit*. See also Psalm 40, 2.

[16] *Are accustomed.*] I have adopted the reading εἰώθασιν, because, as Poppo and Goeller observe, it is more suitable to the *sense*, the custom yet remaining in the time of Thucyd. It is also confirmed by a kindred passage of Plut. Cleom. c. 38. Certainly I cannot but censure the temerity of Bredow and Bekker in cancelling the word altogether; for, besides the MSS., it is defended by Photius, p. 40. (where for ἢ must be read ᾗ.) He perhaps derived the gloss from some ancient Scholiast on Thucyd. The true reading of the whole passage is that adopted by Benedict and Haack.

[17] *Thereabouts.*] It is not clear what our author means, whether near to the Cæadas, which is the opinion of the Scholiast, or near to the sacred precincts, or near the place where he had died, as Nepos took it, though he has *procul*, which, however, may be taken, as Fischer says, of distance not very remote. And so in Virgil. But if he was buried near the place where he died, one does not see why the Delphian oracle should have ordered his removal. The interpretation, therefore, of the Scholiast, is probably the true one. As to the passage of Nepos, I cannot but suspect that the words *qui erat mortuus* are from the margin. Thus *procul* will have the sense *over against*, which is very reconcileable with πλησίον. And *procul* is so used by Nepos himself, Themist. 8. procul ab insula, where it answers to ὑπὲρ in Thucyd.

where he had died (and he now lies in the porch or vestibule[18]), as the inscription on the pillars shows.[19] It was also ordered that as this pollution had been perpetrated, they should give back *two* bodies instead of *one* to the Chalcioecus; and they had made two brazen statues, and dedicated them forthwith in the stead of Pausanias.

CXXXV. Now the Athenians, as the god himself had adjudged that there was a pollution, required the Lacedæmonians to purge it [by banishing the posterity of those who had caused it]. On the Medising of Pausanias, the Lacedæmonians sending ambassadors to the Athenians, implicated Themistocles[1] also (as they had discovered from the proofs

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[18] *Porch or vestibule.*] Or the area before the temple. The Scholiast explains it of the *propylæum;* which comes to the same thing. Though Smith's version, "the area before the temple," seems more natural; and it is confirmed by Clem. Alex. l. 3. p. 252. cited by Ruhn. on Timæus Lex. p. 195. καὶ προτεμενίσματα ἐξήσκηται, ἄλση τε καὶ ὀργάδες, *ornamental plots.*

[19] *As the inscription, &c.*] These words are generally referred to the preceding parenthetical clause, "and he now lies in the porch," so as to form part of the parenthesis. But there is something frigid and inept in that sense. They should rather be referred to the more remote subject. The *inscription* (answering to the *title* at 2 Kings, 23, 17., see also John, 19, 19.), it seems, signified, that "Pausanias was there buried, whither he had been removed by the direction of the oracle."

It appears from Liban. Epist. 1080. that the monument of Pausanias did not in his time remain, but had been suffered to go to ruin by the neglect of his successors, the rulers of Sparta. Yet the expression used by that writer ἀπελθεῖν εἰς πῦρ is an odd one to signify *suffer destruction.* I have sometimes thought it might mean *go to the furnace,* which would apply to the στῆλαι, doubtless of brass, and perhaps to the brazen statues. Yet I find from Pausan. l. 3, 17, 7. that the statues remained in his time, and stood near the altar.

[1] *Implicated Themistocles.*] Such seems to be the true sense of συνεπηγτιῶντο, which is misunderstood by the interpreters. Certainly it is a very rare word, and I have met with it no where else but in Plutarch in Peric. οὓς συνεπηγτιῶντο τοῦ Μηδισμοῦ. As to the crime of which the Lacedæmonians accused him, there are no means of knowing whether he was guilty or not. The assertion of Lacedæmonian partisans, and of opposition politicians at Athens will little deserve to be credited. And, indeed, the whole seems a very improbable charge, as Themistocles had, in many respects, showed himself a true patriot. Yet so loosely did Themistocles sometimes carry his principles, that we cannot place that entire reliance on his unbending integrity which we readily accord to Miltiades, Aristides, and Cymon. And he must be admitted to have been, with all his abilities, a somewhat equivocal character; which has been usually the case with political adventurers. He had undoubtedly been treated most ungratefully by his country, and deeply injured by a certain party. And one can scarcely

which concerned Pausanias), and required that he should be punished in like manner. Being induced to consent, they sent with the Lacedæmonians (who were ready to join in the pursuit), persons whom they commanded to apprehend him wherever they might meet with him: for he happened at that time to be in banishment by ostracism, and though his ordinary residence was in Argos, he frequently visited other parts of Peloponnesus.

CXXXVI. Themistocles, however, having previous intelligence [1] of their purpose, fled from Peloponnesus to Corcyra, as having formerly rendered a service [2] to that state. The Corcyreans, however, representing that they durst not harbour him, lest they should incur the united resentment of both the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, conveyed him to the opposite coast [3] of the continent; and being tracked thither, according to the report of his course [4], by those appointed to apprehend him, he was compelled, in a great emergency [5] to throw himself on the hospitality and protection of Admetus,

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answer for the conduct of an exile, of no very rigid virtue, under such circumstances; nor say *how far* his hostility to his political antagonists and personal enemies might not hurry him; not to mention that in the then state of Greece he might choose to leave some opening for a welcome reception from the court of Persia, should circumstances, as was likely, oblige him to flee his country; and it might be true, what Ephorus asserts, that he was *conscious* of Pausanias's plots.

[1] *Intelligence.*] i. e. from such of his party as yet remained at Athens, and with whom he would keep up a correspondence.

[2] *Rendered a service.*] Namely, when he dissuaded the Greeks from proclaiming as public enemies all who had refused to cooperate in repelling the Persian incursion. Themistocles most magnanimously and wisely interposed, representing that such a measure would plunge Greece into more disastrous events than the Persian conquest would have inflicted.

[3] *Opposite coast.*] i. e. Thesprotis.

[4] *According to, &c.*] Smith renders, "by enquiry of." But the Schol. rightly explains, πύστιν, φήμην. The passage has been imitated by Dio Cass. 309, 74. Ποµπήϊον ἐπεδίωξεν κατὰ πύστιν; and Appian, t. 2, 296, 63. ἐξέλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, κατὰ πύστιν τῆς Ποµπήϊου φυγῆς, and 2, 855. Athen. 256. B. στείλας ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰωλίδος, κατὰ πύστιν — τῆς τῶν προγόνων χώρας; Phil. Thess. ap. Suid. v. πύστις. Πύστιν κατ' ἐσθλὴν ὕδατος — ἦλθεν. Hence it appears that πίστιν has been rightly restored by Hudson on Joseph. 739, 39., as it ought to have been by the editors of Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 68, 38.

[5] *Great emergency.*] The nature of this is pointed out by Plutarch in Vit. µᾶλλον — βασιληΐης. So that there is no occasion, with Thiersch, to read τὸ for τι.

king of the Molossi [6], though by no means his friend.[7] Now it happened that he was not then at home.[8] Throwing himself, however, on the protection of the queen, as a suppliant [9],

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[6] *Molossi.*] The exact situation of this state it is difficult to fix, and still more the extent. See Palmer's Gr. Ant. p. 322 — 336. It lay beyond Ambracia, and extended pretty far inland, up to the chain of Mount Pindus. It probably varied in extent at different times, and sometimes had Atintania subject to it.

[7] *By no means, &c.*] Nepos renders, " cum quo ei hospitium fuerat." But he seems not to have read the οὐ, and to have taken the φίλον for ξένον, a sense which it frequently bears. But the negative is confirmed by Cicero, Plutarch, Diod. Sic., and Liban. Epist. 259.

[8] *At home.*] Ουκ ἐπιδημῶν. So Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 69. ἐπιδημῶν ειτ' ἀποδημῶν; Aristoph. ap. Etym. Mag. in ἐνδημος: ἀλλ' οὐ τυγχάνει Ἐπίδημος ὤν. So also in Dio Cass. and Lucian.

[9] *Throwing himself, &c.*] There was great force in this appeal, which the queen could scarcely reject, it being thought impious to spurn a suppliant. And when she had admitted him as *her* suppliant, Admetus could not but reverence so sacred a claim to protection. Something very similar is related of Hassan Bey by Mr. Hope, in his Anastasius, vol. 1. p. 324. " He sped his way into the Gynæcæum, prostrates himself at the feet of the wife of Ibrahim, and implores her protection. She swore to protect him, and in her presence none durst lift his hand against *the suppliant.*" See Eurip. Orest. 663. It seems, too, that the union of the *son* had much avail in the supplication. And thus Thucyd. says it was μέγιστον ἱκέτευμα. Hence is illustrated an obscure and ill-understood passage of Eurip. Phœn. 1585. ἵκετις ἱκεταν αἰρόμενα, where I would read ἵκετιν, from the conjecture of Valckn., confirmed by three MSS.

By this ceremony Themistocles was understood to entreat him *by his son*, i. e. as he hoped for his preservation by the gods, whose protection an act of such signal mercy and benevolence would tend to procure. So Soph. Aj. 588. καὶ σὲ πρὸς σοῦ τέκνου, καὶ θεῶν ἱκνοῦμαι, μὴ προδοὺς ἡμᾶς γένῃ. There was, too, a great efficacy in this particular *place* (namely, the altar of the hearth) for such a supplication. So the Schol. on Soph. Aj. 491. μεγιστὸν γὰρ δικάιωμα, τὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑστίας ἐπιτυχεῖν, ὅποτε καὶ τῶν πολέμων φειδόμεθα διὰ ταῦτα. Such a suppliant was called ἱκέτης ἐφέστιος. So Æschyl. Eum. 574. Schutz. ἱκέτης δόμων ἐφέστιος; and Eurip. Cycl. 370. δωμάτων ἐφεστίους ξένους Ἱκτῆρας ἐκθύει δόμων. In imitation of the present passage, Plutarch Coriol. 23. says, παρεισελθὼν ἄφνω πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν ἐκάθιζε σιωπῇ. Hence is illustrated Eurip. Ion. 1257. ἵζε νῦν πυρᾶς ἐπί. Κἂν θάνῃς γὰρ ἐνθάδ' οὖσα, τοῖς ἀποκτείνωσι σε Προστρόπαιον αἷμα θήσεις. See also Eurip. Orest. 1410. It is truly observed by Musgrave on Eurip. Orest. 1442. " Religio erat veteribus preces quas ἐφ' ἑστίας aliquis fundebat aspernari." Hence, too, is illustrated Eurip. Phœn. 281., as also Eurip. Alc. 162. καὶ στᾶσα πρόσθεν ἑστίας κατεύξατο. There is, too, a most perplexing passage of Xenophon, which, by a better punctuation, and by reference to this custom, will cease to contain any difficulty, Anab. 7, 2, 33. ἐκαθεζόμην ἐνδίφριος, αὐτῷ ἱκέτης.

The *sitting* must be understood to be appropriate to the thing. So Eurip. Heracl. ἱκέται καθεζόμεθα βώμιοι θεῶν. Hence in Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 481, 2. (imitated from the present passage) ἱκέτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γίγνεται καθεζομένου ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστίας, I read καθεζόμενος.

This *larula* foci (on which see Facciol. Lex in Vesta) was, we may suppose, the seat of their family devotions.

he was directed by her to take the hand of her son [10], and seat himself at the altar by the hearth. And not long after, Admetus coming in, he makes known who he is, and intreats him, though he had been his opponent, in preferring a petition to the Athenians, not to take vengeance upon him in his state of exile, for that the revenge would be taken on one at present far his inferior in power.[11] It was (he said) true generosity for *equals* to avenge themselves on equal terms [12]; and moreover, that he had opposed him in a matter of *interest* only, not in a case where *life* was concerned; for that if he should give him up (mentioning by whom and for what he was pursued), he would deprive him of all means of saving his life.[13]

CXXXVII. Having heard this, Admetus raises him [1], together with his son, just as he had sat himself down. Now this was the most solemn and powerful of all modes of supplication. And not long afterwards there came up the Lacedæmonians and Athenians; to whom, though they used much

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[10] *Son.*] Nepos says, "filiam parvulam," where the editors think he followed some other authority. But as Nep. throughout the story, so closely follows Thucyd., I should rather suppose either that he read here *τὴν παῖδα*, or wrote "filium parvulum." Plutarch certainly read *τὸν*, in which all the MSS. unite.

[11] *For that the revenge, &c.*] Smith well renders, or rather *paraphrases*, thus: "To make him suffer now, would be taking those advantages over a man in distress which he ought to disdain."

Here I have *not* followed the reading of almost all the MSS. and editions *ἀσθενεστέρου*, as yielding no tolerable construction or sense. And I should certainly read, with two MSS. and Kistem, *ἀσθενεστέρον*, but that Goeller seems rightly to account it a solecism. Under these circumstances I prefer *ἀσθενέστερος*, from the conjecture of Reiske and Bauer. And this is edited by Goeller. The sense is the same as with *ἀσθενέστερον*, and the change is so slight as scarcely to need MS. authority. The nominative is to be taken as *αὐτὸς* just after.

[12] *It was, &c.*] A noble sentiment, with which I would compare Liban. Or. 421. B. *αἱ γὰρ τῶν χαλεπαινόντων πρὸς τοὺς λελυπηκότας, τῇ τῶν παροξυνάντων δυστυχίᾳ λύονται.* Perhaps Thucyd. had in mind Hom. Il. E. 253. *οὐ γάρ μοι γενναῖον ἀλυσκάζοντι μάχεσθαι.*

The phrase *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου* is here used as at 2, 89. *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρασκευάσασθαι*; and *μέρους* is to be supplied.

[13] *All means of, &c.*] Σωτηρία does not here signify *safety*, but the *means* of attaining it. A rare sense.

[1] *Raises him.*] i. e. bade him rise; which implied that the request was granted.

importunity, he would not give him up. But his intention being to go to the king of Persia, he sends him [2] away overland to Pydna, a city of king Alexander's on the other sea; where, happening upon a merchant-ship just sailing [3] for Ionia, he embarks, and is driven by tempestuous weather upon the Athenian fleet besieging Naxus [4]; and being in great fear, he discloses to the shipmaster who he is (for none in the ship knew him), and the reason of his flight, and threatens, if he should refuse to save him, to accuse him [5] of carrying him off for a sum of money. The only method [6], he said, of preservation was for no one to be allowed to leave the ship until the weather allowed of their voyage.[7] Finally, if he would consent, he would remember to repay the favour with the

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[2] *Sends him.*] This would seem to denote that he sent him openly with an escort. But that is not very probable. There is more reason to suppose, as Diod. tells us, that he went off secretly and by night, with the countenance of Admetus. Diod., too, adds a circumstance which is highly probable; namely, that he obtained the aid of two young men, Lyncestians (for I read, with Wesseling, Λυγκιστὰς, which is countenanced by the best MSS.), who were travelling merchants (like our pedlars, and the *mercatores* mentioned by Cæsar B. G. 1. who are described as *commeantes*, &c.) and through whose perfect knowledge of the country he was conveyed in safety, in spite of the efforts of his pursuers. We may suppose that they avoided Thessaly, and took their route by the chain of Mounts Pindus, Cambunium, and Olympus.

[3] *Just sailing.*] Or, "already weighing (anchor)." It is wrongly rendered by Hobbes and Smith, *bound*. There is a very similar passage (but more circumstantial) in Jonas, c. 1, 3.; also in Liban. Epist. 1435. Heliod. 1, 160. Plut. Mar. 35. Joseph. p. 913, 36. Polyæn. 1, 30, 7.

[4] *Besieging Naxus.*] which had revolted. See supra, c. 98. Though these events took place at the same time, it is impossible to adjust the chronology. Yet it should seem to have been not long after the time when the Athenians obtained the command over the allies, perhaps a couple of years.

[5] *He would accuse him, &c.*] This expedient displayed that adroitness and ἀγχινοία, accompanied, however, with laxity of moral principle, so characteristic of Themistocles.

[6] *The only method, &c.*] Such seems to be the force of the article here. See Middl. on Gr. Art. p. 69.

[7] *No one to, &c.*] And that, lest any of the crew might recognise him, or suspect who he was, and reveal it in the fleet.

Μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται is wrongly rendered by Smith, "during the voyage." Hobbes might have taught him better. Πλοῦς is for εὐπλοία, as 3, 3. and Xen. Anab. 6, 1, 22. αὔριον, ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ. Herod. Vit. Hom. c. 19. ὁ πλοῦς ὑμῖν ἔσται. Eurip. Hec. 892. εἰ μὲν ἦν στρατῷ Πλοῦς. Plut. Luc. πλοῦ φανέντος. Polyb. 4, 57, 2, and 6. Finally, Soph. Phil. 641. who pithily remarks, ἀεὶ καλὸς πλοῦς ἐσθ', ὅταν φεύγῃς κακά.

return it was entitled to.[8] The shipmaster[9] acquiesced, and having rode at anchor[10] off the armament, he afterwards proceeds to Ephesus[11]; nor did Themistocles fail to liberally reward[12] him with a sum of money (for some afterwards came to hand[13] from his friends at Athens, as also some from

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[8] *He would remember, &c.*] Such is the force of the brief idiomatical words of the original, which are strangely passed over by the commentators. Ἀπομνήσεσθαι denotes *to remember to make a return.* As to the reading of the Cod. Græv. *χάριν μνημονεύσαντα ἀποδοῦναι*, it is merely a gloss, but well represents the *sense.* There is a kindred passage in Hesiod Theog. 503. *οἵ οἱ ἀπεμνήσαντα χάριν εὐεργισίαων*; and Eurip. Alc. 311. *σὺ μοί νῦν τῶνδ' ἀπόμνησαι χάριν. Αἰτήσομαι γὰρ σ' ἀξίαν μὲν οὔ πότε.* Perhaps Thucyd. had those passages in view. Χάρις is for *ἀντίχαρις*, as the Scholiast well explains the word on a similar passage at 1, 73. And so Nepos, " cui ille pro meritis *gratiam* retulit."

[9] *Shipmaster.*] On the force of the term *ναύκληρος* and many similar ones I have copiously treated on, Acts 27, 17. Plutarch here adds, *καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ.* And as he avowedly follows Thucyd., he must have so read; yet, doubtless, from the margin. It may be observed that in merchant vessels the *ναύκληρος* performed the office of *κυβερνήτης.*

[10] *Rode at anchor.*] Such is the true sense of *ἀποσαλεύσας*, which is vaguely rendered by Hobbes and Smith, *lain at sea*, or *kept at sea.* And the above sense is confirmed by the fact, that *ἐπ' ἀγκύρᾳ*, or *ἀγκύραν*, or the like, is often added. To the examples adduced by Wasse, I add Appian, t. 2, 249. *ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν α*; Polyæn. 2, 2, 7. *ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν σαλεύει*; Plutarch Pomp. *ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν πρόσω τῆς χώρας α*; Appian, 2, 824, 27. *ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν α*; Joseph. 694, 8. *α. ἐπ' ἀγκύραις.* Also *τῆς γῆς* seems to be understood, which is *supplied* by Diod., cited by Wasse, to which example I add Achill. Tat. t. 2, 103. Finally, the word was so taken by Nepos, who renders, " in salo navem tenuit in anchoris."

Ὑπὲρ here signifies, not *upon*, (as Hobbes renders) but *off*, as also does *procul* in Nepos and Virg. Æn. 3, 13. We may be sure (though Thucyd. does not mention it) that the shipmaster would anchor as far out to sea as his length of cables and the weather would permit, and that he would keep to *windward* of the fleet; which, as the weather was so stormy, would prevent him from being boarded by any from thence.

[11] *Ephesus.*] Plutarch says *Cyme.* Probably he passed to Cyme from Ephesus, after a short stay.

[12] *Liberally reward.*] Or *gratify.* Θεραπεύω literally signifies *to make much of, pay attention to do.* Thus it is implied that the present was liberal. And such, indeed, the service claimed, especially if, as Plutarch relates, there was a reward of 200 talents offered by the king of Persia for the person of Themistocles; which would refute the charge of his having held treasonable correspondence with the king.

[13] *Came to hand, ἦλθε.*] A remarkable sense of ἐλθεῖν, which also occurs in a very similar passage of Herod. 8, 5. *ἐπιστέατο ἐκ τῶν Αθηναίων* (I conjecture Αθηνῶν) *ἐλθεῖν τὰ χρήματα.* See my note on Mark 4, 21. Plutarch, with a view to the present passage, says (Themist. § 25.), *τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τῶν αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπέκλαπεν τὰ διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἀσιαν ἔπλει*, where I formerly conjectured for *ἔπλει, ἦλθε.* But that is defended by Appian, t. 2, 641, 25. *ὑπέμενεν τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῖς διαπλέουσας παρασκεύας.*

It is of more importance, however, to attend to the *ὑπεξεκ*, by which it seems, and indeed Plutarch plainly says, that on Themistocles' conviction,

Argos, which he had there privately laid up); and proceeding into the interior, in company with a Persian of the maritime parts[14], he sends a letter [15] to king Artaxerxes [16] son of Xerxes, who had lately come to the throne, the contents of which were to this purport: — "I, Themistocles [17], am come unto thee, who of all the Greeks did most injury to thy family, during such time as I was forced to repel the invasion of thy father; but who conferred still more signal *benefits*, when *my* retreat was placed in security, while *his* return back was encompassed with dangers." [18] (Here he inserted an account

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his *property had been seized and confiscated*, to the amount of 100 talents, or 80, according to Theopompus.

The money *sent* him was some that his friends had contrived to *secrete*, and save, as it were, out of the fire, doubtless with as much difficulty as the faithful Scipio, in Gil Blas, is said to have rescued from the talons of the soldiers, two bags of doubloons. It plainly appears from what follows that other monies also arrived, which he had secretly deposited with trusty persons at Argos; and yet Gail makes the money sent him by his friends at Athens to be what he had laid up at Argos.

[14] *Proceeding, &c.*] Plutarch relates the matter more circumstantially, though somewhat differently. He says, that Themistocles was conveyed to the court in a covered carriage, such as are used for women, through the contrivance of Nicogenes, his host at Ægæ in Æolia. It is probable, however, that Nicogenes accompanied him; and *he* was an inhabitant of the sea-coast, and, though not, it should seem, a *Persian*, yet might be of Persian extraction, at least was a Persian *subject*. Indeed that Nicogenes *did accompany him*, appears from Diod.; for though he calls the person by the name of Lysithides, yet the circumstances so exactly tally, that we may very well suppose them the same. The cause of the discrepancy I may consider on some more suitable occasion.

[15] *Sends a letter.*] Doubtless by Nicogenes or Lysithides. Diod., indeed, says he introduced him to a personal interview with the king. If such was the case, the interview, doubtless, was subsequent to the sending the letter.

[16] *Artaxerxes.*] Diod. says *Xerxes;* probably from Ephorus. But Plutarch, Cicero, and Nepos, with reason, prefer our author's chronology (the words of Plutarch are as follows: τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θ. συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταττομένοις). And so also does Charon Lampsacenus, an historian more antient than Herod., on whom see Mus. Crit. p. 2. p. 221. seq. To the fragments there indicated by the learned writer, I add a long one which occurs in the Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. l. 2, 479. Charon is also mentioned by the Scholiast on l. 2, 1055.

[17] *I, Themistocles.*] The commencement of this letter is closely imitated by Liban. Orat. p. 436. D.

[18] *During such time, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense, which has been imperfectly understood. Ἀποκομιδὴ must, by a dilogia, be accommodated so as to suit both Themistocles and Xerxes. Ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ and ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ are *phrases* standing for *adjectives*. Πάλιν is to be joined with ἀποκομιδή.

of the previous intelligence [19] he had received of the retreat from Salamis, and also of the non-demolition of the bridges *on his account*, as he then pretended.[20]) " Wherefore a return of kindness is due to me.[21] And now, persecuted by the Greeks on account of my good offices to thee, I am come hither, having it in my power to render thee many services; and my wish it is, after the interval of a year, in person to

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[19] *Previous intelligence — account.*] See Herod. 8, 110. On the οὐ διάλυσιν Duker adduces examples of this kind of idiom, to which I add Dionys. Hal. p. 669, 6. Themist. 262. C. Others may be seen in Markland on Max. Tyr. Diss. 14. t. 1, 267. Valck. on Eurip. Phœn. Schol. 9. Schneider on Xen. An. 7, 7, 24. and Monk on Eurip. Hipp. 196. None of them, however, have mentioned the use (and it is, indeed, very rare) of μὴ for οὐ in this idiom. The following are the only examples known to me. Aristoph. Conc. 115. δεινὸν δ' ἐστιν ἡ μὴ 'μπειρία; Onosand. c. 10. ἡ μὴ — εἰς τὸ ἀληθινον ἀγώνισμα, πεῖρα; where the separation of the negative and the substantive is remarkable and unparalleled. Indeed there was formerly a *hyphen* used in this idiom, which were better retained. In that passage therefore, I conjecture εἰ μὴ and περᾷ, which was in the archetype of those MSS. which have πειρᾷ.

[20] *As he then pretended.*] The whole passage may be literally rendered thus: " And also the non-demolition of the bridges on his account, which Themistocles falsely ascribed to himself, or made a merit of." It appears from Herod. 8, 110. that Themistocles did send a *message* to Xerxes, that he had checked the pursuit of the Greeks, and suspended the breaking down of the bridges on his account. And as the letter plainly alludes to that passage, it must have been sent.

As to the words ἢ ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, (which refer both to the message and this letter,) they can hardly import that Themistocles was not the mover of those measures; since there is every reason to suppose the contrary. The sense must be, that he claimed a merit with Xerxes for these measures on false pretences; for though he proposed the measures, and even sent the message to Xerxes, yet it was out of no good-will to him, but from profound policy; for it was a custom with certain nations alike famed for their valour and prudence (as the Lacedæmonians) never to pursue a beaten enemy very far. And so far from *breaking down* a bridge under those circumstances, it was an old military maxim to *build a bridge* for a flying enemy. Hence it is very judiciously inserted among the stratagems of Themistocles by Polyæn. 1, 30, 3. Herod., indeed, says that in giving this advice he only sought to lay up a store of merit with Xerxes. And he adds: ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, scil. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. where διέβαλλε signifies *choused* them. But this seems an unjust censure. Themistocles doubtless gave the most judicious counsel, and, there is little doubt, with all sincerity and good faith. Yet, with his accustomed shrewdness and ever wakeful attention to his own interest, he saw that this would be an opportunity (in the words of Scripture), " to lay a good foundation for the time to come." Therefore he sent a private message to Xerxes. And had his correspondence been detected, he would doubtless have ascribed it to deep laid design, it being politic to *hasten* a flying enemy.

[21] *A return of kindness.*] So Onosand. 113. χάρις ὀφείλεται. The εὐεργεσία is well rendered by the Schol. ἀντίχαρις. And so supra, c. 129.

lay open to thee the particular business which has brought me hither."

CXXXVIII. The king, it is said, highly commended[1] his plans and intentions, and bid him do as he said.[2] Then,

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[1] *Highly commended, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the words, which though plain separately, yet, when united, are by no means easy of interpretation. Hobbes renders: wondered "what his purpose might be." But θαυμάζο will scarcely admit such a sense. Smith renders, "was surprised at the spirit and boldness of the man." But διανοίαν cannot mean boldness. That version is rather founded on the expression of Plutarch θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτοῦ. But the biographer has here, as often, deviated from his historical authority. And the sense, above assigned, is required by the words following.

[2] *Bid him do, &c.*] i. e. execute his plans. So 1 Kings, 17. 13. This, indeed, rather implies an answer by *message;* and yet I cannot but think that the historians on whom Diod. and Plutarch have founded their narratives (as Charon, Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, Heraclides, and others), were all authorised to assert that Themistocles had an *interview* with the king. Nay, according to Plutarch, he had *two*. Certainly the circumstances mentioned by Plutarch, on the authority of Phanias and others, are very natural and probable. It seems that he procured an introduction to Artabanus, (who is called τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, which probably means *captain of the body guard*,) partly by the influence of Nicogenes, and partly by the mediation of a Grecian woman, concubine to Artabanus. By their applying to Artabanus, it seems that he was one of the *Introducers* to a royal interview (like our *Lords in waiting*), such as are represented so frequently in the very antient sculptures at Persepolis, habited in a robe and collar of office, with a truncheon in their right hand, and with the left one leading forward some person or persons. It appears from Phanias, that Themistocles would not tell him who he was, but reserved that to be communicated to the king in person; and according to the narration of Plutarch, it *was* so communicated. But it seems far more probable that it was communicated by *letter*, as Thucyd. relates. And this is so far confirmed by Diod., that it plainly appears the king had information who the applicant for an interview was, before he would admit him. Diod., indeed, ascribes the introduction solely to Nicogenes (or Lysithides), and says that he dealt very cautiously with the king, and procured a previous promise that he would do Themistocles no harm. But Nicogenes seems not to have *personally* introduced him; and all that the king would be likely to promise would be, that Themistocles should be allowed to speak for himself, and plead his own cause. Now this, it must be remembered, was what no accused person, in the despotic government of the East, could *claim*. Thus Agrippa says to Paul, (Acts, 26, 1.) "Thou art *permitted* to speak for thyself." If, however, the *letter* in Thucyd. be authentic, the *address* to the king, as given by Plutarch, cannot be so. Themistocles would not have to tell the king who he was, but would only follow up the arguments for forgiveness and protection briefly stated in the letter.

That the king should make no reply to his speech (as Plutarch relates), is quite agreeable to the etiquette of oriental courts. Thus the Turkish emperor very rarely vouchsafes a reply to the speeches of any ambassador. Doubtless the king was much delighted; and the circumstances mentioned by Plutarch are characteristic of the levity of an oriental despot.

Plutarch

in the interval which he required, he attained all the knowledge he could[3] of the Persian language, and the manners and customs of the country. After the expiration of which period, he went (to court) and gained such influence[4] there as no Grecian had ever yet possessed; and that both from his former rank and fame, and the hope entertained of Greece, which he engaged to bring under the dominion of the king, but especially from the proofs he had given[5] of ability and intelligence. For, indeed, Themistocles was a man in whom was most clearly displayed the strength of natural under-

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Plutarch narrates that he had a second interview with the king, the next morning, at which he explained his reason for requesting a year to be allowed him before he entered into any discussion with the king on the affairs of Greece; and in so doing used a metaphor highly ingenious and appropriate. "Human discourse" he said "resembled variegated and embroidered carpets. For like those, it required to be stretched out, in order that its figures might be shown to advantage; but when contracted and drawn up, they were hidden and spoilt." * The king was doubtless pleased with the aptness of this comparison, and the good sense contained in it: and, according to Plutarch, returned it by a scarcely less witty turn, telling Themistocles that he was indebted to him two hundred talents; that being the sum which he had promised the person who should bring him Themistocles. Now, says he, you have *brought me yourself* and therefore have a right to the sum.

[3] *Obtained all the knowledge he could.*] It is strange that Portus should take the meaning to be, "he learnt what could be learnt." And still more so, that Nepos should say he acquired a greater knowledge of the language than those who were born in Persia. "Credat Judæus Apella." Philostratus, indeed, in his Icon. 32. p. 857. says: ἐξεπόνησε γὰρ τοῦτο, i. e. to speak the Persian language; but that may denote after-acquirement. The *picture* mentioned by Philostratus seems to have been one which represented Themistocles addressing the king in the presence of the court, on his audience, after his year's retirement.

[4] *Such influence.*] Literally, "became great with." An idiom common to our own tongue, but now confined to the vulgar; though it is found in 2 Kings 5, 1. See my note on Matth. 5, 19. Among other marks of the king's respect and regard towards him, Plutarch mentions this, that he permitted him διακοῦσαι τῶν μαγικῶν λόγων, where μαγ. λογ. do not mean *præcepta magica*, as the Latin translator renders, but "doctrinas ac literas *Magorum*." And this *permission* was necessary, for Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 494. says: οὐ γὰρ παιδεύουσι τοῦς μὴ Πέρσας Πέρσαι Μάγοι, ἢν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφῃ.

[5] *From the proofs he had given.*] Such is the force of the πειρὰν διδοὺς, of which expression I would instance examples in Plut., Themist.. Polyæn., Herod. 5, 5, 11.

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* These στρώματα were, it seems, so formed as to admit of being rolled up like a piece of tapestry or oilcloth; and always required to be stretched out and fastened down to be properly seen.

standing [6], and in this respect beyond any other was he most worthy of admiration. By the mere force of his natural genius [7], and without the helps either of early culture or after study [8], he was the best judge, and with least deliberation, of measures of immediate and sudden emergency [9]; and of the

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[6] *Strength of natural understanding.*] So Dio Cass. p. 407. of Cæsar: τῆς φύσεως ἰσχύι θαυμαστῇ ἐκέχρητο. Liban. Or. Par. in Julian c. 7. τὰ μάλιστα τῆς φύσεως διέδειξε τὴν ἰσχυν. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. 3, 23. μέγεθος φύσεως. It is of more importance, however, to observe that Thucyd. seems to have had in mind, Pind. Ol. 2, 154. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ. Μαθόντες δὲ, &c. where the Schol. explains: ἀπὸ φύσεως — οἱ μαθόντες δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ οἱ ἀπὸ μαθήσεως δὲ εἰδότες, καὶ ουκ ἀπὸ φύσεως, πρὸς (*compared to*) τὸν ἐχοντα δηλονότι τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπὸ φύσεως κ. τ. λ. So also Pind. Olymp. 9, 152. τὸ δὲ φυᾷ (i. e. φύσει) κράτιστον ἅπαν, πολλοὶ δὲ διδακταῖς Ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος Ὤρουσαν ἐλέσθαι. Aristoph. Vesp. 1281. ὕντινα — μαθόντα παρὰ μηδενὸς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σοφῆς φύσεος αὐτόματον ἐκμαθεῖν κ. τ. λ.

[7] *Natural genius.*] Literally, *mother-wit.* So Pausan. 4, 35. συνέσει γὰρ οἰκείᾳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπερεβάλλοντο.

[8] *Without the helps of, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν, οὔτε ἐπιμαθών. The προ refers to the time previous to his entering on political life. This passage is imitated by Suidas in Ακαμαντιος. οὕτως δὲ ἰδιωτικῶς εἶχεν ὡς οὐδὲν προμαθὼν οὐδὲ (I conjecture οὔτε) ἐπιμαθῶν.

[9] *He was the best, &c.*] Such appears to be the real sense of this passage, which was celebrated among the antients, by some of whom it was imitated. To the example from Dionys. Hal. Ant. 7, 57. adduced by Goeller, I add Dio Cass. p. 32, 77. of Scipio, ἄριστος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πλείονος τὸ δέον ἐκφροντίζειν, ἄριστος δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα τὸ κατεπεῖγον ἐρευνῆσαι. Joseph. p. 331, 8. Dio Cass. 407, 8. of Cæsar: πάντα γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὶν ἀπαρτηθῆναι καὶ προδιεγίνωσκε καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ συμβῆναι δυνάμενα προπαρασκεύαστο, where for ἀπαρτηθῆναι I would read, from conjecture, ἀπαντηθῆναι. See also Joseph. p. 21, 33. It is plain that by the τῶν παραχρῆμα of our author, Dio. Cass. understood *things present;* as also did Nepos and Cicero. But that is not the full sense, though it is probable Thucyd. might have in mind the Homeric ὅς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἐοντα, τά τ' ἐσόμενα, πρὸ τ' ἐοντα. See also Pind. Nem. 1, 40. So Cicero Offic. 1, 23. "Ingenii magni est *præcipere cogitatione futura,* et aliquanto ante constituere quid accidere possit in utramque partem; et quidquid agendum sit cum quid evenerit; nec committere, ut aliquando dicendum sit — non putâram." Terent. Ad. 3, 3, 32. "Illud est sapere, non quod ante pedes modo 'st Videre, sed etiam illa quæ futura sunt prospicere." Some admirable remarks, too, on the character of Themistocles may be seen in Aristid. 3, 295.

The word γνώμων is best rendered *judge.* There were, it may be observed, certain magistrates at Athens who were called γνώμονες. The word seems properly an adjective. And so Hesych. γνώμων συνετός. Thus ἀγνώμων occurs in Pind. Olymp. 8, 78. And other compounds may be seen in Stephens. Thes. nov. ed. The ἐπὶ πλεῖστον is to be joined with τοῦ γενησομένου. See Hemsterh. on Lucian 1, 15. The sentence is thus elegantly paraphrased by Mr. D'Israeli, New Curiosities of Lit. vol. ii. p. 425. "By a species of sagacity peculiarly his own, for which he was in no degree indebted either to early education or after study, he was supereminently happy in forming a prompt judgment in matters that admitted but little time for

future, even for a long way forward, he was the best conjecturer. Whatever affair he might take in hand [10], he was able also to discuss [11] its merits; and even in matters in which he was unpractised, he was at no loss to form a tolerable judgment.[12] He had, moreover, the especial faculty of looking forward, and discerning the better or worse in an affair of which the issue was as yet buried in the uncertain womb of futurity.[13] To sum up the whole, — by the strength of his natural genius [14], and the shortness of preparation he needed, he was excellently adapted for suggesting, offhand, what was

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deliberation: at the same time that he surpassed *all* in his deductions of the future from the present." On this political *long-sightedness* the same intelligent writer offers some judicious remarks.

[10] *Take in hand.* Or, "be occupied in;" as Herod. 1, 35. 7, 5, and 16. where see Valckn. Here Hobbes and Smith have translated most absurdly.

[11] *Discuss.* The sense seems to be, that as soon as he was engaged in any business, he became able to discuss the points relating to it.

[12] *He was at no loss to, &c.* Literally, "he was not destitute of the power," &c. This sense of οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι is elegant; and as it has not been illustrated by the philologists, the following examples may be acceptable. Lucian t. 2. 289, οὐκ ἀπήλλακται γραφικῆς. Joseph. 1014, 18. τῆς δὲ σοφίας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος. Aristid. t. 3. 358. οὔτε συγγνώμης ἀπήλλακτο. Joseph. 798, 39. πράξεἰς αἰσχυνῶν οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμέναι. So also Philostr. Imag. p. 826. Hence is illustrated an obscure passage of Joseph. 859, 2. (imitated from our author), κρίτης εἶναι μὴ ἀπηλλαμένος, where κρίτης εἶναι is for κρίνειν. The use there of ἀπαλλάσεσθαι with μὴ for οὐ is very rare; but I have noted another instance in Philostr. Vit. ap. 6, 11. Hence, too, may be emended Themist. p. 90. C. τῆς φιλίας οὐκ ἀπελήλαται, where read ἀπήλλακται. Properly the verb should have the genitive after it; but sometimes a verb in the infinitive is found without the τοῦ; as Joseph. 786, 19. 842, 5. 859, 2. and indeed in the present passage of Thucydides.

[13] *He had moreover, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense, though not the most literal version of this difficult sentence, which has been misunderstood by the translators, especially Smith, who renders it, "*foresee* the better and worse side of a *question*." The *modern* commentators offer no remark on the passage. By the Scholiast the ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον is not amiss explained by τὸ συνοῖσον, ἢ τὸ βλαπτικόν. That is, "what may turn out in the issue," whether for benefit or for injury. The passage has been imitated by Arrian Exp. Alex. l. 7. 28, 4. ξυνιδεῖν δὲ τὸ δέον ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ὂν δεινότατος. And hence we may perceive the sense of an obscure passage of Theophrastus, a comic writer, ap. Athen. 362. F. τοὺς ἐρῶντας δεῖεἶναι Ποιητίκους, ἰτάμους, προθύμους, εὐπόρους, Ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις βλέποντας, &c. where point εὐπόρους ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις, βλέποντας, i. e. who are able to find a course of safety amidst difficulties, who have their eyes about them.

[14] *Strength of, &c.*, φύσεως δυνάμει. So Dio Cass. p. 407, 1. φύσεως ἰσχύϊ. Liban. Orat. 513. φύσεως ἴσχυν. and Epist. 1064. φύσεως ῥωμὴν. Procop. p. 40. φύσεως ἰσχύϊ. The whole passage has been imitated by Agath. p. 22. where he depicts the character of Narses. See also Plutarch. Themist. c. 2.

proper to be done in any sudden emergency.[15] As to the manner in which he came to his end, it was by a natural death, through disease [16]; though some say [17] that it was self-procured, by poison, when he found it impossible for him to perform what he had promised to the king. His monument [18] is at Magnesia in Asia, in the market-place; for he had the dominion [19] of that district; having, by the bounty of the king, had *Magnesia* assigned to him (which brought him the annual revenue of fifty talents) to supply him with bread [20],

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[15] *He was excellently, &c.*] This is imitated by Isid. Epist. *αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὸ δέον.* and Philostr. Vit. ap. l. 5, 37. *προσῆν δὲ αὐτῷ ἀποσχεδιάζειν* (I conjecture *ἀυτοσχ.*) *ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων.* So Vit. Soph. p. 482. (where see the note of Olearius) Onosand. p. 14. *σχεδίαζειν τὸ σύμφερον.* See also Spanh. on Julian. p. 14.

Upon the whole, there was a strong resemblance between the character of Themist. and that of Demades; between whom, as compared with Demosthenes, there was the same difference as between Sheridan and Pitt of our own times.

[16] *As to the manner, &c.*] The *transitive* force of δὲ, and the emphatical and idiomatical use of *νόσησας* I shall illustrate in my edition.

[17] *Some say, &c.*] For various are the accounts concerning the death of Themistocles. Some, adverted to by Plutarch, say it was by a strong poison, which he always carried about him; others, that it was by bull's blood. Both parties, however, are agreed that it was done deliberately, and that after feasting with his friends and saluting them, he sacrificed to the gods, and proceeded to take the fatal draught. And this is alluded to as the end of this celebrated person by Aristoph. Equit. 83. Yet there is surely more reliance to be placed on the account of Thucydides, especially as it is very probable that a man of 65 (as we find by Plutarch), and who had been worn out by perpetual labours and anxieties, should die of disease. Besides, many eminent writers of antiquity gave no credence to the common account. Thus Cicero in Bruto, c. 11. (cited by Duker), thinks that his poisoning himself was feigned by Clitarchus and Stratocles for rhetorical and tragical effect, since the common mode of death would supply nothing to work on in the way of ornament. Symmachus ap. Schol. on Aristoph. Eq. v. 84. (referred to by Duker), accounts for it in another way. To show, however, the inconsistency of Cicero, I would remark that in his Epist. ad Atticum l. 9, 10. he adopts the vulgar belief, as being better suited to his present purpose. Diodorus plainly acquiesced in the account of Thucydides.

[18] *Monument.*] Goeller refers to Brisson de Regno Pers. p. 211.

[19] *Dominion.*] Or *government.* Like that of the *local* pachas of the present Turkish government. For in Asiatic Turkey there are many families which hold not only for life, but hereditarily, the government of certain districts.

[20] *Magnesia — bread.*] Here the substantive, being in apposition, contains a fuller explanation of the preceding, noting its *design.* Or we may subaud *εἰς*, which is *supplied* in most of the following passages, whence may be derived further examples of this oriental custom. Xen. Anab. 1, 4, 9. *κῶμαι Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζώνην δεδόμεναι.* Athen. l. 1, 23., where he treats of this custom; also p. 33. F. *Ἀτυλλαν πόλιν ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἐδίδοσαν*

Lampsacus to provide him with wine (for its abundance of which it was in the greatest repute), and *Myus* for meat. His relations, however, say that his bones were, at his own desire, brought home and deposited, unknown to the Athenians [21], in Attic ground; for to bury him there was unlawful, he having fled his country for treason.

Such were the issues which attended the fortunes of Pausanias and Themistocles, the most celebrated persons in Greece of their age.

CXXXIX. These, then, were the demands respecting the expulsion of the sacrilegious, which the Lacedæmonians made, in their first embassy, and in their turn received. Afterwards they sent frequently to the Athenians, ordering them to retire from Potidæa, to permit Ægina to be independent, and — what they most of all insisted on — distinctly apprising them that if they would rescind the decree concerning the Megareans [1]

εἰς ζώνας. Diod. Sic. l. 11, 57. who has this passage of Thucyd. in view. Herod. 6, 7. (of Demaratus), ὁ δὲ ἐδέξετο αὐτὸν μεγαλωστὶ, καὶ γῆν τε καὶ πόλις ἔδωκε. Athen. 534. D. who says of Alcibiades: εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀποδημίας ὁπότε στέλλοιτο, τέσσαρσι τῶν συμμαχίδων πολέων ὥσπερ θεραπαίναις ἐχρῆτο. σκηνὴν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Περσικὴν ἔπησσον Εφέσιοι, τρυφὴν δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ Χῖοι παρεῖχον. ἱερεῖα δὲ παρίστασαν εἰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ κρεανομίας κυζικηνοὶ, Λεσβίοι δὲ οἶνον παρεῖχον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν. Herod. 2, 98. So in Plutarch Anton. c. 37. Anthony is said to have given to an illustrious refugee, *like* Themistocles, *three* cities, Larissa, Arachthus, and Hierapolis. See also Philostr. Vit. ap. l. 2, 31.; and in Athen. p. 29. E. Cyrus the great is said to have given to a friend *seven* cities. Hence is illustrated Luke, 19, 17. ἴσθι ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ἐπάνω δέκα πόλεων. That the custom is very antient we know; for there are vestiges of it in Homer. Thus Liban. Orat. 262. B. observes that Agamemnon offers to Achilles, as the price of reconciliation, *seven cities*, each possessing some excellence.

I cannot conclude without observing, that to the *three* cities here mentioned by Thucyd., Neanthes and Phanias ap. Plutarch Themist. c. 29. add *two others*, Percote and Palæscepsis, εἰς στρώμην καὶ ἀμπεχόνην. But the number in Thucyd. is confirmed by Diod. and Plutarch. Finally, this custom remains in the East even to the present day. Thus Athens is always assigned to the chief Sultana for *pin-money;* and, in like manner, Jerusalem to the Sultan's concubines for the same purpose. Hence each is governed by a black eunuch appointed by the Sultana, or the concubines.

[21] *Unknown to the Athenians.*] Pausanias, indeed, 1, 1, 2. says, that the Athenians repented of their anger, and permitted his relations to bury the body in Attic ground. But one cannot long hesitate which account to prefer. It seems, however, that in his time not only the place of burial was known, but that a tomb had been erected near the great port.

[1] *Rescind the decree, &c.*] The Schol. on Aristoph. p. 657. A. Edit. Biset. informs us that during the time of the peace between Athens and

(in which it was forbidden for these to use either the port of Athens, or the market at Athens), then there would be no war. But the Athenians neither hearkened to any other of the requisitions nor rescinded the decree; recriminating on the Megareans for cultivating [2] the border territory, left sacred and unappropriated [3], and debateable, and harbouring some

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Megara, the Megareans resorted thither, and supported themselves by the sale and exchange of commodities; "for (adds he) they buy their food from out of Attica, because it is convenient of approach, and because they themselves have very little corn-land."

The decree in question is thus expressed by Aristoph. Acharn. 533 and 534. ὡς χρὴ Μεγαρέας μήτε γῇ, μήτ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ, μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, μητ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ μένειν. And the strictness with which the decree was enforced, is plain from Aristoph. Acharn. 520—523. κεἴ που σίκυον ἴδοιεν, ἢ λαγώδιον, ἢ χοιρίδιον, ἢ σκόροδον, ἢ χόνδρους ἀλὸς, ταῦτ' ἦν Μεγαρικὰ, κἀπέπρατ' αὐθημερόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σμικρὰ, κἀπιχώρια. In which passage, too, we find the *articles* chiefly sent by the Megareans to the Athenian market. Other particulars may be gathered from the Schol. there. See p. 396. D. and p. 530. Edit. Biset.

[2] *Cultivating.*] Here ἐπεργασίαν has been rightly adopted by our recent editors, to whose remarks I would add, that such was read by Libanius, who, in his Orat. 506. B. thus writes (with a reference to the present passage), ὅτι τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ὀλίγον ἐπεξῆλθον μέρος, καὶ ἐπειργασάντο, which words are said to be those of the decree, and the ἐπεργασίαν in Thucyd. seems to have reference to the ἐπειργάσαντο there. So also read Pausanias 1, 36, 3. whose words are these: Ἰοῦσι δὲ ἐπ' Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν—Ἀνθεμοκρίτου πεποίηται μνῆμα—ἐς τοῦτον Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐστιν ἀνοσιώτατον ἔργον. οἵ τε κήρυκα ἐλθόντα, ὡς μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν χώραν ἐπεργάζοιντο, κτείνουσι Ἀ. καὶ σφίσι ταῦτα δράσασι παραμένει καὶ ἐς τόδε μήνιμα ἐκ τῶν θεῶν; where Facius remarks that the territory in question appears from l. 3, 4. to have consisted of the district of Eleusis. But it is incredible that it should have comprehended the whole of that district. We may rather suppose a strip of it nearest to Megara. Pausanias also from 3, 4, 5. appears to have here read ἐπεργασίαν. And the same term is used in a kindred passage at 10, 15, 1., from which it would seem to have been a vox solennis de hac re. Though from Xen. Cyr. 3, 2, 23. ἐπιγαμίας δ' εἶναι καὶ ἐπεργασίας καὶ ἐπινομίας, it seems to have originally denoted any *common* cultivation, as of what is with us called *open-field land.*

This strip of border land seems to have been left unappropriated, to prevent disputes, and in order effectually to make it so, it was consecrated to the Eleusinian goddesses (as we find from our Schol. and Heliodorus, cited by Duker). That those were Ceres and Proserpine, is clear from Pausan. 3, 4, 28.; and from the words of the decree cited by Liban. Or. Potid. 506. B. (which are as follows: εἰργέσθωσαν Μεγαρεῖς λιμένων Ἀττικῶν, καὶ γῆς ὅτι τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ὀλίγον ἐπεξῆλθον μέρος, καὶ ἐπειργάσαντο), it appears that the portion thus illegally cultivated was but small. The words, indeed, of our Scholiast, τῆς πολλῆς, show that it was not *all.*

[3] *Unappropriated.*] Or undefined and debateable. We may dispense with the conjecture of Reiske ἀθεριστοῦ, and that of Lindau ἀναρότου. The Scholiast explains it of land not set out and appropriated to certain possessors, and therefore left uncultivated; for what is cultivated (he adds)

fugitive slaves.[4] At last a final embassy came from Lacedæmon (composed of Ramphius, Melessippus, and Agesander), which, making no mention of the former points of requisition, only said: — "The Lacedæmonians wish that there should be peace; and peace there may be, if ye will permit the Greeks to be governed by their own laws." Then the ~~Lacedæmonians~~ Athenians, having called an assembly, in which all were permitted to offer their sentiments[5], it was determined, after consultation, to return an answer once for all[6]; and many others came forward and spoke, though divided in opinion — some insisting on the necessity of war; others urging that the decree should be no hindrance to peace, but should be rescinded; when Pericles son of Xanthippus[7] (at that time the leading person at Athens, and most celebrated, both as an orator and statesman[8]), came forward, and gave the following counsel.

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has limits. I must observe, however, *not always*. There is much land both in this and other countries that is cultivated in what we call *open field*. And indeed Poppo and Goeller suppose that the district in question was *so cultivated*. But that is supposing that it was *allowed to be cultivated*, which is contrary to the epithet ἱερᾶς. Besides, the *complaint* was that they *cultivated* it. It should seem that the ἀορίστου has reference, not to *individuals*, but to the land being not within the limits of either *country*, not assigned to either country, and, therefore (as border land often is), debateable. It is possible, too, that the tract itself might not be accurately defined, and, therefore, in that sense, debateable. On which pretence only was any portion cultivated.

[4] *Fugitive slaves.*] These are supposed by the commentators (who refer to Athen. 570. and Aristoph. Ach. 525.) to have been certain slaves of Aspasia's. But there is no reaons to confine it to them. Those of many other persons were doubtless included.

[5] *Permitted to, &c.*] The phrase γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προὐτιθεσαν is remarkable; for though other authors use γνώμας or λόγον, προτιθέναι or ποιεῖσθαι, yet no other adds σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, which may be accounted for from the verb including in itself a notion of *giving*.

[6] *Once for all.*] Such is the true sense of ἅπαξ. And the same occurs elsewhere, though little attended to by editors. So Liban. Or. p. 228. and Herodian, 7, 10, 3. in a kindred passage; Appian, 1, 150, 38. Ælian V. H. 13, 24. Ps. 62, 11. and 89, 35. And so the Latin *semel*. See Facciol. Lex.

[7] *Son of Xanthippus.*] This Xanthippus was a very celebrated person, as we may infer from his being thus mentioned by Timocreon ap. Plut. Themist. c. 21. Ἀλλ' εἰ τύγε Παυσανίαν, ἢ καὶ τύ γε Ξάντιππον αἰνεῖς, ἢ τύγε Λευτυχίδαν. Ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω.

[8] *Orator and statesman.*] So Xen. Mem. 2, 9, 4. ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πρᾶξαι. See also Wetstein on Luke, 24, 19. and my note on Acts, 7, 22.

CXL. "To the same opinion [1], Athenians, do I still continue to adhere—that no concessions must be made to the Peloponnesians; though I am well aware that men are not in the same disposition when at first induced to undertake a war, and when engaged in its toils and dangers [2], but that their minds fluctuate according to events. I feel, however, that I must offer the same, or nearly the same [3], counsels that I before did; and I entreat such of you as are swayed by them, to give the weight of your influence towards the maintenance of the public resolves, in the event of any adverse occurrence, or else not to ascribe to your own wisdom any success that may attend us.[4] Indeed the events [5] of measures

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[1] *To the same opinion, &c.*] This passage is cited by Aristid. t. 3. 226. D., who also makes some remarks which merit attention. Dionys. Hal., too, p. 370, 21., and Appian, 1, 553, 91. commence orations with almost the same words. Ἔχεσθαι signifies to entwine oneself about, lay hold of, keep hold, hold fast, *keep to.*

[2] *Though I am aware—dangers.*] The reason for this may be assigned in the words of Eurip. Suppl. 479—83; and so our author, l. 2. 8. ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται (τοῦ πολέμου). Ὀργὴ signifies here *disposition, mood,* or *mind.* So the Schol. explains it τρόπῳ. Some MSS., indeed, read ὁρμῇ. But the vulg. is well defended and illustrated by the passages adduced by Wasse, to which I add that in Soph. Trach. ταυτῇ σὺν ὁρμῇ. I would, with the early editions, the Schol., and some MSS., read ὀργῇ. *There,* however, the word simply denotes *impetus,* as in the Elect. 1011. Æschyl. Suppl. 1770., where it is wrongly rendered *irâ* by the editors. Ὀργὴ, indeed, primarily denotes any violent emotion of the mind: hence, it not only signifies *anger,* but *grief* and desperation; as in Soph. Œd. Tyr. 1241. and Trach. 935. Here, however, it signifies *mind* or *disposition;* as in Theogn. 214, 215, and 312. Other examples may be seen in Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. p. v. 368., who might have adduced a most apposite passage from Theogn. 958. ὀργὴν καὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ τρόπον.

[3] *The same, or nearly the same.*] Here καὶ is for ἤ, as is almost always the case in this idiom. So Demosth. Olynth. 3. ὁμοίως καὶ παραπλησίως. Isocr. Areop. § 35. ὁμοίας καὶ παραπλησίας. Athen. 87. A. ex emend. Pors. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ παραπλησίως.

[4] *Not to ascribe, &c.*] There is a very similar sentiment in the third oration of Pericles, l. 2, 64.

In κατορθούντων there is *not,* as the Schol. supposes, any *antiptosis;* there is only a sort of *hypallage,* the action being ascribed to the agent. It is also put for ἢν κατορθῶμεν, which would better answer to ἢν, but that our author is fond of variety. I must not omit to observe, that, in the words just before ἄρα τι καὶ, the orator uses great delicacy, lest he should be thought to speak despairingly, or ominously, as Nicias does in his address to the soldiers just before their fatal retreat into Sicily: οἴκτου γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιώτεροι ἤδη ἔσμεν ἢ φθόνου.

[5] *Indeed the events, &c.*] Goeller remarks, that in these words is given the *reason* why such as may change their opinions ought not, if success

proceed with no less uncertainty than the plans of men; insomuch that when any thing falls out contrary to our expectation, we usually attribute it to fortune. That the Lacedæmonians did formerly [6], and especially do now, plot to work us harm, is manifest; for, notwithstanding that, in the adjustment of differences [7], it was expressly stipulated in the treaty, that each party should reciprocally abide by the award of fair arbitration, and that each should continue in possession of what it respectively held [8]; they have neither sought for judicial examination, nor accepted it when offered. No: they are desirous by *war*, rather than by *words*, to decide the points of difference between us; and now they are come, no longer to expostulate with, but to *dictate to us!* They command us to retire from Potidæa [9]—to grant independence to Ægina [10]—

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should attend them, to claim the praise of prudence, since even blundering counsels may be aided by fortune; wherefore those who fail of success usually blame, not their own counsels, but fortune." Perhaps, however, this is pressing too much on the sense of γὰρ, which does not always assign a *cause*, but sometimes only signifies *indeed*. Neither are the persons in question supposed to change their opinion, but only to adopt one different from that of the speaker. It should seem that this whole passage contains merely a *sententia generalis*, meant to be applied to both parties; and γὰρ here, as often, refers to a sentence omitted; q. d. "But let neither party be too positive that their counsel is the best, nor afterwards judge of it by the event; *for* the events of measures are as uncertain as the plans of men, of which who can tell whether they will succeed?" This is as much as to say, that they who adopt his counsel, must not understand him to answer for *more* than the *prudence* of the counsel, not the *success* which may attend it.

[6] *Did formerly.*] Namely, at the time when they endeavoured to hinder the Athenians from walling their city. They had, indeed, borne them ill-will almost from the time that the Athenians attained the command of the allies. For though at first they seemed to care little about it, yet envy soon arose in their bosoms.

[7] *Differences.*] The Schol. well explains, "disputed or debated matters which lead to differences." The genitive is, perhaps, governed of περὶ understood. On the whole phrase δίκας — δεχεσθαι, see the commentators on T. Magist. p. 227.

[8] *In possession of what, &c.*] This is one of the most antient examples of the stipulation called the *uti possidetis*.

[9] *Retire from Potidæa.*] The translators render, "raise the siege." And, indeed, the expression frequently bears this sense; but the Athenians were required not only to raise the siege, but to abandon all claim to the place, which would be implied in their retiring from it.

[10] *Ægina.*] To this Pericles was decidedly averse; and, as we learn from Aristot. Rhet. p. 25., and Plutarch in Pericle, used to enjoin them to pull out this *eyesore* of the Piræus.*

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* So, at least, the expression there is always interpreted; but there seems to be something incongruous in *pulling out* an eyesore; and as λήμη denotes, first, a

to annul the Megarean decree — nay, these last ambassadors dictatorially require [11] us to permit the *independence of Greece!* Now let not any of you imagine that we are going to war for a small matter [12], if we refuse to rescind the decree in question; concerning which they pretend that, if that were abrogated, there would be no war. Leave not in your bosoms aught of self-reproach, as if you were going to war for a trifling matter: for this very *trifling matter* [13] comprehends the whole proof and test of your mind and purpose.[14] Thus, if you yield [15] to their requisitions, by conceding *this* point, some *greater* demand will be imposed upon you, as being likely, through fear, to comply with *that* also.[16] Whereas, by stiffly refusing [17]

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[11] *Dictatorially require.*] Προαγόρευουσι is a stronger term than κελεύουσι, and signifies to order a thing to be done, or to beware beforehand (προ) of the consequences of refusal. In this sense the term often occurs in Xenophon. Examples may be seen in the Lex. Xen.

[12] *Small matter, βράχεος.*] So I read, with Bekker and Goeller, for βραχέως, which it is strange should have kept its ground in all the previous editions, though it is a manifest error, and, probably, nothing originally, but a typographical blunder.

[13] *This very trifling matter.*] There is something very emphatical in this βραχύ τι τοῦτο, where the τι (*something*) is elegant.

[14] *Mind and purpose.*] i. e. how you stand affected to the Lacedæmonians, whether you fear them, or not. So the Schol. The translators, indeed, all render it, *constancy, spirit, resolution.* But that signification never occurs in our author; whereas the other frequently does. Perhaps it may best be rendered *resolves.* Thus, it is found in Herodotus, and the Tragedians, in the sense *animi decretum.* See Dr. Blomf. on Æschyl. Ag. 1323.

Πεῖρα here signifies *test.* Hence is illustrated an ill-understood passage of Appian. t. 1. 46, 23. τὴν πεῖραν ἔχοντες τὴν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

[15] *If you yield.*] Goeller points out an imitation of this passage in Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 1180., to which I add another in p. 651. Sylb. Ἐπιτάσσειν is a term appropriate to issuing orders to subjects.

[16] *As being likely, &c.*] I see no reason to abandon the old reading ὑπακούσοντες, which seems to have more propriety and spirit than the other ὑπακούσαντες, adopted by Smith. *That* would, moreover, require ἐκεῖνο, and does not admit of the καὶ, which, in the old reading, has great force.

[17] *Stiffly refusing.*] Ἀπισχυρίσασθαι signifies, literally, to strengthen oneself, or persist in any action. So in Ps. 64, 5. יְחַזְּקוּ־לָמוֹ דָּבָר רָע, which literally signifies, they strengthen themselves in an evil thing, or iniquity. There is a *hypallage.* So the Sept. ἐκρατίωσαν, &c.

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small particle of concrete water from the eye, and secondly, the blear-eyedness, or eyesore, which results; so the ἀφελεῖν requires λήμην here to be taken in the primary sense. The phrase is similar to the ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σοῦ of Matt. 7, 4. Athenæus, l. 3, 24. ascribes this witticism to Demades.

this, you may teach them henceforward to treat you more on terms of equality.[18]

CXLI. "Make up your minds, then, either at once to submit, before you have sustained aught of injury, or if you shall decide to go to war (which, indeed, I conceive to be most adviseable), on no account to make any concession, whether *great or small*[1], nor thereby hold what you possess in jeopardy: for the very same subjection is alike implied in compliance with the greatest and the least demands made, previous to judicial decision, by equals from their neighbours! Now as to the *circumstances* of the war[2], and the *means* of carrying it on by either party, hear and learn the posture of affairs, and then judge whether we shall be the worse prepared for the contest. The Peloponnesians are a people who live by personal labour[3], nor are they in possession of any wealth,

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[18] *Treat you, &c.*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου προσφέρεσθαι.*] Προσφέρεσθαι signifies *to hold intercourse with;* as Herod. 1, 13, 14. *ἀπίστως προσέφερετο πᾶσιν.* Xenoph. Hist. 5, 3, 7. *ἀντιπάλοις π.* At ἴσου must be understood *μέρους.*

[1] *On no account — small.*] i. e. Καθάπαξ, παντέλως. So Polyb. 1, 38, 5. *οὐ βουλευόμενοι καθάπαξ εἴκειν αὖθις ἔγνωσαν κ. τ. λ.*, where there is a *transposition;* and the conjectures of the editors may be dispensed with.

[2] *The circumstances of the war.*] As 4, 10. 7, 76. Though, by an Attic idiom, *τὰ τοῦ πολέμου may* be for *τὸν πόλεμον*, with the subaudition of *κατά.* Then, *τῶν ὑπαρχόντων* (sub. *περὶ*) signifies *facultates, apparatus;* as 1, 70. and 3, 39.

[3] *Live by personal labour, αὐτουργοὶ εἶσι.*] The *αὐτ.* is explained by the Schol., one who does his work himself, for want of slaves. Now, here there *seems* to be something not very reconcileable with what we learn from other quarters; namely, that the Lacedæmonians were all small landed proprietors, who (like the good *Hidalgo Quexada*) lived on the rents or profits of their petty domains.* Yet, it may be observed, that this is not inconsistent with the sense of *αυτ.*, when properly explained. The word signifies, indeed, one who works with his own hand, or one who does his own work (as Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 67. *ἐπιπονώτατα ζῶνται διὰ τὸ αὐτουργοὺς εἶναι*). And, though we find from various authors, that the agricultural work was done in Lacedæmon almost wholly by slaves, yet, as even that would require the superintendence, and sometimes co-operation, *of the masters*, those masters might be called *αὐτουργοὶ*, just as the term may be applied in general to such of our *farmers* (formerly *franklins*) as *till their own land*, since they do the work either by themselves, *or* by servants. That the persons in question did attend to the business of their own farms, is plain from what follows. Thus, they are called *γεωργοὶ*, infra, c. 142. Nay, that they did sometimes themselves work, appears from Aristoph. Lys. 1174., who introduces one engaged in war, exclaiming

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* Indeed, Mitford says, they were all gentlemen, who had no profession but the military one. There, however, he exaggerates.

either in private purses or in the public treasury.[4] Moreover, of long-continued, much less transmarine [5], wars they have had little experience, and that from the short duration [6] to which their want of means limits their contests with each other. Now such persons neither man fleets [7], nor can very often send forth land-armaments, inasmuch as they must be absent from their domestic business, and yet be supporting themselves at their private expence; and, moreover, are excluded from the use of the sea.[8] It is, indeed, *superabundance*

ἤδη γεωργεῖν γυμνὸς ἀποδὺς βούλομαι, Ἐγὼ δὲ κοπραγωγῆν γα πρᾶτα ναὶ ὄιω. Such was Dicæopolis in Aristoph. Of these there is a graphic description in the words of Max. Tyr. Diss. 30. fin., concluding with ἐπ' αὐτουργία διαπεπονημένους. These, Eurip. Orest. 911. rightly says, are the prop and stay of a state.

[4] *Nor are they, &c.*] The reader will bear in mind the former explanation of *wealth*, as applied to the Lacedæmonians. They were in possession of competency, so as to obtain necessaries, but possessed little or no superabundance even of *produce*, still less provision of money. Mitford here perplexes himself and his readers to little purpose, by first starting and then removing a needless difficulty, namely, how far this could apply to the *Corinthians*, and he might have added the Eleans, both wealthy states. He therefore supposes that Thucyd. is speaking *comparatively*. But there is no need to resort to this expedient, since from the circumstances here mentioned (which do *not* apply to the Corinthians, Eleans, Megareans, &c.) it is plain he could not intend *them*, and it is as plain that he only intends the *Lacedæmonians*. The subject is much illustrated by the following passage of Aristot. Polit. 2, 9. φαύλως δὲ ἔχει καὶ περὶ κοινὰ χρήματα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς πολέως ἐστιν οὐδὲν, πολέμους μεγάλους ἀναγκαζόμενοι πολεμεῖν. εἰσφέρουσί τε κακῶς. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τῶν Σπ^{ω}. εἶναι τὴν πλείστην γῆν. οὐκ ἐξετάζουσιν ἀλλήλων τὰς εἰσφοράς. From the following chapter of Aristot. it is plain that this εἰσφορὰ was a *capitation* tax, which was paid only by the men.

[5] *Transmarine.*] It is strange that almost all the translators and commentators should understand by διαποντίων *maritime*, or *by sea*. The sense I have assigned is not only inherent in the word, but is required by the context; and it occurs frequently in the historians, and other writers. Of the many examples I have collected one will suffice: Æschyl. Choeph. 346. τάφον διαποντίου γᾶς.

[6] *Short duration.*] Βραχέως ἐπιφερεῖν scil. πολέμους, is put for βράχεας ἐπιφ. π., which Steph. causelessly *conjectured*. Reiske would take βραχέως *de brevi spatio*. And Abresch and Goeller understand it of both *space* and *time*; than which nothing can be more uncritical.

[7] *Neither man fleets.*] The πληροῦντες may include the *equipping* of the ships; but the sense seems to be that *such* (as being mere landsmen) are not persons to man a fleet.

[8] *And moreover, &c.*] These words refer to the first clause of the sentence, and give a reason why the Peloponnesians cannot man fleets; namely, because they are far removed from any use of the sea. All the interpreters understand it of their being barred and excluded from it by the naval superiority of the Athenians. A sense which may, however, be *comprehended*.

of possession that can alone sustain wars, and not onerous contributions wrung from poverty.[9] Men, too, who subsist by personal labour [10], are more disposed to further a war with their persons than with their purses. The former, they trust [11], may even survive the danger; the latter they are not sure but they shall exhaust before the contest be ended — especially if (as is probable in the present case [12]) the war be lengthened out beyond their expectation. For a single battle [13], indeed, the Peloponnesians and their allies are a

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9 *It is, indeed, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the passage, which thus presents a maxim that should be ever present to the mind of a statesman. As to Smith's version, it makes nonsense; for what comparison can there be between *funds of money* and forced *contributions*. And if at *funds of money* we supply *voluntarily contributed*, we obtain *a* sense, indeed, but one inept and unworthy of the author. It is superabundance of possession subsisting generally throughout a nation that can alone enable it to sustain a war; because war, at best, implies wasteful consumption. Whereas if there be no superabundance, but only what is barely sufficient to subsist the people, war cannot be carried on, since it will speedily reduce a nation to poverty, and then to utter destitution; which, when it becomes general, must put an end to the war, whatever may be the courage or hatred which animates the people. This was seen in the case of France during the last two years of Buonaparte's government.

I have supplied "wrung from poverty," as being necessary to the sense, and implied in *βίαιοι ἐσφοραί*. And here I must observe that *βίαιοι* does *not* signify *forced* or *compulsory* (which has nothing to do with the reasoning), but *onerous, burthensome*, such as bear hard upon the payer. An interpretation which is confirmed by the Scholiast, who says that the Lacedæmonians, from their poverty, *βιαίως εἰσέφερον*.

The present passage has been imitated by Dio Cass. 389, 8. 353, 73. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 389, 8. They, however, supply *χρημάτων*. Hence the adage found in Appian, 2, 658, 57. that money constitutes the nerves of war; which, however, is only true of *superabundance* of money, without which the strength will be but like the temporary strength imparted by fever.

10 *Subsist by, &c.*] *Αὐτουργὸς* must here be taken as before. See note on 141, 3. The argument is, that if such persons have some money, they are less disposed to serve with their purses than with their persons. And then is subjoined the *reason;* strange as it may seem to set more value upon property than life, yet, by the self-deceit of *taking for granted* that they shall escape, one is not fairly stated against the other.

11 *They trust.*] Or, they feel persuaded, and take for granted. The *κἂν* signifies *even;* as Dio Cass. 40, 23. *ἐν ἐλπίδι κἂν περιγένεσθαι*.

12 *As is probable, &c.*] It is strange that the commentators should not have seen that such is the sense of the *ὅπερ εἰκὸς*, which is not suitable to the sententia generalis, since it cannot be pronounced of war in general.

13 *For a single battle, &c.*] Pericles now proceeds to show that the Lacedæmonian league is only strong *defensively*, not *offensively;* and, as being composed of several petty states, subject to all the disadvantages which

match for all the other Greeks; but to *carry on a war*, against even an inferior force [14], they are *not able;* especially as they use only one common council [15], by which no measure can be speedily carried into effect; and while all the states are equal in suffrage, though of different race [16] and descent, each urges its own private and separate interest.[17] Under such circumstances, no efficient or decisive measures are usually carried — for some are mainly bent on avenging themselves on their enemies; others are anxious as little as possible to injure their private interests [18]; — and assembling together after a long interval, they give only some brief space to the consideration of the common welfare, the greater portion they devote

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such confederacies always have against any single state, though of far inferior force.

[14] *Against even an inferior force.*] Such appears to be the sense of the phrase πολεμεῖν μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκεύην, with which the commentators are perplexed. They have, indeed, seen that μὴ must be joined with ὁμοίαν, of which transposition of the negative Poppo adduces examples. But on the sense to be assigned to μὴ ὁμοίαν they are not agreed. Bauer, Abresch, and Gottleb. explain it *majorem.* But besides that this would be *nimis argutum,* it yields by no means a good sense; for it was scarcely necessary to be told that the Lacedæmonians could not maintain *a war* against a *superior* force. It is strange the commentators should not have perceived that μὴ ομ. can only signify *disparem, unequal, inferior,* which yields an excellent sense. This interpretation, too, is placed beyond doubt by a kindred passage of Joseph. p. 1123, 32. where it is said of the Romans, ἔπεται δὲ τὸ κρατεῖν ἀεὶ, κατὰ τῶν οὐχ ὁμοίων, βέβαιον; for such is the true punctuation of the passage, which does *not* require emendation.

[15] *They use only, &c.*] The versions are here vague and dubious; the translators, it seems, not feeling themselves on sure ground. It cannot be meant that the Peloponnesians used no general assembly or *congress;* though that is a frequent sense of βουλευτήριον. So Herod. 1, 170. says that Thales persuaded the Ionians ἓν βουλευτήριον ἐκτῆσθαι. The sense may be, that they did *not, in time of war,* use a standing *board of war,* which should direct measures, but only a general congress, which carried no measure speedily. Some obscurity has arisen from the construction, where Poppo, Haack, and Goeller think the μὴ must be taken both with the participle and the verb. And of this idiom they adduce several examples. Perhaps, however, it is not necessary to suppose it here, if the words be pointed thus: μήτε, βουλευτηρίῳ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι, παραχρῆμα τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι.

[16] *Different race.*] Some were of the Dorian, others of the Ionian race.

[17] *Urges, &c.*] So Livy, 10, 20. sua quemque molientem.

[18] *As little as possible to, &c.*] So true is the observation of Herod, 1. 2, 3. τοῦ δημωφελοῦς, καὶ κοινωφελοῦς, καὶ κοινῇ διαφέροντος, ὀλίγη τοῖς καθ' ἕνα φρόντις. And that of Liban. Orat. 336. A. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πάντες ὁμοίους παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τοῦ δράσαι τι γίγνονται, τοῖς δὲ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν τι μέλει.

to the furthering their private interests[19]; nor does each consider that by such neglect he injures the public welfare, but fancies[20] that *others* will provide for *that* in his stead. Thus by this private[21] notion, entertained by all separately, the general interest is sacrificed, and the common weal is imperceptibly brought to ruin.

CXLII. "Most of all, however, will their exertions be impeded by the want of funds; for according as they are tardy in their contributions, so must their measures be dilatory. But *the critical seasons of warfare tarry not.*[1] And further, as to their occupying and fortifying any posts here, or their forming a navy, neither needs excite fear. For the former could hardly be accomplished by a state of equal strength[2] *in time of peace*, much less[3] in an enemy's country,

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[19] *The greater, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Isocr. Nicocl. p. 30. D. οἱ μὲν (scil. ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ δημοκρατίαις) ὑστεροῦσι τῶν πραγμάτων (*state affairs*) τὸν μὲν πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις διατρίβουσιν, οἱ μοναρχικοὶ, οὐκ ἀπολείπονται τῶν καιρῶν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἐν τῷ δεόντι πράττουσιν.

[20] *Fancies, &c.*] So Isocr. Nicocl. p. 37. s.f. οἱ μὲν πολλῶν καταμελοῦσιν, εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες; Dionys. Hal. 396, 18. οἴεται ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὸν πλησίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ λέξειν. See also Lycurg. C. Leocr. p. 155, 44.

[21] *By this private, &c.*] So Aristoph. Conc. 206. τὰ δημόσια γὰρ μισθοφοροῦντες χρήματα, Ἰδίᾳ σκοπεῖθ' ἕκαστος, ὅ τι τις κερδάνει· Τὸ δὲ κοινὸν, ὥσπερ Αἴσιμος, κυλίνδεται.

[1] *Tarry not.*] Or, will not wait for men. The word μενετὸς is very rare, but occurs in Aristoph. Ach. 1620. μενετοὶ Θεοῖ. A similar sentiment occurs in Pind. Pyth. 4, 509. ὁ γὰρ καιρὸς, πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει. for so I point. Hence may be understood Pind. Pyth. 1, 3. ὧν ἔραται καιρὸν διδούς; Dionys. Hal. Ant. 11. p. 699. μάθοντες ὅτι οὐ τοῖς πράγμασιν οἱ καιροὶ δουλεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς καιροῖς τὰ πράγματα.

[2] *A state of equal strength.*] At πόλιν ἀντίπαλον the recent editors have here stumbled. Heilman joins αντ. with ἐπιτείχισιν. But this is doing violence to the structure of the whole sentence. Reiske and Gottleber take the ἀντ. to mean *one of equal match*, and Kistem, *rival;* which senses, indeed, merge into each other, but are not apposite. Preferable is that assigned by Portus, and others, "of equal strength." But the question is, equal to what? *To our own*, say those commentators. But this has nothing to do with the argument. It must mean, *equal to theirs*, of equal power with theirs. The orator means, that it would be difficult for such a state to raise such fortresses even in *time of peace*, when their whole power might be devoted to that single object. By εἰρήνη, it is implied, that such are in their *own* country, a circumstance which must be *tacitly supplied*, to complete the antithesis.

[3] *Much less,* ἧπου δὴ.] Not "much *more*," as Smith renders. Examples may be seen in Hoogev. de Part. Just after, for ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε, I would

and especially as we may retaliate upon them by the erection of similar forts. Or if they should even raise a strong hold here, though they might, indeed, annoy a part of our territory by incursions, and by harbouring fugitive slaves, yet this erection of a fort would not be sufficient to hinder *us* from making *naval* attacks on them[4], and thus retaliating upon them with that arm wherein we are strong — *our navy*. In fact, we derive more skill in land service from our sea service, than they from their land service gain towards naval affairs.[5]

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read ἐν πολεμίᾳ γε; for τε has no place here; whereas γε will connect with ἥπου δή, and, indeed, often occurs with that formula,* though frequently omitted by the scribes. It has been rightly restored by Reiske to Herod. 2, 12, 18., on the conjecture of Valckn.; and the same ought to have been done in a passage of Plutarch, t. 11. p. 328. Hutten.

Finally, ἐκείνοις is for πρὸς ἐκείνους. And ἀντιτειχ. is of passive form, but active sense, like many other words in our author. Thus, every thing becomes plain. As to the difficulties which have been started by Poppo Proleg. t. 1. p. 236., they are of his own raising, and have originated in misapprehension of the scope of the passage. Scarcely fewer are the misconceptions of Goeller. Ἐπιτείχισις cannot mean *circumvallatio* urbium Atticarum *continuis operibus facta*. Still less can ἀντεπιτειχισμένων be understood of "cruising round Peloponnesus, and thus barring the Lacedæmonians from the sea." The sense here of ἐπιτείχισις, and ἀντεπ. is clear from the context; and from the use of ἐπιτείχισις, at 6, 90. The error above indicated chiefly arose from not ascertaining the true force of ἀντίπαλον.

[4] *Yet this erection of, &c.*] The sense here assigned by the translators and commentators is: "But that will not be sufficient to block us up, and hinder us," &c. And, indeed, if the reading of the MSS. is to be regarded, such is the sense that will arise. Yet ἐπιτειχίζειν cannot well have any other signification but that which it bore in the preceding sentence; and, certainly, it cannot be taken for ἀποτειχίζειν. Besides, ἱκανὸν will thus, by an unaccountable negligence, be left destitute of any *subject*; and the whole sentence will proceed very lamely. I cannot, therefore, but suspect that the passage is corrupt, and that from having been tampered with by half-learned sciolists, who did not discern the ratio sententiæ. To me it seems clear, that the sentence is not *bimembris*, but *monocolus*; and that the τε, as also καὶ (which the recent editors have done well in cancelling), arose from those who wanted to make it the *former*. Nothing, therefore, seems necessary but to remove the τε; and then, in ἐπιτειχίζειν, we gain the required subject. Yet, as the infinitive, thus taken, cannot well dispense with an article, so the τὸ should be prefixed (and, probably, the τε may have partly arisen from it). Thus all will be plain; and I have ventured to follow this reading in my version.

[5] *In fact we derive, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this difficult passage, which has perplexed the commentators and translators. The scope of the sentence is, to account for the naval superiority of the Athenians, which arose from the want of experience, under which the Pelo-

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* Yet γε is, in not a few instances in our author, separated from its preceding formula by a word or phrase; as just after, οὐ μέντοι ἱκανόν γε.

Nor will they easily attain nautical skill and experience: nay, even yourselves, who have been cultivating it even from the time of the Persian war, have not obtained a perfect mastery therein. How, then, should mere *husbandmen*—*landsmen*, unacquainted with the sea, and who, moreover, will not be suffered by our numerous blockading vessels to acquire skill—how should they ever accomplish any thing of consequence? Against a *few*, indeed, of our blockading ships, they may even venture on an encounter, emboldening their want of skill by superiority of force[6]; but when held in awe by any tolerable number[7], they will keep close. And thus by want of practice, they will become the less expert, and consequently the less courageous: for nautical skill is, as much as any other thing[8], the work of art, and does not admit of being pursued at chance times[9] or *by the bye*[10]; nay, it rather allows not any thing else to be done with it, *even by the bye*.

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ponnesians laboured in naval affairs; and which their experience of land service could not impart. The γὰρ is not strictly *causal*, but has the sense of *etenim, quippe*. At τοῦ κατὰ γῆν must be supplied περὶ and πράγματος. At ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, and ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἤπειρον, must also be supplied πράγματος. The κατ' ἤπειρον is a phrase for an adjective; as in Aristid. 3, 343. τοῖς κατ' ἤπειρον πραγμασι. and also 360. There is a kindred passage in Xen. Hist. 7, 1, 10., where, speaking of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, he says: ὁ θεὸς δεδώκεν αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐντυχεῖν οὕτως ἐκεῖνοις κατὰ γῆν.—ὡς δὲ ἀναγκαία οὐδὲν ἧττον αὐτοῖς ἡ κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμέλεια, ἢ ὑμῖν ἡ κατὰ θάλατταν.

6 *Emboldening their, &c.* θρασύνοντες.] Steph. Thes. compares Basil, θρασύνει δὲ ἄνθρωπον χειρῶν δύναμις. To which I add a passage of Æschyl. Ag. 215. βρότους θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις παρακοπά.

7 *Any tolerable number.*] Πολλοῖς is to be taken comparatè.

8 *As much as, &c.*] Or, if any thing else be so.

9 *At chance times.*] Or, as it may happen to be convenient, and consequently *perfunctoriè*. So Longin. de Subl. c. 33. εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε; Polyb. 1, 8, 1. οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχε παρενώχλουν, *non leviter*. Whence is defended the common reading in Joseph. 270, 5. ταράττει δ' αὐτὸν οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχε ἰδοντα, &c. Ὅταν τύχῃ occurs in Eurip. Iph. t. 722. and Elect. 1169.

10 *By the bye.*] Literally, "in the manner of an inferior or bye concern." This phrase ἐκ παρέργου and some kindred ones are, from imitation of the present passage, to be found in the best writers; and as the formula is neglected by the commentators, I shall adduce a few out of the many examples which I have collected. Polyb. 3, 58, 3. ῥητέον δὲ τι οὐκ ἐκ παρέργου, καὶ διεῤῥιμμένως, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιστάσεως. Lucian 1, 89, 85. οὐ παρέργως μελετήσεται; Hesych. πάρεργον, νόθον, ὡς μικρὸν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. Hence is illustrated Eurip. Erecth. frag. 1. εἰ δὲ πάρεργον χρὴ τι κόμπασαι; also Theocr. Idyll. 11. init. ἀγεῖτο δὲ πάντα πάρεργα. So Cebes. 56. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάρεργα ἡγήσασθαι; Aristoxenus Athen. 545. C. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐν παρέργῳ τίθεσθαι χώρᾳ; Pausan. 1, 9, 4. τούτοις μείζονα ὑπῆρχε πως ἢ ἄλλου

CXLIII. "Furthermore, if they should even seize and confiscate[1] the treasure deposited at Olympia or Delphi, and therewith endeavour, by the offer of higher pay, to draw away the foreign seamen in our service, that indeed — if we and the Metæci[2] were not of ourselves a match for them — that truly might be dangerous; but as circumstances now stand, we *have* the power to cope with them — nay, we possess pilots and shipmasters, home-born (a most material point indeed), and seamen of every class, more in number and of greater skill than all the rest of Greece can show. By reason, then, of the *danger*, no one would choose to desert his abode[3], and fight on the opposite side, and with less of hope, for the sake of a few days' higher pay.

"Such, then (or nearly), I conceive to be the state of the Peloponnesian affairs. *Our* situation, on the contrary, is free from the *disadvantages* I have animadverted on in theirs, and possesses other and high *advantages*, in a far greater degree. Thus, if they should invade our territory by land, we can attack them by sea; and affairs will not be on an equality, for even a *part* only of Peloponnesus to be ravaged, and the *whole* of Attica — for they will have no other territory to occupy instead[4], unless such as they may acquire by dint of arms. To us there is a considerable territory, both on the islands and on the mainland.[5] *Of vast consequence indeed is the dominion of the sea*[6]; for consider, had we been islanders, who would have been less open to attack than ourselves?

πάρεργα εἶναι λόγον. Of the same nature is ἐν παρέργῳ τίθεσθαι, which occurs in Soph. Phil. 473. and elsewhere.

[1] *Seize and confiscate.*] Literally, *disturb, remove.* An euphemism. Smith absurdly renders *secrete.*

[2] *We and the Metæci.*] Or, foreigners sojourning in Attica.

[3] *Desert his abode, φεύγειν τὴν αὐτοῦ.*] Here the ellipsis is γῆν. Yet it should not be rendered *country*, with Portus; for Attica was not their country. And the κατοικίαν, which the Scholiast understands, would be very harsh. It is, therefore, better to accommodate γῆν to the case; and it may be very well rendered by the Fr. *sejour.* Though the whole expression may be freely rendered, "desert his colours."

[4] *Occupy instead.*] i. e. as the Athenians had Eubœa, and the other islands and colonies.

[5] *Mainland.*] By this meant Thrace and Asia Minor, &c. This whole passage is had in view by Aristid. t. 2, 15. C.

[6] *Of vast consequence, &c.*] This passage is had in view by Aristid. 3, 228. C.

Now, then, it behoves us to bend our thoughts, and frame our plans as much as possible, in conformity to that situation; to abandon all care[7] about our lands and houses[8], and (confining our attention to the sea, and the defence of the city,) not be exasperated by their loss, to venture on a battle with the Peloponnesians, who so far outnumber us. For if we even come off victorious, we shall still have again to contest with numbers not inferior to our own; and if *defeated*, *there* will together vanish[9] our influence over our allies (the very essence of our strength); since they will never continue in subjection to us any longer than we are able to overawe them. No — grieve not[10] for farms and houses, but reserve your anxiety for *persons*[11]; for *lands* do not gain *men*, but *men lands*. Indeed, if I thought my counsel would avail, I should urge you to go forth and destroy them with your own hands[12]; thereby letting the enemy see that you will not for *such* things be induced to submit.

CXLIV. "Many other points I could touch on in reference to our hope of success in the contest, if you would consent to forbear making fresh acquisitions of dominion[1]; there-

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[7] *Abandon all care.*] Literally, *let them go.* Not *evacuate* them, as Smith absurdly renders.

[8] *Houses.*] These were chiefly suburbane villas or country seats; generally, however, like our *granges* of olden times, and the *bungalows* or *garden houses* of the Indo-Europeans.

[9] *Likewise vanish.*] Literally, *therewith*, or *besides*. So Xen. Memor. I. 3, 6, 7. ἥττων δὲ ὢν, καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσαποβάλοι ἄν.

[10] *Grieve not.*] Literally, "make no moaning or whining" (see Ezekiel 24, 17.); for ὀλόφυρσις is a very strong term, and at the same time a very rare word, of which the only example known to me besides this, is in Liban. Or. 509.

[11] *Reserve your anxiety for persons.*] So ὀλόφυρσιν ποιεῖσθαι is to be *accommodated* in sense, in the second clause of this sentence. Σώματα signifies *persons* as opposed to *things*. On which signification I shall fully treat in my edition.

[12] *I should urge you, &c.*] So the advice of Æschylus to the Athenians, as adduced by Aristoph. Ran. 1463. It will be well, he says, ἂν τὴν γῆν ὅταν νομίσωσι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων εἶναι σφετέραν, τὴν δὲ σφετέραν τῶν πολεμίων· Πόρον δὲ τὰς ναῦς, ἀπορίαν δὲ τὸν πόρον.

[1] *Forbear making, &c.*] Such is the sense of ἦν ἐθέλητε ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι. For ἐπικτᾶσθαι signifies "to make *fresh* acquisitions; i. e. in addition to what you have inherited and possess." The very phrase occurs in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 45, 39. Polyb. 17, 17, 1. and ναυτικὸν ἐπικτᾶσθαι in Xen. Hist. 7, 12.

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by adding self-derived and needless dangers. For, in truth, I apprehend more from our own mistakes than from the plans of our enemies. Those topics shall, however, be distinctly treated on at such other occasions as shall, in the course of events, offer themselves. For the present, let us dismiss the ambassadors with this answer: — 'That we will grant the Megareans the use of our markets and ports, provided that the Lacedæmonians will cease to prohibit us and our allies (as foreigners) from sojourning with them; for neither the one nor the other is forbidden[2] in the treaty: also, that we will grant independence to such states of our alliance as were in possession of it at the period of the treaty; and when the Lacedæmonians shall, on their part, give *independence* to their *own* states — not an independence modelled in subservience to their own polity, but such as shall leave them at full liberty to act for themselves.[3] Furthermore, that, conformably to the treaty, we are ready and willing to submit to lawful arbitration and judicial decision. Finally, that we will not be the first to take up arms, but those who shall commence hostilities we will resist, force by force.'[4] Such an answer will be at once just, and suitable to the dignity of this state to return. Be assured, however, that war is inevitable, but that the more readily we meet it, the less eager shall we find the enemy to attack us. Recollect, too, that from the most perilous achievements redound, both to states and individuals, honours the most distinguished. Thus our ancestors, resisting Median invasion (not, be it remembered, with such means of defence and resources for war as we possess[5] — nay,

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It is impossible not to admire the political sagacity evinced in this salutary counsel, which the Athenians paid dearly for slighting.

[2] *Neither the one, &c.*] At ἐκεῖνο I would subaud κατὰ; and resolve κωλύει into κώλυμα ἐστι. So 1, 72. εἴ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύει; and Macho ap. Athen. 582. E. τὸ κωλύον γὰρ ἐστὶ τουτό.

[3] *Not an independence, &c.*] So in a kindred passage at 1, 19. κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσι; also Dio Cass. 205, 29. τοῖς ἐπιτηδείως σφίσιν ἔχουσι; and so Hesych. ἐπιτηδείως. ἁρμοδίως.

[4] *Will not be the first, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Onosander, 26. ἀνθρωποι προθυμότερον ἀντιτάττονται τοῖς δεινοῖς, εἰδότες ὡς οὐκ ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀμύνονται; Aristid. 3, 259. A. Liban. Orat. 196. C. οὐκ ἄρχοντες, ἀλλ' ἀμύνομεν; Dionys. Hal. 1, 488. ἂν δὲ ἄρξησθε, ἀμυνοῦμεθα.

[5] *Not with such, &c.*] The sense of ἀπὸ τόσων δὲ ὁρμώμενοι is learnedly

with the abandonment of their possessions), depending on counsel rather than on fortune, relying on courage rather than strength, beat back Barbarian invaders, and raised the state to what it is. Let us not, then, be outdone, but use every means of resistance to the foe, exerting ourselves to the utmost to transmit what we possess entire and undiminished [6] to our posterity."

CXLV. Thus spoke Pericles. The Athenians approving of this counsel, made a decree conformably to it, and returned for answer to the Lacedæmonians what *he had* suggested, both generally and particularly; namely, that they would do nothing upon command[1], but were ready to have the difference decided on equal terms and on fair arbitration. Then the ambassadors returned home, and no further embassy was sent.

CXLVI. Now these were the criminations and differences, on either side, before the war, and which had their origin in, and dated from the affairs of, Epidamnus and Corcyra. Nevertheless, intercourse [2] was yet maintained between the individuals of either nation, without any herald [3], though not without suspicion and apprehension; for the things which had passed were a breach of the treaty, and the cause of the subsequent hostilities.

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explained by Abresch in his Diluc. Thucyd. To the examples adduced I add Dionys. Hal. p. 58. Polyb. 1, 3, 7. and 12, 9. 4, 31, 4.

[6] *To transmit, &c.*] There is a similar passage, supra 71. where see note. So also Aristid. 2, 247. ἀρετῆς παραδείγματα μὴ χείρω καταλειπεῖν ἢ παρὰ τῶν προτέρων αὐτοὶ παρελάβομεν.

[1] *To do nothing, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 509. 35. μηδὲν δρᾶσαι πότε ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος. Hence is confirmed the common reading in Ant. 320, 43. μηδὲν ὧν μὴ βούλεται πράττειν κελευσθείς. Hence, too, is illustrated Appian, 2, 694. ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἐκείνῳ ὑπήκουον.

[2] *Intercourse.*] Not *commercial dealings*, as Smith renders. For the Lacedæmonians were not a commercial people; and ἐπιμιγ. seldom has that sense. Nay, it is just after resumptive, in the sense *intercourse*. Here will apply the words of Livy, l. 2, 18. s. f. "Bellum indictum Tacitæ induciæ quietem annum tenuere."

[3] *Without any herald.*] Namely, as not being at open war, so as to need such. See supra 53.

MACEDONIA AND THRACIA.

ILLYRIA
Scodrus vel Scardus M.
Barbanna
Albani
Lissus
Dyrrachium
Epidamnus
Aous Fl.
Apollonia
Aulon
Amantia
Oricum
Palaeste
Chimera
Panormus
Onchesmus
Corcyra
Buthrotum
Ionium Mare
Genusus Fl.
Parthini
Taulantii
Taulantii Bardylis
Pirustæ
Dassaretii
Bylazora
Lychnidus
Deuriopus
Stobi
Eordæa
Edessa
Pella
Berœa
Thessalonica
Aloros
Pydna
Methone
Olympus M.
Ossa M.
Pelion M.
Thermaicus Sinus
Sinus
THESSALIA
Peneus Fl.
Haliacmon Fl.
Axius Fl.
Lydias Fl.
Strymon Fl.
Nestus Fl.
Hebrus Fl.
Ister Fl.
Scordisci
Dardani
Triballi
Dentheletæ
Autariatæ
Dardania
Orbelus Mons
Scombrus M.
Scordus M.
Orbelia
Scupi
Iori
Lorum
Paeonia
Paeones Astræi
Paeones Agrianes
Tristolus
Asbinæum Nemi Montes
Bermius M.
Cambunii Montes
Cercetius M.
Pangæus Mons
Dysorus Mons
Mygdonia
Bisaltæ
Bisaltæ Berœ
Idomenia
Cercine Paludes
Cercine Mons
Philippi
Philippopolis
Pangæum
Agrianes
Scombrus
Sostra
Sostra Fl.
Sitalcæ
Sitalcæ Dasaretii
Dasaretii
Hyllus Mons
Nicopolis
Nicopolis vitana
Demetrias
Storgon
Dorizon
Delta
Danum
Danaum
Danaum Scamandri
Securisca
Cabyle
Cabyle Fl.
Tonzos
Tonzos vel Tundza
Hæmus Mons
Hæmus
Hæmi Extrema
Berœa
Orudizi
Raminga
Bargus
Bargus Fl.
Suenus Fl.
Palæ
Assus vel Arsus
Assus vel Asista Fl.
Hæmæ
Burdista
Develtus
Develtus vel Debeltus
Apollonia
Thracia
Thracia Odrysæ
Thracia Cis Hæmum
Thracia Trans Hæmum
Thracia Thyni
Thynias
Thynias Pr.
Bucticium
Sabylensis Pr.
Sabylensis Fl. et Civ.
Cherronesus Tonzi
Cherronesus Thracia
Isthmus
Pudium
Pudius
Tympodium
Melitonis
Melitonis Fl.
Bizya
Bizya Fl.
Tarias Axia
Tarias Fl.
Odessus
Odessus Fl.
Cite
Tomus vel Tomi Fl.
Tomi
Tomi Fl.
Naulochus
Naulochus v. Tetranaulochus
Templum Jovis
Templum Jovis Aristæum
Scythia
Scythia Obulensii
Scythia Cis Istrum
Scythia Trans Istrum
Istrus Fl.
Istrus
Istrus Ostium
Pontus Euxinus
Mesembria
Anchialus
Tyrigetta
Tyrigetta Fl.
Sacra Scallidava
Callatis
Callatis Fl.
Dionysopolis
Dionysopolis Fl.
Cassandrea
Cassandrea Fl.
Rhodope M.
Rhodope Mons
Rhodope Pars
Rhodope Fl.
Tempyra
Tempyra Fl.
Tempyra Pr.
Tempyra Fl. et Civ.

BOOK II.

I. HENCE[1], then, commenced the war of the Athenians and Peloponnesians and their allies, in which no further intercourse was held without heralds. And now, being fairly engaged [2] in the war, they carried it on without intermission; and the events of it are here narrated, in the same order in which they happened, by summers and winters.[3]

II. Now[4] the twenty-years' truce, which was concluded after the reduction of Eubœa, had continued[5] fourteen years; but in the fifteenth, being the forty-eighth of the priesthood[6] of Chrysis in Argos, and when Ænesias was ephor in Sparta, and Pythadorus had two months to complete[7] of his archonship at Athens, in the sixth month after the battle at Potidæa, and at the commencement of spring, some Thebans, rather

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[1] *Hence*] i. e. from this *time*. The Schol. explains, "from this *cause*." But that sense is not so apt.

[2] *Fairly engaged*]. Gottleb., Hack, and Goeller say that καταστάντες ἐπολέμουν is for κατέστησαν ἐς πόλεμον. But rather the καταστάντες is for καταστ. εἰς πόλεμον, the elliptical words being supplied ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ: and καταστάντες is for καταστα θέντες. For the Aorists of this verb have often a passive sense. The above method is supported by the Schol. and by many similar passages; as 1, 32. κατέστημεν ἐς πόλεμον. 1, 44. καθιστῶνται ἐς πόλεμον. and 2, 11. καθίστανται ἐς ἔργον.

[3] *By summers and winters.*] This is said agreeably to the inartificial method of reckoning, which, having been introduced by the simplicity of antient times, was still retained, and continued long after in use. According to this, the summer included the spring, and the winter the autumn. Of this Bauer adduces an example from Ovid Fast. 1, 459 and 460. See also Petav. D. t. 10, 28., and Gron. Obss. 3, 14., referred to by Duker.

[4] *Now.*] The γὰρ is not, as the Schol. fancies, *resumptive*, but *inchoative*, and answers to our *now then*.

[5] *Had continued*] The Aorist must here have the sense of the Pluperfect. This signification of ἐμμένειν, *continue*, is rare. To the examples adduced by Abresch, I add one from Æschyl. P. V. 545. ἀλλά μοι τόδ' ἐμμένοι καὶ μήποτ' ἐκτακείη.

[6] *Priesthood.*] It was the custom of the Argives to reckon time by the years of their high-priestess. On which Gottleb. refers to Vales. on the Ex. Polyb. t. 3. 161. ed. Ernesti. (t. 7. p. 94. Ed. Schweigh.) And Goeller refers to Creuzer Ant. Hist. Gr. p. 71. 83, 123., and Dahlman on Herod. p. 223.

[7] *Two months to complete, &c.*] For, as Mitford observes, the Athenians began their years about the summer solstice.

more [5] than three hundred in number, under the command of Pythangelus son of Phylidas, and Diemporus son of Onetorides, Bœotarchs [6], made an entrance in arms, about the first watch [7], into Platæa. [8] Certain Platæans (Nauclides and his

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[5] *Rather more.*] Hobbes renders, "three hundred *and odd.*" But that is too uncouth. The phrase may generally be expressed by our "*and upward;*" thus here, "upwards of three hundred." But to advert to the thing itself, Herod 7, 233. states the number at *four* hundred; perhaps using a round number. One might suspect that our anthor wrote τετρακ., but that the common reading is supported by all the MSS., and by Diodor. and Theon. Progymn., the former of whom says they were chosen troops.

[6] *Bœotarchs.*] Of these there were eleven, elected annually by the several cities, or petty states, which composed the republic of Bœotia. These, the commentators and writers of antiquities tell us, exercised the executive and military powers. But they do not advert to Pollux, 1, 128., who says, that these were the *masters of the horse*, like the Polemarchs among the Athenians. Their office, it should seem, was chiefly military, but in some degree (*how* far, it is difficult to ascertain) civil.

[7] *First watch.*] Literally, *sleep.* An expression which savours of the simplicity of antient phraseology, and is accounted *mean* by Pollux.

[8] *Platæa.*] Of this small, but celebrated, city the following topographical sketch may be not unacceptable.

It is written in the singular, Πλάταια, by Homer, Herod., Thucyd. (with, perhaps, one exception), and Athen. 4, 13.; by the later writers in the *plural.* Steph. cites an interesting passage from Eudoros (though there, for Ε. δ ἐ γῆς περιόδου, I conjecture δ, i. e. 4 libri). The singular, however, seems always to have remained in *common* use, and may be traced in the present name of the city *Elatia.* With respect to its situation, it was on an *eminence*, but at the roots of Mount Cithæron, between that and Thebes, from which it was distant (as Thucyd. 2, 5. says) 70 stadia, or, according to Dicœarchus, 80; though Gail, who discusses this discrepancy, makes it 60 only. As Thebes was an extensive city, the discrepancy may best be reconciled by supposing, that some estimated from the extremities of either city; others, from different situations *in* those cities. But to proceed, it was in the road leading from Athens (and also Megara), by Eleutheræ and Dryscephalæ, to Bœotia (see Thucyd. 3, 22.), and not far from the Asopus. See Strabo, p. 631. By the ruins of the city, which are found not far from the village of Cocla, it seems (as Goeller tells us) to have been triangular, with a citadel of the same form at the south angle. Gell. also informs us, that the north side measures about 1025 yards, the west 1154, the east 1120. On the west side were two gates, and as many at the east side. The *form* of the Theban gates we learn from our author, 2, 4. The walls seem to have been from seven to nine feet thick, and to have been fortified by towers placed at unequal distances. On the temples, statues, and pictures, see Pausan. 9, 4. The *forum*, in which Pausanias, the general, sacrificed to Jupiter the Deliverer, is mentioned by Thucyd. 2, 70. Before the city, and twenty stadia distant from it, was the fountain Gargaphium. See Herod. 9, 52. There were, too, a celebrated temple of Juno (see Thucyd. 3, 68.), and also a chapel dedicated to the hero Androcrates (see Thucyd. 3, 24. Herod. 9, 24.), near to Gargaphia, and on the right of the road to Thebes.

As

party) had sent for[9] them, and now opened the gates for their reception, intending, with a view to their own aggrandisement[10], to destroy such of the citizens as were their adversaries, and bring the city over[11] to the Theban confederacy. They had negotiated[12] the business by means of Eurymachus son of Leontiades, a Theban of very considerable power and influence. In fact[13], the Thebans, foreseeing that a war

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As to the *origin* of the name, some of the antients derived it from a daughter of Asopus; others more rationally from πλάτη, the broad end of an oar. See Steph. Byz. and Strabo. Without a better knowledge than we possess of the circumstances of the country in the early ages, it is impossible to tell how far this may be admitted; though *Copæ*, which admits of a similar derivation, not a little countenances it. It is surely as probable as the conjecture of Casaubon, that the city derived its name from the breadth of the plain. Indeed the origin of the *name* may well be involved in obscurity, since the origin of the *city* ascends to a period far beyond history, and in which even vague tradition scarcely sheds a faint glimmer. The stories which ascribe its foundation to *Heroes*, and represent the inhabitants as αὐτόχθονες, only show the extreme antiquity of both. As to the foundation which the Thebans arrogate to themselves at 3, 61., it was manifestly only the *second* founding. And here it may be observed that the case of Platæa serves to show the extreme antiquity of monarchical government in Greece; for Pausanias testifies that it was at first ruled by kings. The *second* foundation of Platæa, by Bœotia, plainly proceeded from *conquest*, and therefore we may easily account for the people never coalescing with the other Bœotians, with whom, indeed, it appears from 3, 61. that there had been very antient quarrels, and by whom they were never willing to be ruled. Before the Median war Platæa seems not to have attained any celebrity. Its history from that time it were needless here to trace; and it may suffice to refer the reader to the historical sketch of Poppo, t. 2. p. 282. seqq., from whom much of the foregoing matter has been derived. Further particulars may be derived respecting the site of Platæa from Mr. Hughes's interesting Travels into Greece.

9 *Sent for.*] Or *called, invited.* Not *induced*, as Smith renders. The above signification is frequent in Thucydides.

That this was done by the oligarchical faction we may easily imagine. And it is certain from 3, 65. and 3, 16. οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ὑμῶν εἰσελθόντες.

10 *Aggrandisement.*] This is more probable than the statement of Demosth. C. Neær. (who there relates the story of the seizure of Platæa), that they had been bribed by money. Bribery there might, in fact, have been, but of a less coarse kind. The account of our author is also confirmed by Diodorus.

11 *Bring the city over.*] Not *subject* it, as some commentators explain; for that is inconsistent with the *end* which we are told they had in view. Indeed the sense I have assigned is necessary, and not unfrequent. One example may suffice. Xen. Hist. 4, 2, 28. λέσβον προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει. And see infra c. 4. Platæa, it must be remembered, had formerly been part of the Bœotian confederacy, and was now to be restored to it.

12 *Negotiated.*] Stipulating, doubtless, for a sort of independence in respect to this petty state, to be, however, under their tutelage.

13 *In fact.*] Nimirum. On this sense of γὰρ I have a little before treated.

must ensue, were desirous to preoccupy Platæa (with which they had ever [14] been at variance), while the peace yet subsisted and no open war was carrying on. It was, indeed, this circumstance that enabled them the more easily to accomplish their purpose, for a guard had not yet been set. Then, posting themselves in armed array [15] in the market-place, they refused to comply with the solicitations of those who called them in, to fall presently to work [16], and proceed to the houses of their enemies; but judged that it would be more advisable to employ conciliatory proclamations, and rather try to bring the city over to treaty and amity. They therefore caused the herald to proclaim aloud, that "whoever chose to enter into confederacy, conformably to the national usages [17] of the

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[14] *Ever.*] i. e. from very antient times. Not *eternally*, as Smith renders.

[15] *Posting themselves, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα, on which there has been no little difference of opinion among philologists, chiefly because this formula had at least two, if not three, senses, apparently inconsistent with each other. Those who wish to have the fullest information on this formula will do well to consult the commentators on Herod. l. 9., Wessel. on Diod. Sic. 1, 524. and 2, 428., and above all Schneider in his Index to Xen. Anab. in v. I shall here merely offer a few general remarks. The phrase is not well rendered in the present case, *castra ponere, encamp;* since the forum would not be a very convenient place. The ὅπλα *may* be so used at 1, 111. 3, 1. 6, 64.; but the addition of the *verb* alters the case. Neither can the Latin *arma ponere* be always adopted: since that signifies merely, "arma deponere," (and so our *pile arms* has no other sense,) whereas ὅπλα θέσθαι has only *sometimes* that signification. I therefore accede to the opinion of Bredow, that the sense in the present passage is *posta fassen*, i. e. to make it their *place d'armes*, head quarters. A signification which seems to have arisen from the other of *laying down* or *piling arms;* for such is done in a guard house, or *place d'armes*. Its other senses easily arise out of these. Here Goeller refers to the Anecdota Hemst. t 1. p. 243., which will doubtless repay the trouble of consultation.

[16] *Fall presently to work.*] Namely that of plunder and slaughter. An euphemism. So, 1, 49. ἔργου πᾶς εἴχετο.

[17] *Conformably to the, &c.*] In illustration of these words Goeller aptly adduces a long and interesting passage from Poppo's Proleg. t. 2. p. 9. of which I offer the following translation. "As Greece comprised many *nations* free by nature, so in these again were contained very many *hamlets* (δῆμοι). Every one's house was his castle, and nothing but the necessary occasions of life caused any conjunction between neighbouring families, by which they united into one village, not, however, built connectedly, nor surrounded with a common wall. Thus the early Greeks lived chiefly in villages (κατὰ κώμας); and such *towns* as they did inhabit were destitute of walls, and like villages. Between which places, indeed, intercourse was sometimes maintained. But this conjunction proceeded only from necessity, in the event of foreign invasion, or those attacks on their neighbours to which a desire of plunder found in all impelled them, and finally

Bœotians in general, might join arms with them." This they thought the readiest way by which the city might be brought over.

III. Then the Platæans, as soon as they found that the Thebans were already entered, and that the city was taken by surprise, from apprehension of the consequences, and supposing that far *more*[1] had entered than really had, (for amidst the darkness they had no complete view of them,) entered into a treaty, and accepting the conditions offered, kept quiet, especially as they saw no injury[2] offered them. But as they were negotiating these matters, they, by some means, perceived that the Thebans were but few in number[3], and imagined that they might easily attack and overpower them. For, as to the commonalty of the Platæans, this abandonment of the Athenian alliance was by no means pleasing to them.[4] It was

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from a remembrance of their common origin, rather than from any social compact. In other parts, however, of Greece, the inhabitants, weary of rapine, for the sake of better defence against pirates, and greater security to commerce, and for the preservation of property, drew the bonds of society closer together. They therefore collected (*ξυνῳκίσθησαν*) into *one city* (or state), and fortified certain towns, in which to take refuge on the approach of enemies, and wherein to fix the residences of the priesthood and high magistracy. Hence, though the greater part of them, when no danger impended, lived in the country, yet they regarded themselves as belonging to those cities; and thus hamlets passed gradually into villages (*κώμας*) and forts (*φρούρια*), and were distributed into tribes (*φυλαῖς*), and moreover those towns (in which also were held the assemblies of the citizens) extended their name also to villages, and in respect of them were called *πόλεις* or *πολιτεῖαι*, though properly *ἄστεα*. Now when these cities, which had formerly been hamlets, were both apart from and independent of each other, the same jealousies and discords as had formerly existed between the hamlets, now arose between the cities. Hence common sense taught, and experience urged, the necessity of new societies. Thus, then, treaties (*σπονδαὶ*) were entered into, and communities, or perpetual associations, arose between kindred cities, which, in Greek, are called *τὰ κοινὰ*, sometimes also *τὰ πάτρια*, among the later Greek writers, as Polybius, *ξυμπολιτεῖαι*, elsewhere *συνέδρια*."

[1] *Far more.*] Diod. says that they fancied the Thebans had come *en masse*; such attacks being usually so made.

[2] *Injury*]. Νεωτερίζειν is here, as often in Thucyd., used, by euphemism, for *putting to death*, or plundering. So Aristoph. Conc. 338. *ν. δρᾶν*.

[3] *Few in number.*] Demosth. adds, the vanguard only of the Thebans.

[4] *Pleasing to them.*] Literally, *to their liking*, *οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν*, of which idiom I will adduce a few out of the examples which have occurred to me. Herod. 8, 10. *ὅσοισι δὲ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον*. Dionys. Hal. 1, 80, 28. *ὡς κἀκείνοις ἦν βουλομένοις*. and 35. *εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐστι*

then resolved that the attempt should be made, and they collected themselves together by breaking through [5] the common or party-walls of the houses, in order that they might not be observed passing through the streets. They also placed waggons without draught cattle [6] in the thoroughfares, to serve the purpose of a rampart [7], and, moreover, made such other dispositions as seemed suitable to present circumstances. And when all things, according to their utmost ability, were made ready, then, watching the time when it was yet night and the day was just beginning to dawn [8], they sallied forth from their houses, in order to engage with them, not by daylight, when they would be the more courageous and be on a footing of equality with them, but in the night, when besides being more timid [9], they would labour under disadvantage,

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βασιλεύεσθαι. et sæpe. Xen. Hist. 5, 3, 13. *ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Δ. ἀχθομένῳ ταῦτα*. Herod. 8. 43. *ἀσμένοισι ἦν*. Arrian E. A. 1, 22, 1. *οὐδὲ προσδεχόμενοις Μακεδοσιν ἦν*. Arrian E. A. 4, 27, 3. *τῷ δὲ ἀσμένῳ γίνεται*, &c. So the Latin *cordi esse alicui* or *volentibus fuit;* as Tacit. Hist. 3, 43, 3.

[5] *Breaking through.*] Literally "digging through;" for, from the materials and structure of most of the walls of private houses, in antient times (consisting chiefly of clay, or burnt brick), this would be no difficult task. Hence both in the Old Testament (See Job 24, 16. Ezek. 8, 8. Genes. 49, 6.), and the New (see Matt. 6, 19 and 20. 24, 43. Luke 12, 39.), we often read of walls of houses *dug* through. See Schleusn. Lex. N. T., to whose examples I add Aristoph. Vesp. 350. *ἔστιν ὁπῃ δῆθ', ἥντιν' ἂν ἔνδοθεν οἷός τ' εἶης διορύξαι, Εἶτ' ἐκδῦναι ῥάκεσιν κρυφθεὶς, ὥσπερ πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς*; and Æneas Poliorc. c. 2. has these words: *οἱ δὲ παρήγγελλον κρύφα τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις, σποράδην μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν μὴ ἐξιέναι, καθ' ἕνα δὲ καὶ δύο τοὺς κοινοὺς τοίχους διορύττοντας, λαθραίως παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀθροίζεσθαι*. the obscurity of which passage may be removed by cancelling the comma after *διορύττοντας* and placing it after *δύο*, and introducing a *τε* between the *τοὺς* and *κοινούς*.

[6] *Cattle.*] Smith renders, *oxen*. But *ὑποζυγ.* will denote draught cattle of every kind, horses, mules, oxen, and even *asses;* as Matt. 21, 5. 2 Pet. 2, 16.

[7] *Rampart.*] Or barricado. Such, indeed, is the use which waggons have often been put to in military operations. These would chiefly be placed at the ends of streets. So Æneas Poliorc. c. 2. *ἑτοιμασθέντος δὲ πλήθους ἀξιομάχου, τὰς μὲν δίοδους καὶ τὰς ῥύμας ἐτύφλωσαν ἁμάξαις ἄνευ ὑποζυγίων*.

[8] *Time when, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of *ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περιόρθρον*, which words are not well rendered by the translators. It may be observed, that the time here mentioned was always the one selected by the antients for a surprise (see 3, 112.); since, as it is sometimes said, men are then the most buried in sleep. There was also another reason for choosing the dawn, which is, that the dubious light afforded by it, would be embarrassing to those taken by surprise.

[9] *When, besides being, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this passage, of which it would have been more ingenuous in the commentators to

from the enemy's superior acquaintance with the city.[10] So they forthwith proceeded to the attack [11], and speedily came to blows.

IV. But the Thebans, on finding themselves deceived [1], threw themselves into close order [2] (or column), and pro-

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have at least acknowledged the difficulty. Φοβερώτεροι is to be taken, not in an active, but a neuter sense, as is noticed by Suid., who tells us it is also found in Pherecrates and Arrian. And Goeller compares Tacit. Ann. 1, 62. exercitum formidolosiorem hostium. The chief difficulty, however, centers in ἥσσους ὥσι τῆς σφετέρας ἐμπειρίας. Now, though ἥσσων properly takes a genitive, yet here the genitive cannot, without great harshness, be referred to it, but must depend upon some preposition, as ἕνεκα, *quod attinet ad.*

[10] *Acquaintance with, &c.*] Nothing more strongly sets forth the little communication that subsisted between border states, engaged in different interests, than this fact, joined with that of the hunted Thebans not knowing their way. For Platæa was but a very small city, and only eight miles from Thebes, and few Thebans, we might have supposed, could be ignorant of its chorography.

[11] *Attack.*] Æneas says: ὑπὸ δὲ σημείου ἀθροισθέντες ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, where I would read for ἐπὶ, ἀπὸ. The circumstance itself, however, is too formal.

[1] *On finding, &c.*] Here, as often, the Greek and English idioms coincide. On the present idiom I have collected numerous examples, but will here only refer the reader to Valckn. on a similar passage of Herod. 3, 1 22., and another at 3, 158. ἐς ὅ ἔμαθον προδιδόμενοι; also Monk on Eurip., Hippol. and Matth. Gr. Gr. I must observe, that the reading ἠπατημένοι (for ἐξηπ.), edited from MSS. by Bekker, is confirmed by Pausan. 2, 20, 7. ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν ἠπατημένοι. The same elegance has been also transferred into the Latin language, as appears by the well-known Virgilian, " sensit medios delapsus in hostes," adduced by all the above philologists. This idiom, too, should be restored to Livy, l. 23, 34. " ubi celeritate *vinci* senserunt." Read *victi.*

[2] *Close order.*] Smith renders, " threw themselves out in *oval.*" And Hobbes, " cast themselves into a *round* figure." But *such* a version is unauthorised. Ξυνεστράφοντο only signifies that they formed themselves into a mass by closing their ranks, if they were before in line; or forming into close column, if they were otherwise. The particular *form* is here not defined; but, as we find by Ælian, and others that it was πλινθίον, it must have been a *square.* And, in this sense, the term is cited by Steph. Thes., from Joseph. ἐν πλινθίῳ τάξας τὴν στρατίαν, to which I add a very apposite passage to our present purpose from Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 12. ὥσπερ μικρὸν πλινθίον ἐν μεγάλῳ τεθὲν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα πάντοθεν περιείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. So also our author himself, in a kindred passage (4, 125.), ξυναγαγὼν ἐν τετράγωνον τάξιν τοὺς ὁπλίτας. The *square*, too, is the very form in which soldiers are, in our times, forced to resist superior numbers closing around.

The error above noticed arose from the Latin version, *conglobabantur*, that being the term usually employed to render συστρέφεσθαι, on which in this military sense see more at 7, 29.

ceeded to repel[3] charges wherever made; and for twice or thrice they repulsed the enemy. Then the Platæans again, with a mighty uproar, set upon them; the women, too, and servants shouting and hallooing[3], and pelting them with bricks and tiles[4] from the house-tops. Added to this was the beating of a sweeping and heavy rain, which continued throughout the night[5]: so that they were seized with terror, and turning their backs, fled over the city, amidst darkness (for this happened at the waning of the moon[6]) and dirt, ignorant, most

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2 *Proceeded to repel.*] Not *repelled,* as the translators render; for that is inconsistent with what immediately follows. In fact, the Imperfect, as it denotes action commenced, but not concluded, may very well have the signification here assigned.

3 *Shouting and hallooing.*] The *former* term belongs to the *men,* the latter to the *women.* So Æschyl. Ag. 27. Ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα, where Dr. Blomf. cites the present passage. In fact, ὀλολύζω (whence ὁλολυγή) is (as also the Latin *ululo*) an Onomatop., and answers to our *halloo,* which is indeed derived from it.

4 *Pelting them, &c.*] A circumstance which not unfrequently accompanies these battle-pieces in cities. See 3, 74., and the note there. Also, Polyæn. 8, 59. Pausan. 4, 21 and 29, 1. Plutarch Syll. 9. Herod. 7, 12, 11. Βαλλι. here signifies *to pelt;* and κεραμῳ. signifies, not *a tile,* but *tiling, tiles.* So we use the words *brick, tile, stone.* In this sense the word occurs in Dio Cass. 1073. Phil. Jud. 1010. Herodo. 7, 12, 11. Aristoph. Nub. 1127. Xen. Mem. 3, 1, 7. λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ κέραμος. The article τῷ is here, without any authority, inserted by Goeller. But it is not necessary to the sense; and its omission may be defended from Pausan. 4, 27., Plut. Syll. 9., and other passages.

The stones here mentioned were, doubtless, from the battlements, behind which, and on the roofs (not flat, but slightly inclined to carry off water), the women and slaves were placed. So Æneas says, they were ἐπὶ ταῖς κεράμοις, on the roofs.

5 *Added to this, &c.*] The author has here rather *hinted* at than *expressed* the sense, which, therefore, has been imperfectly understood by the translators; for the commentators do not venture to notice the difficulty. Hobbes renders, "the night having been very wet." Smith, "incommoded by the rain which had fallen plentifully in the night." If such be the sense, all that we are to understand is, that they were uncomfortable in their wet clothes. But that is too trivial a circumstance to be supposed here adverted to. I, therefore, suspect that, as this clause is brought in just after that in which it is said that they were pelted with stones and tiles, so it has reference to the "pelting of the pitiless storm." Which, indeed, is confirmed by the ἐπιγενομένου; for ἐπιγένεσθαι, when used of *rain, wind,* and *storms,* always implies what is *sweeping* and *beating.* See Xen. Hist. 1, 6, 10. Herodi. 5, 85.

6 *Waning of the moon.*] i. e. the end of the moon or month, when it would give them no light. It is strange that Hobbes and Smith should render, "*change* of the moon." Gail rightly renders, "le déclin de la lune." And so the Schol. well explains it ἐν συνόδῳ, i. e. the interlunium, or three days, during which the moon is in conjunction with the sun, and, therefore, is invisible.

of them, of the turns and passages[7] by which they must go to save themselves, and pursued, too, by persons acquainted with every by-alley, and intent on preventing their escape.[8] Thus very many[9] of them perished. One of the Platæans, too[10], using the ferrule of a spear instead of a bolt[11], had

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[7] *Ignorant, &c.*] So Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 313, 32. δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν διεξόδων. Appian, 1, 471, 68. ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ διόδων.

[8] *Intent on, &c.*] At τοῦ μὴ ἐκφυγεῖν I supply ἕνεκα, or ὥστε.

[9] *Very many.*] Not *most*. For I read, with Bekker and Goeller, πολλοί, from the very old Cod. A., Valla, and Æneas Poliorc. Οἱ πολλοὶ is not permitted by what follows; for if the number of captives was one hundred and eighty, and the whole number something more than three hundred, it is impossible that half could have perished.

[10] *Too.*] Here, for δὲ, I read, from eleven of the best MSS., τε, which should have been received by Bekker and Goeller. Ἐκλεισε (as is often the case with the Aorist) has the sense of the pluperfect.

[11] *Using the ferrule of a spear, &c.*] This whole passage has been but ill-interpreted by all the commentators, except the very recent ones, Bredov. and Goeller, who, however, have not cleared up the obscurity. One thing is plain, that σπυρακίῳ cannot denote the *wooden shaft* of a spear, since, as the Schol. observes, that might have been pulled out of the staple. Neither does it mean what Portus, Hobbes, and Smith make it, *spiculum, jacula*, or the spear's head. *That* would have been unfit for the purpose, for it would have allowed it to be drawn out with the fingers. And, moreover, its name was ἐπιδορατίς. Now, the Schol. explains it by σαυρωτήρ, which, by the testimony of Hesych. and Eustath., and by its use in Herod. 7, 41. Polyb. 6, 25, 6 and 9. 11, 8, 4. Pausan. 3, 36. Joseph. 117, 6., appears to signify the *ferrule* with which the lower end of a spear was shod, in order to admit of its being fixed in the ground, and for the same reason that we defend our walking sticks with a similar ferrule. It was so called from some rude resemblance to the tail of a lizard, or of a certain fish, and hence, also, it came to signify a *thimble*.

As to the βαλάνου, we learn from our Schol., and the Schol. on Aristoph. Vesp. 155., as also the Greek lexicographers, that that word denoted an *iron peg*, which was thrust into the bar. The mode in which the thing was effected, the Schol. does not explain; and, as the machinery of the antients must necessarily be imperfectly comprehended by us of the present times, it is not made very clear, even by Bredov. and Goeller, who have done most for the elucidation of the passage. One thing is manifest, that the main instrument of security was the μόχλος, or *bar;* and the object was to keep this firmly in its place, by which, whether there was *one* door, or a *pair of* folding doors (as in the present case), the same purpose would be attained. Now, one end of this *bar* (which was of massy wood, plated with iron) was firmly fastened to a strong staple driven into one of the door-posts. It was then raised and drawn across the door, or doors, and let into the other post by a niche, or groove, made to receive the end of it. Then, from the other side of the post, and exactly opposite to it, was drilled an orifice which extended to the whole of the bar. Through this orifice, which was called the βαλανοδόκη, was introduced the βάλανος, a peg or bolt, which extended to the end of the orifice, and also ran into the end of the bar, which had a hole drilled into it, for the purpose of receiving it. Thus the bar was secured in its place by this bolt, which, moreover, was so deeply let into the orifice, that it could not be drawn

fastened to the bar [12] the gate by which they had entered, and which alone had been opened; so that neither was there any outlet that way. Being thus hunted up and down the city, some of them ascending the wall, threw themselves over on the outside, and most of them perished. Others, happening upon an unguarded gate, contrived, unobserved, to cut through the bar with an axe which a woman [13] supplied them with, and made their way out, though but few in number; for they were soon discovered. Others, as they were wandering up and down the city, were butchered. The major part [14], however, and such as kept most in a body, threw themselves into a large edifice [15] contiguous to the wall, the doors of

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out by the fingers, but required a certain instrument called the *βαλανάγρα*, something like a pair of pincers, by which it was drawn or (to advert to the metaphor in *βαλανάγρα*) *fished* out.

Now the only remaining obscurity in our author's words may be removed by *supplying*, what he should properly have *expressed*, *καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκβαλὼν* before *ἐς τὸν μόχλον*, as in a kindred passage of Aristoph. Vesp. 200. *καὶ τὴν βάλανον ἔμβαλλε πάλιν εἰς τὸν μόχλον*.

[12] *The bar.*] Not the *staple*, as Hobbes renders; nor the *bolt*, as Smith.

[13] *A woman.*] One of that sex which, in all ages and countries, and under all circumstances, has ever stood forth as the ministers of benevolence. See a highly coloured, yet not overcharged, panegyric on this divine trait in the softer sex in Park's Travels, also in Ledyard's Travels, as lately edited by Sparks.

[14] *Major part.*] Namely, of those that were left.

[15] *Large edifice*, *οἴκημα μέγα.*] What sort of a building this was, the interpreters are not agreed. The Schol. thinks it was a *tower*. But the term used would scarcely be suitable; nor were such *so large*. Pollux takes the expression to mean *the prison;* a sense not unfrequent in the Attic writers; on which *euphemism* see my note on Acts 12, 7. But thus the *article* would be required; and it is improbable that there should have been a *large* prison in so small a town; not to mention that the gates being open is adverse to that supposition. *Otherwise* there would be no difficulty in supposing it to have been both a tower and a prison. And so Walch and Kuinoel interpret the *οἴκημα* at Acts 12, 7. of a building which formed at once a tower of the wall, and a prison; such places, Kuinoel. observes, being often used as prisons. Perhaps he might have better said, "guard houses, or places of temporary durance." At 4, 47. indeed, we have *ἐς οἴκημα μέγα κάθειρξαν*. where some take *οἴκημα* to mean *prison;* but there we have the same difficulty in the absence of the article.

I must, therefore, acquiesce in the interpretation *edifice*, which is confirmed by Diod. Sic., who calls it *οἴκιαν*. As to what was the nature and purpose of the building, nothing can be determined. It was probably some *public* building, either a school-room (thus we have at 7, 29. *διδασκαλεῖον μέγα*), or some municipal hall. It was not, indeed, usual among the antients to allow *private* houses to be built in contiguity with a city wall. Yet that was not *always* forbidden. So in Livy 10, 10. we read: duo ex oppidanis, quorum erant *ædificia juncta muro*.

which [16] happened to be open, and which they took to be the city gates, and supposed there was a ready outlet. The Platæans seeing them thus intercepted and caught, deliberated whether they should set fire to the building and burn them at once, or in what other way to treat them.[17] At last, both these, and the other Thebans who yet survived, wandering about the city, agreed to surrender themselves, and deliver up their arms, to be treated at the discretion of the conqueror.[18] Such, then, was the condition of the Thebans in Platæa.

V. But the rest who [according to the previous plan] should have come up *en masse* during the night, to provide for any adverse occurrence to those who had entered, at length came to their assistance; especially as tidings had reached them by the way of what had happened. Now Platæa is distant from Thebes about seventy stadia, and the rain which had fallen in the night had caused them to proceed the slower; for the river Asopus ran deep [1], and was not easy of passage; so that, what with proceeding in the wet, and what with the difficulty of passing the river, they arrived too late; their companions

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[16] *The doors of which, &c.*] The Schol. and the commentators enlarge on the distinction between πύλαι and θύραι, the former being used of city *gates*, the latter of *doors* of private houses. Yet they should have included the gates of royal palaces, as in Joseph. p. 1092, 50. And they might have added that πύλαι is almost always used in the *plural*, when applied to a public building. I say *almost*, for I have noticed two exceptions in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 483.

As to the πλήσιον found in some MSS., and introduced by all the recent editors, I see no reason to adopt it, because it admits not of a satisfactory sense. I am surprised that the learned editors should not have seen that it is from the margin, and was meant to supply the ellipsis at τοῦ τείχους, where ἐχόμενον is rightly understood by Gottleber.

[17] *Or in what, &c.*] This *may* be a euphemism for, "what other kinds of death they should put them to."

[18] *To be treated, &c.*] An usual formula of surrendering at discretion, (as 4, 69. 7, 85. &c.) in which I would subaud εἰς, which is *supplied* by Alciphron Epist. 3, 41. παρεδῶκε χρῆσθ' ἑς ὅ, τι ἄν θέλῃ.

[1] *Ran deep.*] Literally *high*. Of this idiom, which has been neglected by the commentators, the following examples may be acceptable. Herod. 8, 138. ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας. Plutarch Ag. 3, 2. ἐρρύη — μέγιστος ὁ Εὐρώτας. Pausan. 2, 2, 3. πολὺς ῥεῖ. Æschyl. Sept. 80. ῥεῖ πολὺς ὧδε λεὼς — πρόδρομος ἱππότας πολὺς ἔρρει. Appian 1, 236, 40. ὁ ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας. Joseph. 397. ὁ χειμάρρους πολὺς ἐρρύη. Athen. 42. A. ἐρρύη δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἰωδὲς.

being part of them slain, and part made prisoners.[2] As soon, however, as the Thebans understood what had happened, they formed designs against such of the Platæans as resided outside of the city (and, indeed, there were both persons and moveable property[3] in the country, inasmuch as the blow came upon them unexpectedly, it being a time of peace), intending that such as they might take should be hostages for those within, if, indeed, any should be yet alive.[4] These, then, were the designs meditated by the Thebans. But while they were deliberating thereupon, the Platæans, suspecting that something of that kind would happen, and alarmed for the safety of those within the city, sent a herald to the Thebans, telling them that they had not dealt justly towards them in what they had done, by thus attempting to seize their city in time of peace, and withal forbidding them to offer any injury to those without; otherwise they themselves would put to death those men of theirs whom they held prisoners; but that, on their evacuating the territory, they would restore them the men. This the Thebans allege and aver that the Platæans swore to.[5] The Platæans, however,

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[2] *Made prisoners.*] Literally, detained as *prisoners;* for that is implied in *ζώντων*, such as were preserved in battle, becoming prisoners. Hence *ζωγρεῖν*, which properly signifies to *take alive*, generally denotes to *make prisoner*. So the Latin *servus* means properly one thus preserved in war, and consequently become the slave of the preserver.

[3] *Moveable property.*] Such is the general sense of *κατασκευή*, though it here chiefly denotes household furniture and utensils, and implements of husbandry. So in the Pandects cited by Steph. Thes. in v. *ἡ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀγροῦ*, and *ἡ κατ' ἀγρὸν σκευή*.

[4] *If, indeed, any, &c.*] This shows how little they relied on the mercy of the Platæans. Hence also it appears that they had only learnt (doubtless from those who escaped over the wall), what happened at *first*, namely, that many were killed, and not any thing of the treaty of surrender.

According to Diod., they did not confine themselves to *designs*, but put those designs into *practice*, killing some and capturing others, and filling the whole country with ravage. But this seems very improbable.

[5] *Swore to, ἐπώμοσαν.*] The *to*, is expressed in the *ἐπ'*. See the passages adduced by Steph. Thes. in v., to which I add the following. Appian 2, 12, 90. *ἐπῴμοσαν τῷ νόμῳ*, i. e. swore to observe the law. Joseph. 256, 42. As to the seemingly contradictory allegations of the two parties, probably the Platæans had promised to restore the men, but with a *mental reservation*, if they and the Thebans could adjust their differences. Under these circumstances the Platæans would decline, or at least, avoid an oath. But as a solemn engagement of that nature was generally held to partake of the nature of an oath, so the Thebans regarded them as having sworn, and consequently guilty of perjury by breaking their plighted faith.

disown that they engaged to immediately restore the prisoners, but only if, after previous treaty, they should come to terms; and as to *swearing*, they utterly disavow it.

Upon this the Thebans retired from their territory, without committing any violence. But the Platæans, after having with all haste removed their property out of the country into the city, immediately put the men to death.[6] The number of prisoners was one hundred and eighty, among whom was Eurymachus[7], with whom the conspirators had held correspondence.

VI. This done, they sent a messenger[1] to Athens, and gave up the bodies, under truce, to the Thebans; at the same time regulating affairs in the city in such a way as, according to existing affairs, seemed best. Now as soon as the Athenians had been informed of what had been done respecting the Platæans[2], they immediately apprehended such Bœotians as were in Attica, and sent a herald[3] to Platæa, enjoining them

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[6] *Put the men to death.*] Here again Diod. runs counter to our author saying that the Thebans received back the men, and then selling their spoil departed home. But whatever might be his authority for this, it bears on it the face of falsehood. For had such been the case, the Thebans would have had no reason to entertain that infuriate animosity against the Platæans which could be satisfied with nothing but their blood. Whereas, supposing our author's account to be true, all is natural enough. The statement of Thucyd., it may be observed, is confirmed by Demosth. contr. Neær. and Polyæn. Strat. 6, 19, 1.

[7] *Eurymachus.*] Goeller remarks that his being put to death is also mentioned by Herod. 7, 233. And he refers to Creuzer Ant. Hist. Gr. p. 95. note, and Dahlman on Herod. p. 40.

[1] *Sent a messenger, &c.* We are not to suppose that this was the *first* messenger sent. It appears from what follows that one was forwarded just after the entry of the Thebans, and another sent off after their defeat and capture. The one here mentioned was the *third.*

[2] *Respecting the Platæans.*] The common reading is παρὰ τῶν Πλαταιῶν. But this use of παρὰ is doubtful, and the sense arising not so suitable to the words following as that of περὶ, which is found in six of the best MSS., and is edited by Bekker. This reading I have followed. Poppo, indeed, and Goeller cancel the preposition altogether, from four MSS., comparing c. 19. τὰ τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων γενόμενα. But the authority for that kind of reading is weak; and the passage compared is not of the same nature. Besides, granting the phraseology to be correct, the sense must be, "the things done by the Thebans;" which is the very same as that yielded by the common reading, and which is by no means so suitable to the words following. Παρὰ and περὶ, indeed, are perpetually confounded.

[3] *Herald.*] It seems, then, that such were used not merely in communications between states at war, but also in peace; though I do not remember

not to proceed to any extremities[4] with the Thebans whom they held prisoners, before they themselves had had some consultation upon the matter: for intelligence had not then reached them that the men were put to death; the first messenger[5] having left the city immediately on the entrance of the Thebans; the second, when they were already defeated and taken. Of the subsequent occurrences they had no knowledge; and it was under this ignorance that the Athenians had given the above injunction. On his arrival, then, the herald found the men put to death. After this[6] the Athenians went on an expedition to Platæa, introducing corn and other provisions[7], and, leaving a garrison, carried away

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any other instance. Perhaps it may be thus accounted for. Heralds were used, like our government messengers, to carry messages to various parts of any state itself, and to its subjects. So at 1, 132. the Lacedæmonian Ephori are said to have sent a *herald* to Pausanias with a *scytale*. "Now Platæa was regarded as a part of the Athenian dominions, and therefore the same custom was used.

[4] *Proceed to any extremities.*] Literally, "not to take any further measures with;" an euphemism for, not put them to death.

[5] *The first messenger, &c.*] See supra, No. 1. Our historian has here run into needless obscurity, by not marking the course of events, especially as regarded the communication with Athens. Even the explanatory sentence which follows scarcely effects the purpose; for any thing like minute perspicuity he seems to have been above, and whenever he descends to it, it comes ungraciously from him. The state of the case seems to have been this. The first messenger had set off immediately on the capture; the second, on the defeat of the Thebans. The second message arriving before any reply could be returned to the first, one general answer was sent to both, which and the directions did not reach Athens until the men were put to death. Then a third messenger was sent to Athens, to know what course they should pursue under existing circumstances. The answer, doubtless, was that they should make preparations for a siege.

[6] *After this.*] What Smith could mean by prefixing *yet*, to which there is nothing answering in the original, I know not. The μετὰ ταῦτα is merely a formula marking subsequency of action, though not with chronological exactness. The interval could not be very long, since the Athenians would lose no time in putting so important a place in a condition to stand a siege.

A considerable force seems to have been sent, in order to convey provisions, put the fortifications in order, &c.; and then a small part of it was left in garrison, far too small, it would seem, to effect the purpose in view. For they could not but expect that every effort would be made by the Thebans to take it, whose enmity, embittered by the late barbarity, would be unextinguishable. That enormity was doubtless committed by the mob, at the instigation of some thorough-paced democrats, who thought that by this step they should effectually prevent any political connection with Thebes.

[7] *Brought in corn, &c.*] The translators render, "victualled the place;" as if the Athenians had brought provisions from Attica; which I apprehend

with them the least serviceable [8] of the men, together with the women [9] and children.

VII. After the occurrence of this affair at Platæa, by which the treaty was manifestly broken, the Athenians set themselves to prepare for the coming war; and the Lacedæmonians and their allies also made their preparations; both parties proceeding to send embassies [1] to the king and other powers [2] among the Barbarians from whom they hoped to receive any assistance, and, moreover, contracting alliances with such states as were beyond the verge of their power.[3] By the Lacedæmonians, orders were issued to those who espoused their cause, for ships to be made (besides those already arrived there from Italy and Sicily), in proportion to the size of the states [4], so that the total number should be

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was not the case, nor would it be necessary, since the district of Platæa would furnish considerable stores for so small a garrison. It appears from c. 5. that the Platæans had, on the retreat of the Thebans, brought in their furniture and moveables; and now, it seems, with the assistance of the Athenians, they fetched the corn, and whatever else was worth removing. So Diod. says: τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας κατεκόμισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

[8] *Least serviceable.*] Or least fit for military service. This expression occurs in 1, 93. and Herod. 1, 191. and 211. Xen. Hist. 7, 2, 18. Diod. Sic. 6, 64. And so the Latin writers, *turba inutilis.*

[9] *The women.*] And yet we find from c. 78. that 110 women were left. Thus it would seem that only the least useful of the *women*, too, were alone removed.

[1] *Both parties proceeding to, &c.*] Though the sense is not very clearly expressed, yet it is plain from ἑκάτεροι that Thucyd. means to assert the sending embassies to the king, of *both* parties; for ἑκάτεροι can only be referred to μέλλοντες, to which perspicuity would have required it to be brought nearer. Such being the case, it is plain that the punctuation of the editions is vicious. For μέλλοντες must depend both upon one and the other παρεσκευάζοντο, and a *comma*, not a period, ought to have been placed after πολεμήσοντες. It is strange that Bekker, Goeller, and Dindorf should not have seen this. Hack had, I find, a *better* notion of the passage, since he places a *colon* after πολεμήσοντες.

[2] *Other powers.*] *Who* these were, is not clear. Probably Thrace and some petty barbarian sovereignties to the north and north west of Greece, as also some in Italy, the king of the Siculi (in Sicily) and possibly *Carthage.*

[3] *Such states as, &c.*] By these are meant the Grecian states in Italy and Sicily, as seems clear from the words following.

[4] *By the Lacedæmonians, &c.*] There are very few passages which have occasioned more trouble to the interpreters of Thucyd. than this. There is at once a harshness and extreme brevity which have produced no little embarrassment; not to say that one of the clauses admits of more than one sense, and indeed construction. Under these circumstances no wonder is

five hundred sail; also for each to raise a certain rated sum of money. As for the rest, it was ordered that they should

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it that there should be a variety of reading (as Λακεδαιμόνιοι and Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπετάχθησαν and ἐπετάχθη), since the more learned librarii were at all times prone (like some slashing critics of modern times) to get rid of the difficulty by alteration.

But to proceed to the interpretation of the passage, it cannot be expected that I should detail all the solutions (generally unfounded and abortive) which have been devised by commentators and philologists. However to clear the way to ascertain what *is* true, by showing what is *not* so, it may be observed that the various readings, Λακεδαιμόνιοι and ἐπετάχθη are supported by very slender authority; the former by three, and the latter one of the worst MSS. These readings, however, are *inconsistent* with each other, and indicate the *two ways* in which the passage has been tampered with. But as to ἐπετάχθη, it is a sufficient ground of objection to say, that it is supported by only one inferior MS., and has had scarcely a single advocate among the critics since the time of Stephens. As to Λακεδαιμονίοι, it has never been supported by any but Gottleber, and cannot be admitted, since then ἐπετάχθησαν must be taken in an *active* sense. Indeed it has been long agreed that the common reading Λακεδαιμονίοις must be retained, and taken for ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, like the Latin ablative. On the mode, however, in which the sentence is to be taken the critics differ. The most important question, and that on which the whole difficulty hinges, is what is the *subject* to ἐπετάχθησαν? Now there are few readers who would not at once say ναῦς, since the word is so situated as to immediately suggest that. But this very natural idea has been scouted by the critics from Abresch down to Goeller, who point to the critical canon of Phrynichus, αἱ νῆες ἐρεῖς, οὐχ αἱ ναῦς, σόλοικον γάρ. Yet they are not agreed as to what *is* the subject. This they seek by repeating some word from the preceding context. Hack takes οἱ τακείνων ἐλόμενοι from τοῖς τακείνων ἑλ. Herman (as I did myself formerly) takes ξύμμαχοι from the preceding οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι. Goeller thinks that the subject "latet in νυ. κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων." Hack also proposes to supply οὗτοι. But that is far too arbitrary an ellipsis to be admitted; and the other methods are too harsh to deserve any attention. Under these circumstances, I do not hesitate to run counter to all the critics except Kistemacher, and regard ναῦς as the *subject*, and consequently to be taken as a *nominative*. And if it be objected, that this is breaking Priscian's head, we may answer, that one Thucydides will make fifty Priscians! But if it be *necessary* to suppose our great historian always attentive to such minutiæ, we have only to suppose that he wrote νῆες, and that the librarii and scribes, little acquainted with the canons of Atticists, altered it to the common ναῦς; which, indeed, has been done in various words, at least a thousand times elsewhere in our author.

There remain, however, some further points in this passage to be discussed. It will be readily admitted that ἐκείνων is for αὐτῶν, as in 2, 13.; a sort of (if you will) *grata negligentia* not very unfrequent in the classical writers. There will be little difficulty in referring αὐτοῦ to ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι, which is inherent in the Λακεδαιμονίοις; and at ὑπαρχούσαν must be supplied ναῦσι. But on the method of construing the words following ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας critics are not equally agreed. These are by most commentators referred to the preceding; but by Poppo and others the words following. And I was formerly myself of this opinion. But though such expressions as οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως are put for πολῖται, and occasionally ἐκ

keep quiet, receiving the Athenians, one ship only [5] at a time, until their preparations should be completed. The Athenians,

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is so used with the name of a city or country; yet the sense thus arising will not be very apt, since it is not likely that the Lacedæmonians should have made the Sicilian and Italian allies of so much consequence. Nor is it probable that all the Peloponnesian ships were, as they will thus be supposed to be, in readiness. Others (more properly) connect them with the words following. It has, indeed, been objected, that we have had nothing mentioned about these ships. But *Diod.* speaks of them, l. 12, 41. in these words: καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν συμμάχους διαπρεσβευσάμενοι διακοσίας τριήρεσιν ἔπεισαν βοηθεῖν. And from the close connection which subsisted between the Lacedæmonian confederacy and their colonies in Italy and Sicily, it was likely that the one should ask, and the other freely grant that aid to their parent states, those of the same race (Doric) which they were so able to render. That Italy was well provided with wood for ship-building we learn from Appian, 1, 300, 13. καὶ ναῦς εἰργάζετο πολλὰς, εὐξύλου τῆς Ἰταλίας οὔσης; Moschus ap. Athen. 206. F. καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην οὐρείαν ὕλην, τὴν μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, τήνδε ἐξ Σικελίας; Virg. Æn. 11, 326. Bis denas Italo texamus robore naves, Seu plures complere valent; jacet omnis ad undam Materies. That the Italian and Sicilian states were sufficiently *wealthy* to build considerable fleets, we have abundant evidence. And that they *did* so, we know from the Syracusans soon afterwards doing this, and other states before and after, mentioned by Diodorus.

Thus it appears that τοῖς τἀκεινῶν ἑλομένοις must be taken, not, as Poppo would have them, in a future sense; namely, "those who should take their part," but in the usual acceptation of the present, "those who were taking, or had taken, their part." For to suppose ἑλομ., as Goeller does, a *dativus commodi*, "for the benefit of those, &c." is too arbitrary and harsh a method, in which, indeed, he would never have acquiesced, had he not been compelled by his intepretation of ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι.

Thus no difficulty of interpretation remains. But it must be observed, that the τοῖς τἀκεινων ἑλομ. is to be referred solely to the confederacy in Greece proper; while the πάντα ἀριθμον, *total number*, must refer to both the Italian and Sicilian ships, and those of the home alliance. Yet even then the number is so great, so much greater than was ever furnished or brought into action, that I formerly suspected some error in the word. But neither the MSS. nor any passages of classical writers in my Collectanea offer any countenance to such a notion. And if we bear in mind the immane quantum, the μέγα χάσμα, between human *plans* and their *execution*, we may the better digest this difficulty; and the ὡς ἐσομένων plainly shows that that number was the one contemplated, or *ordered* in the same vaunting spirit as made Buonaparte, in the last year of his reign, *decide in council* on, and *order* such levies as were never raised, nor could be raised. Nor are we to infer from what Diod. says, that 200 Sicilian and Italian ships were actually then in Peloponnesus, for the ἔπεισαν only imports that the Lacedæmonians *urged* them to send that number; unless (which is not improbable) there be some mistake.

[5] *One ship only at a time.*] This was a caution not unusual under certain circumstances. And it is found in the oration of Hermocrates to the Camarinæans, l. 6, 76. Here the Schol. is wrong in supplying μετὰ κηρυκίου; for, until they were actually at war, no κήρυξ was necessary. So 1, 63. ἄνευ κηρυκείου. The Schol., however, rightly remarks ὡς πρὸς φίλους ὄῆθεν.

on their part, made a careful survey of the actual [6] strength of their confederacy, and sent the more frequent embassies to the states around Peloponnesus, Corcyra and Cephallenia, Acarnania, and Zacynthus; perceiving that if those countries were friendly to them, they might securely [7] carry on a war around Peloponnesus.

VIII. Indeed, nothing trivial [1] or confined was meditated by either side, but they strung themselves to the contest [2]; and naturally enough: for at the beginning [3] of any undertaking all apply themselves with more than usual alertness. Besides, there was then a numerous body of youth in Peloponnesus, and no less so at Athens; who, from inexperience [4],

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[6] *Actual.*] Literally, *existing.* So 1, 76. *τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν*; and 3, 39. *πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν.* Hobbes renders it *present.* Smith omits the word.

[7] *Securely.*] Βεβαίως. I cannot quite accede to the construction of Coray and Goeller, who take *βεβαίως* with *φίλια*; though the passage they cite (3, 10. *καλῶς ὄφισι φίλιον*) gives some countenance to the opinion. There was need to draw the bonds of friendship closer with all these states, though already well inclined to the Athenians. The Corcyreans were not friends of long standing, or who had received such powerful assistance as to claim any great return of service.

[1] *Nothing trivial, &c.*] It is strange that the learned commentators have nothing to remark on this passage, which has been imitated by so many classical writers; ex. gr. Lucian Nigro, t. 1, 43. *μικρὸν οὐκετι οὐδὲν ἐπινοῶ*; Plutarch in Eumen. c. 12. *οὐδὲν ἔτι μικρὸν ἐλπίζων*; Plutarch Cic. 18. *οὐδὲν οὖν ἐπενόει μικρὸν ὁ Λ. ἢ ἄσημον*; Appian, 1, 536, 10. *καὶ μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐνθυμούμενος Ἑλλησποντίον ἐπήει*; and 1, 794. *οὐδὲν σμικρὸν διενοεῖτο*; Arrian E. A. 7, 1, 6. *οὔτε μικρόν τι καὶ φαῦλον ἐπινόειν Αλέξανδρον*; Joseph. 686, 25. *μικρὸν οὐδὲν ἐπενοεῖ*; Xen. Cyr. 6, 2, 4. *παρεσκεύαζετο — ὡς δὴ ἀνὴρ οὐδὲν σμικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν*; Zosim. 1, 44, 3. Livy, 2, 49. nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo; and 7, 39. *nihil medium*—aut imperium et honorem aut mortem denunciantes. See also 30, 33. Horat. Epist. 1, 12, 5. nil *parvum* capias, et adhuc sublimia cures. Hence is illustrated a passage of Æschyl. Theb. 348. *οὔτε μεῖον, οὔτ' ἴσον· λελιμμέναι.*, where the words *ξυμβολεῖ — ἔχειν* are parenthetical, and exegetical of *διαδρομᾶν*. And *οὐτ' ἴσον* is put per litotem. Supply *ἀλλὰ μεῖζον.* Λελιμμέναι is for λελιμμένοι, by the figure *πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον.*

[2] *Strung themselves, &c.*] Or, prepared to put forth their whole strength. In *ἔρρωνται* there is, as in *κραταιοῦσθαι* at 1 Cor. 16, 13. and חזקת strength from חזק, *to string*, an *agonistic* metaphor. The term signifies to string one's nerves, and thus excite oneself to any undertaking.

[3] *At the beginning, &c.*] So 1. 1, 140. *καίπερ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας.*

[4] *From inexperience.*] Here the Schol. aptly adduces the adage: *γλυκὺς ἀπείρῳ πόλεμος.* Similar passages, probably written with a view to this, are found in Liban. Orat. 732. D. where we have *ἐξ ἀβουλίας*; Appian,

eagerly caught at the war. The rest of Greece, too, was all eager with expectation[5] on the two principal powers thus engaging[6] in combat. Many, too, were the prophetical saws told about, and many the oracles[7] pronounced by the oracle-

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2, 267, 60. where occurs ἐξ ἀπειρίας; Arrian E. A. 5, 27, 15. where occurs διὰ τὸ ἀπείραστον. I would for ἀπείραστον read ἀπείρατον.

[5] *All eager with expectation.*] Namely, waiting to see the event. Hobbes and Smith render, "stood at gaze, in suspense." The passage is imitated by Joseph. 1025, 42. 1108, 31. Philostr. V. Ap. 8, 15. and 8, 21. See also Appian, 3, 326. Agathias ap. Suid. in μετέωρα. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 328, 3. Lycurg. C. Leocr. 152, 43. Plutarch Demosth. 18. Philostr. V. Ap. 7, 33. Joseph. 1168, 20. where I would cancel ἐν. Justin, l. 3, 2. init. An ample body of critical matter on the *ratio significationis* of this word and μετεωρίζεσθαι may be seen in my note on Luke 12, 29.

[6] *Engaging.*] Literally, meeting together, ξυνιουσῶν. This use of ξυνιέναι is found not unfrequently in the classical writers; as Polyæn. 4, 5, 13. The phrase seems formed on the Homeric (Il. ζ. 120.) ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι.

[7] *Prophetical saws — oracles, &c.*] The distinction here made by the Scholiast and most critics is, that by λόγια we are to understand oracles in prose, by χρησμοὶ, those in verse. Now though this distinction is not always observed by the later writers (as Philo ap. Steph. Thes. Arrian E. A. 7, 16, 9., also Aristoph. Eq. 796.), yet it seems *here* to have place; and it is usually observed in the earlier writers, who use λόγιον to denote the prediction of a soothsayer, χρησμὸς the oracle of a god. So Aristoph. Vesp. 799. ὅρα τὸ χρῆμα· τὰ λόγι' ὡς περαίνεται, *are fulfilled.* See also Appian E. H. 2, 3, 14. Such predictions *might* be either in prose or verse; but were usually in the *latter*, as the χρησμοὶ were generally, if not always. So that Dio Cass. 431, 66. and 273, 64. has wrongly confounded the two terms by writing (in imitation of this passage) λόγια παντοῖα ᾠδετο.

Towards understanding the nature of the λόγια there is a highly important passage in Aristoph. Eq. 1000. seqq. where Demus (*the people*) thus addresses Cleon:—"What have you got there?" *Cleon.* "Λόγια." *Dem.* "What *all?*" *Cle.* "D'ye wonder? aye, by Jove, and I have besides a chest full." *Allant.* "And I a garret and two lodging-rooms full." *Dem.* "Come, let me see—why whose can ever these prophecies be?" *Cle.* "Mine are Bacis's." *Dem.* "And whose are your's?" *All.* "Glaucus's, the elder brother of Bacis." *Dem.* "But what are they about?" *Cle.* "About *Athens*, about *Pylus*, about *you*, about *me*, about *all sorts of things.*" *Dem.* "And what are your's about?" *All.* "About *Athens* — about *lentils* — about the *Lacedæmonians* — about *fresh mackerel* — about those in the market that deal out flour by short measure — about you — about me." *Dem.* "Come now, and read me them." *Cle.* "Hear, then, and pay attention to me." On which both Cleon and Allant. give specimens of these λόγια, which are very curious, and all in heroic metre. By the prefatory words of these, it appears that they were *prophecies*, but purported to have been suggested by Apollo; and they are called χρημοί. See also the Pax. 1070. seqq., where the Schol. treats of this Bacis, calling him a χρησμολόγος.

Finally, there are three passages of the classical writers which especially illustrate this of our author, as describing the very same turbulent and highly excited state of things as subsisted on the present occasion. Eurip. Heracl. 400—6. Πόλις τ' ἐν ὅπλοις, σφάγιά θ' ἡτοιμασμένα Ἔστηκεν, οἷς χρὴ

singers[8], both in the states going to war and in the rest. And, moreover, a little before these events took place, Delos had been shaken by an earthquake, which had never before happened in the memory of the Grecians.[9] Hence it was

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ταῦτα τέμνεσθαι θεῶν. Θυηπολεῖται δ' ἄστυ μαντέων ὕπο, Τροπαῖά τ' ἐχθρῶν, καὶ πόλει σωτήρια. Χρησμῶν δ' ἀοιδοὺς πάντας εἰς ἓν συναλίσας, Ἥλεξα, καὶ βέβηλα καὶ κεκρυμμένα, λόγια παλαιὰ, τῇδε γῇ σωτήρια; where I must observe the λόγια παλαιὰ gives great confirmation to the reading *priorum* for *piorum*, in a kindred passage of Virg. Æn. l. 4, 464. Multaque præterea vatum prædicta *priorum* Terribili monitu horrificant. Polyb. 3, 112, 8. πάντα δ' ἦν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς λόγια πᾶσι τότε διὰ στόματος, σημείων δὲ καὶ τεράτων πᾶν μὲν ἱερὸν, πᾶσα δ' ἦν οἰκία πλήρης; Appian, 2, 115. δείματα τὰ γὰρ ἄλογα πολλοῖς ἐνέπιπτε περὶ ὅλην Ἰταλίαν. Καὶ μαντευμάτων παλαιῶν ἐπιφοβώτερον ἐμνημόνευον. There is also a similar passage in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 472, 29.

s *Oracle-singers.*] The word χρησμολόγος denoted, 1. like χρησμῳδὸς, *vates*, one who pronounced oracles in verse, pretending to have them from divine revelation. Thus Pollux, 1, 14. joins the terms μαντεῖς, θεσμαντεῖς, χρησμῳδοὶ, χρησμολόγοις; and so Herod. 1, 62. and 8, 96. χρησμολόγος — ὅς χρᾷ τάδε; also Livy, 1, 55. idque cecinere vates. It denoted, 2dly, one who recited or *chanted* (for that seems to have been the way in which they were uttered) the prophecies of others. And this seems to be the sense in Xen. Hist. 3, 3, 3. So χρησμολέσχην in Lycoph. 1419. 3dly. it denoted one who, though he might not pretend to direct revelation, yet recited and interpreted either *oracles*, or the "*vatum prædicta priorum.*" Such are the χρησμῶν ἀοιδοὶς in Euripides; see also Herod. 7, 142 and 143. Now there were, we find from Aristoph., many such impostors at that time, and in full credit and practice. It was quite a *trade.* Thus in the Aves 960. a χρησμολόγος is brought on the stage thus:— *Pisth.* "Who are you?" *Chresm.* "Who? why an oracle-singer." *Pisth.* "Then go to the devil!" *Chresm.* "O, my good sir, set not lightly by divine things! There is a prophecy (χοησμὸς) of Bacis, which plainly speaks with reference to, &c." How low and sordid a class of people these were, appears from Aristoph. Pac. 1047. *Tryg.* "Whoever can that fellow be?" *Serv.* "Why what a strutting braggadocio! he is surely a *prophet.*" *Tryg.* "No, by Jove, but it is Hierocles." *Serv.* "Aye, I warrant, he is the oracle-singer, he from Oreus. What now will he say to the treaty?" *Tryg.* "It is plain that he will set his face against this reconciliation." *Serv.* "No, he wont — he has only come hither, allured by the scent of the sacrifice." Then the χρησμόλογος joins them, and soon puts in for a share of the roast-meat, and spouts some oracles of Bacis. Of this notable class was even Cleon himself, who might be said to be χρησμολόγος *in chief.* So in Aristoph. Eq. 61. it is said of him, ᾄδει δὲ χρησμούς. εἶϑ' ὁ γέρων σιβυλλιᾷ — τέχνην πεποίηται, "has made it his trade."

Finally, it appears from Herodotus (7. 6. χρησμολόγον καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου.) that there was a yet lower class of these χρησμολόγοι; and as the preceding were the *Sidrophels*, or master-wizards, so these were the *Whachums*, or under-strappers, who used to hawk about oracles or prophecies, for the benefit of those who would consult and fee them, and whom they assisted in applying the oracles to circumstances and persons.

9 *A little before, &c.*] There is here a seemingly point blank contradiction between Thucydides and Herodotus, 6, 98., who, speaking of the time of the Persian war, says: Δῆλος ἐκινήϑη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δήλιοι, καὶ

said, and indeed it seemed to be[9] a prognostic of the events which were afterwards to take place. Whatever else, too, happened of a similar nature, all was anxiously scrutinized. Now the good-will of the generality inclined by far the most to the Lacedæmonians[10], especially as they had previously

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πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. He then adds, that it was a prognostic of the events that were about to take place, which were so great that it was nothing surprising that Delos should suffer earthquake, though formerly unshaken. And he seems to think, that thus was fulfilled an oracle, namely, κινήσω δὲ καὶ Δῆλον, ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν. Now, Wasse settles the matter by supposing, that Thucyd. *forgot* the former earthquake. "A *non laudabile crimen*," remarks Wesseling, "from which, at that rate, not even *Herodotus* will be exempt; for, how could he say that that had been the first and last up to his time, when it is clear, from 7, 137, 133, &c., that he lived some way into the Peloponnesian war." Wessel. would reconcile the two authors by taking the ὀλίγῳ πρότερον in a somewhat lax sense, so as to understand it of the earthquake at Delos, mentioned by Herodotus. But it is truly remarked by Valckn., "that that happened about seventy years before, and such a period could not be called *a little before*. And how could an event, that took place so long before, be thought a prognostic of events so distant?" He (rightly, I think) takes the words, ὡς λέγουσι Δήλιοι, to show that the earthquake rested on the authority of the Delians only, and was not felt by the other Greeks; and that, therefore, Thucydides gave no credence to it, though such appears from Pliny, 4, 12. Macrob. Saturn, 3, 6., and other antients, to have been a commonly received opinion. Here, it may be observed, as elsewhere more than once, our author tacitly marks his dissent from Herodotus. For no one can compare the two passages, and doubt for a moment that Thucydides had that passage of Herodotus before him. As for the *credit of Herodotus*, who, Wesseling thinks, might be convicted of forgetfulness, it is enough to reply, with Valckn., that the words μέχρι ἐμεῦ can only be meant of the *period when he published* his history, which was probably some years before this earthquake. I would add, that though the former earthquake seems to have been *commonly* believed to have happened, yet it may not have been *universally;* for I find Pindar (who lived long after it), in the fragments of an ode to Delus, p. 32. frag. 2. Ed. Heyne., calls Delus χθονὸς εὐρείας ἀκίνητον τέρας; and describes it as founded on adamantine pillars of solid rock.

Here one may remark on the wonderful phenomena respecting the island in question, which was at first a *floating* one, and afterwards *most immoveable*. This I would refer as a problem for the consideration of naturalists.

9 *Seemed to be.*] Here our author shows his usual scepticism. He grants it *seemed* to be, but he will not say that it *was* a prognostic, as Herod. 7, 142, 1. ἠπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε. Σημῆναι is for σημεῖον εἶναι, *to be a pretext, or omen.* So ἐδήλωσε for δῆλον ἦν 2, 50., and so Appian, 2, 624 and 17. Arrian, E. A. 7, 24, 1., all, probably, imitated from this passage. So also Plutarch Coriol. 38., and Syll. 14. s. f. And so προσημαίνειν in Herod. 6, 27. Hence may be defended the common reading in Xen. Hist. 5, 4, 17. καὶ οἰωνίζοντο τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων.

10 *Inclined by far, &c.*] Such seems clearly to be the *sense*, though the *reading* has been not a little controverted. All the editions up to Got-

given out that they meant to restore liberty to Greece. All, too, both individuals and states, felt excited[11] to cooperate with them to the utmost of their power, both by word and action. Every one, too, thought the business *there* flagged where he might not himself be present.[12] Such was the animosity which the generality entertained towards the Athenians; partly from a desire to be released from their domination and partly through fear lest they should be subjected to it. Such, then, was the state of preparation, and such the disposition to which they were animated.

IX. Now the confederates which either party brought to

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tleber's have ἐποίει, which that critic altered to ἐπῄει, from many MSS.; and in conformity to the opinion of Stephens, Abresch, Reiske, Bauer, and others. This was also adopted by Hack. But Bekker and Goeller have recalled the old reading. As to *MS.* authority, there is nearly the same for both readings; and Abresch and Goeller allege four passages of Dio Cass., which favour ἐποίει (namely, Plutarch Cæs. ἡ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοία τῶν πολλῶν ἐποιεῖ. Appian, 2, 14. 1, 41. 2, 20. 2, 716. Arrian E. A. 2, 2, 5., all close imitations of the present passage). Under these circumstances, it is not easy to decide which is the true reading. Goeller, indeed, appeals to 4, 12. ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης, &c., and Lucian Dial. D. 6. But the turn of those passages is somewhat different. The sole point, therefore, that can strike the balance, is the comparative aptness of either. Now, that ἐπῄει may have the sense of *bend, verge, incline to*, is certain. What apt sense ἐποίει can have, it is not easy to see. Goeller explains it, *effectum habere in aliquem.* But though that signification is suitable enough to 4, 12. and the passage of Lucian, yet it is *not* so to the present. And it is in vain to urge that ἐποίει should be adopted as being the *more difficult* reading; for even that critical canon has many exceptions. It certainly is not applicable in cases like the present, where two readings are strikingly similar, of which one is a common and the other an uncommon word. In that case the latter is, for an obvious reason, to be preferred. Now here, both propriety of language (for verbs of motion take an accusative with a preposition denoting *end* or *tendency*), and critical probability, are in favour of ἐπῄει. As to the authorities (otherwise strong) of Dio Cass. Arrian, and Plutarch, they are *neutral*, for it is equally a matter of uncertainty what the true reading of *those* passages may be.

[11] *Excited.*] Or *zealous.* For, as the Schol. observes, the matter is not of strength, but zeal.

[12] *Every one thought, &c.*] Here the commentators aptly compare a kindred passage at 4, 14. I add the following imitations from the classical writers: — Dionys. Hal. 555, 39. καὶ τὸ νικᾶν ἑκάστου παρ' ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ τιθέμενου., and 618, 16. καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐ παρ' ἄλλον τινα ἢ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος τιθέμενος. Livy, l. 30, 9. in quo quisque cessasset, prodi ab se solutum omnium rebatur. Hence is illustrated an obscure passage of Arrian, E. A. 3, 9, 16. ἔν τε τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ τὸ πᾶν μεμνῆσθαι ξυγκινδυνεῦον τε ἀμελουμένῃ, καὶ δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐκπονουμενῳ ξυνορθούμενον. With respect to the *feeling*, it is perfectly natural.

the war were these.[1] Those of the Lacedæmonians were these — the whole of the Peloponnesians within the isthmus, except the Argives and Achæans, who were upon terms of amity with both. Of the Achæans, the Pellenians alone at first took part in the war; but afterwards all the rest. Out of Peloponnesus, there were the Megareans, the Phocians, the Locrians[2], the Bœotians, the Ambraciots, the Leucadians, and the Anactorians. Of the above a *naval* quota was furnished by the Corinthians, Megareans, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambraciots, and Leucadians; a cavalry force by the Bœotians, the Phocians, and Locrians. The rest of the states furnished infantry. This, then, was the Lacedæmonian confederacy. That of the Athenians comprehended the Chians, Lesbians, Platæans, the Messenians at Naupactus, the greater part of the Acarnanians, the Corcyreans, the Zacynthians; also some other states which were tributary[3] in various[4] countries — as the maritime part of Caria, and Doris[5], adjacent to it, Ionia, the Hellespont, the regions of Thrace[6]; the islands, such as were situated between Peloponnesus and Crete, towards the east, namely, all the Cyclades

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[1] *Now the confederates, &c.*] For a much fuller account of the two confederacies, see the Dissertation on the state of Greece, civil and military, prefixed to this work.

[2] *Locrians.*] This is certainly too general; and it must be limited and explained from Diodor. l. 12, 42., who, in his list, assigns to the Lacedæmonian alliance *most* of the Locrians who lived opposite to Eubœa (i. e. the Locri Opuntii and Epicnemidii, *all* of whom, however, are assigned to the Lacedæmonians by Poppo), and of the others, the Locri Ozolæ, the Amphisseans.

[3] *Also some other, &c.*] So it is requisite to render the words, and not, as Hobbes and Smith, "and other states tributary;" for thus the preceding states will be included among the *tributary* ones, contrary to fact.

[4] *Various.*] Or *numerous.* Such seems to be the sense of τοσοῖσδε, which Hobbes renders *those*, and Kistem. "those (following.)"

[5] *Doris.*] This consisted of the islands of Rhodes and Cos, and the peninsula of Cnidus, or Triopium.

[6] *The regions of Thrace.*] In the phrase τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης is to be supplied χώρια. So Acts, 8, 1. κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας. And Aristoph. Pac. 282. τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χώρια. This was a short way of signifying the *parts of maritime* Thrace, which had been colonised by the Athenians. It is strange that Bekker should have put the τὰ in brackets, since it is necessary to the phrase. And though it is omitted in seven MSS., yet that is of little weight, the omission of a word in such circumstances being frequent. Besides, it can be proved to have been in the text at the time of Libanius, who refers to this passage in his oration, p. 494. D.

except Melus and Thera.[7] Of these the Chians, Lesbians, and Corcyreans furnished a naval quota; the rest infantry and money. Such was the confederacy of either party, and such their respective state of preparation for the war.

X. The Lacedæmonians, immediately after the affair at Platæa, sent round orders to the states [1] throughout Peloponnesus, and the confederacy beyond it, to get their forces in readiness, and to provide such necessaries [2] as would be likely to be wanted for a foreign expedition, with a view to an irruption into Attica. And when all things were ready on either side[3], at the time appointed[4] two-thirds [5] [of the men

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[7] *Namely, all the, &c.*] The words *νῆσοι ὅσαι — ἀνίσχοντα* involve some difficulty. Portus renders, "et insularum," &c.; Hobbes and Smith, "and all the other Cyclades." But that will leave little or no meaning to the preceding clause; for if we *except* these Cyclades, there is *no* island between Peloponnesus and Crete (for as to Cythera, it was a *Lacedæmonian* one). The Schol. would remove this difficulty by placing a comma after Πελοποννήσου, and then *repeating* the ὅσαι after Κρήτης. But that is doing violence to the construction, and will require ἐντὸς to be taken in the unheard of sense *attached to.* In short, the translators and the Schol. are plainly in an error, which seems to have been occasioned by supplying an *et*, or *and*, without authority. As there is no conjunction, it should seem that our author did not mean to add another article to the last, but rather to qualify and define the one preceding, which was somewhat vague. It is plain that the islands between Peloponnesus and Crete to the eastward, are the Cyclades, among which some of the Sporades seem included.*

The ἄλλαι before Κυκλάδες is omitted in one MS.; but it is quite agreeable to the idiom of the Greek language, though it may be dispensed with in our own, and in the French; and thus it is passed over by Gail.

[1] *To the states.*] The words ταῖς πόλεσι, which the translators omit, are to be taken, *per trajectionem*, with περιήγγελλον; thus, περ. ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ Πελ.

[2] *Necessaries.*] Mueller (in a learned work on the Dorians), here cited by Goeller, is of opinion that each one's proportion, whether of necessaries or money, had been before fixed, *beyond* which no one was bound to contribute. Thus it would not be necessary for their quota *then* to be defined. The quantum both of money, equipments, and necessaries to be brought by all had been before settled, so that the army might be collected together, perfectly equipped, at a short warning, namely at *the time appointed* (as it is here said).

[3] *By each.*] Ἑκάστοις is for ὑπὸ ἑκάστων, and πάντα is understood.

[4] *Time appointed.*] Namely by the Lacedæmonians, who had issued the orders for their assemblage. (Schol.)

[5] *Two-thirds.*] This, though it may seem large, was an usual proportion;

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* It is about twelve years since I formed the above view of this passage; and I feel satisfaction in seeing it supported by the opinion of Hack.

able to bear arms] from each state assembled together at the isthmus; and when the whole force had been collected together, Archidamus, the king of the Lacedæmonians, who commanded in this expedition, having convened [6] the commanders of all the auxiliary states, and officers who were highest in rank or estimation, addressed them to the following purport: —

XI. "Peloponnesians and allies, many are the expeditions, both in and out of Peloponnesus, which our forefathers made; nor are the elder among us destitute of experience in war [1]! yet never have we taken the field with a larger force [2] than the present. However [3], we are now proceeding, numerous and brave as our forces are, against a most puissant state. It is therefore incumbent on us to show ourselves not inferior to our ancestors, and not to fall short of that glory we have already acquired [4]: for by this very movement the expectation

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(see 3, 15. et alibi) and hence we may account for the exceedingly large armies sent forth by the Grecian states in proportion to their size.

The ellipsis here is not unusual; and yet its force has often been mistaken by editors, no one of whom has adduced the *plena locutio*. That is, indeed, very rare; but it occurs in Appian 2, 271, 12. ἐκ τριῶν τὰ δύο μέρη.

The force from which these two-thirds were draughted (no doubt by *lot*), was not from the whole of the adult males, but from those within the age for *foreign service*, which, I think, did not exceed 45. The whole number, as Plutarch tells us, amounted to 60,000.

6 *Convened.*] Literally, convened to be present. For παρεῖναι must not be taken with ἀξιολογωτάτους, as is done by almost all the translators and commentators, but with ξυνεκάλεσαν, as Gottleb., Hack, and Goeller have seen. The *trajectio* is common; and in vain does Bauer urge that it is pleonastic and frigid; for *many* trajectios *are* pleonastic, and *seem* frigid. Besides to join it with ἀξιολ. would make *bad Greek*.

Here it is worth while to notice the difference between the custom of the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians in delivering such speeches. The Lacedæmonians, we see, as following the Aristocratical form of government, delivered them only to a chosen few; the Athenians, as professing the democratical, to the army at large. See 6, 68. 7, 61 and 66.

1 *Destitute of experience in war.*] They had, about fifteen years before, partaken in the war with Athens, which preceded the thirty years' treaty.

2 *Larger force.*] The translators wrongly render, "so large a force."

3 *However.*] Such is the sense of ἀλλὰ καὶ.

4 *Fall short of, &c.*] Literally, "be inferior to ourselves in respect of the glory," &c.; for δόξης is governed of ἕνεκα understood, which signifies *quod attinet ad*. The translators all take the δόξης to denote the opinion of the world. But the sense I have adopted seems more apposite, and is (I find) supported by Gail; though his version "inférieurs à notre propre gloire," is too idiomatical and trammelled.

is raised, and the attention fixed upon us, of all Greece; which, by its enmity to ~~Lacedæmon~~, bearing good-will to us, wishes that we may accomplish what we design.[5] Highly, therefore, does it behove us — though we may seem to advance with a powerful and well-appointed force, and may feel very sure[6] that the enemy will never come to action with us — not on that account the less cautiously to pursue our march; but for every one, whether commander of a state quota[7], or private soldier, to constantly expect, as far as regards himself[8], to encounter danger: for uncertain are the events of war, and often from some trivial circumstance[9], and

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[5] *Bearing good-will, &c.*] The whole of this clause is by no means easy; but the sense seems to be that which I have assigned. The difficulty centers in πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς, &c., how to connect which the interpreters are not agreed. Abresch and others connect those words with προσέχει τὴν γνώμην. But this savours too much of the harshness of Abresch's constructions to be admitted. Gottleb. rightly unites them with εὐνοίαν ἔχουσα, in which Hack says, "latet voluntas et studium alicui salutare." The truth is that the phrase εὔνοιαν ἔχουσα must be tacitly repeated *per dilogiam*, in a cognate sense, with the πράξαι, &c. I say *cognate;* for, in the first instance, it will signify (to use our common idiom) *well wishing;* in the second, simply wishing or desiring, which is implied in the other.

[6] *May feel very sure, &c.*] At ἀσφαλεία πολλῇ εἶναι (in which the Greek and English exactly correspond, *safe* being familiarly used in the same sense), must be supplied δοκῇ from the preceding δοκοῦμεν. See Schneider on Xen. Hist. As to ἐλθεῖν, which Goeller would have altered to ἐξέλειν, without more *MS.* authority scarcely *any* authority could justify the change; since it is so plainly an alteration devised for ease; though, in fact, it occasions more difficulty, for ἐλθεῖν, or some such verb, must then be supplied. But none can be supplied without violating the principles of ellipsis, certainly not χωρεῖν, which Goeller would supply from *what follows!*

The τι signifies *at all.* And τινα is not to be taken with κίνδυνον, but belongs to χρῇ, and signifies *each one.*

[7] *Commander of a state.*] i. e. of the quota furnished by that state. So c. 10. τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων. Hobbes and Gail take it to mean, "each one of every state." But this would yield a frigid sense, and destroy the antithesis.

[8] *As far as regards himself.*] Literally, for his own part. For μέρος must be supplied. So Plutarch Pomp. 70. τῶν μὲν πολλῶν ἐπεσκοπεῖτο, ἕκαστος τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν. See also Arrian E. A. 3, 15, 5. Now this is said, that each may bring the danger home to himself, and not (as is adverted to supra 1, 141.) feel a groundless persuasion that he shall somehow escape the worst, but accordingly be on his guard, and prepare for the worst.

[9] *From some trivial circumstance, &c.*] At ἐξ ὀλίγου something must be understood. Portus supplies *manu;* Abresch and Gottleb. καιροῦ. But I prefer, with Kistemm., πράγματος, which is confirmed by l. 5, 102. See the commentators on Livy, l. 31. sub init.

The truth of this observation is verified by all the detailed accounts both of ancient and modern times, by which we find it has occasionally happened

through choleric impetuosity, attacks are made. Often, too, has it happened that the lesser force, inspired with cautious apprehension, has better resisted the greater [than one equal in numbers might have done[10]]; inasmuch as *these* have, from contempt of their adversary, made their attack unprepared. Whereas it behoves men, when on hostile ground, to be indeed bold in their plans and purposes, but in the execution of them to make their preparations as if they were afraid.[11] For thus may they feel the most courage in advancing on their foes, and be the most secure of any attack from them.

" Neither, again, are we proceeding against a state so destitute[12] of power to defend itself, but one amply provided with all the means for resistance; insomuch that we ought

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that some insignificant person on the outskirts of the army, by rashly commencing hostilities, has unwittingly led to even a general engagement.

[10] *A less force, &c.*] Goeller refers to a passage of Isocr. Areopag. adduced by Dionys. Hal. de C. V. p. 362. Schafer, by which this of our author is extremely illustrated. As to the *sense* of the passage, it is not well expressed by the translators, chiefly from their not apprehending the force of idiomatical terms, and perceiving that after *ἀμεινον* some clause is to be supplied, to complete the sense. *Δεδιὸς* and *δεδιότας* are not to be taken so much of *fear* as that quick *apprehensive caution* which descries danger afar off, and provides against it. In *διὰ τὸ γένεσθαι* the construction is: *διὰ τὸ (αυτοὺς) (ἅτε) καταφρονοῦντας, ἀπαρασκεύους γένεσθαι.* The passage is imitated by Herodian 8, 3, 11. *πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγοι πλειόνων περιέγοντο, καὶ δοκοῦντες ἀσθενεστέροι καθεῖλον τοὺς ἐν ὑπολήψει ἀνδρείας μείζονος.* Similar sentiments may be seen also in Thucyd. 2, 89. and Eurip. Arch. frag. 10. On this *contempt* of a foe see 1, 122. and the note.

[11] *It behoves men, &c.*] A most admirable maxim for all entrusted with military command; and in proportion to the faculty of acting upon which will greatness be attained.

The sense I have assigned to *γνώμῃ* is a very usual one and is required by *τῷ ἔργῳ*. That assigned to *δεδιότας* is confirmed by the following imitation in Dio Cass. p. 32, 81. *τὰ δὲ πρακτεα ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦνται διεσκόπει· καὶ τὴν διαχείρισιν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ δεδιὼς ἐποιεῖτο.* So also Thucyd. 6, 34. *τὰς μετὰ φόβου παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτους νομίσαντας.* Dio Cass. also has the present passage in view at 316, 21. where *δεδιότως* and *θαρσούντως* are opposed. There is, too, a similar pithy maxim in Onosander, p. 110. *φόβος γὰρ εὔκαιρος, ἀσφάλεια προμηθὴς, καταφρόνησις ἄκαιρος, εὐεπιβουλευτος τόλμα.* See also Procop. 359, 3. I must not omit to observe that our author seems to have had in mind, Herod. 7, 49. 21. *ἀνὴρ δή οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἄριστος, εἰ βουλεύομενος μὲν, ἀρρωδέοι, πᾶν ἐπιλεγόμενος πείσεσθαι χρῆμα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ θρασὺς εἴη.* See also Hom. Il. 15, 563. and Soph. Aj. 1098. and also two long and interesting passages of Dexippus p. 9. B. and 11 C. Corp. Hist. Byz. Paris, which I shall cite, for the purpose of emendation and explanation, in my edition.

[12] *So destitute, &c.*] This use of *οὕτω* after a negative is elegant. So Plat. 665. E. *πολλούς τε καὶ οὐ φαύλους νῦν οὕτως.*

fully to expect them to come to action with us: and if they be not now in motion, so long as we are not arrived — yet they will be so when they see us in their country, ravaging and destroying their property. For indignation cannot but inflame all men, when they see themselves with their own eyes[13] suffering unusual[14] injury. And [remember] those who are the least under the control of reflection are the most readily hurried by passion into action. Now that this should be the case with the Athenians is very probable; since they think it right that they should rule over others, and invade and ravage the territory of their neighbours, rather than see their own thus dealt with. As, therefore, we are to engage with so considerable a state, and must gain the greatest honour or disgrace to our forefathers and to ourselves from the events of the contest, according as they shall turn either way — follow wherever you may be led[16], esteeming order and watchfulness above every thing[17], and be quick to hear and prompt to obey your orders.[18] For be assured that

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13 *See themselves with, &c.*] Εν ὄμμασιν ὁρᾷν is an emphatic expression occurring in the best writers, from Homer to Aristides. Out of much critical matter destined for my edition, I will only observe, that πρὸ ὀμμάτων is very rare. An example occurs in Lycoph. 251. ἅπασα δὲ χθὼν προὐμμάτων δηιουμένη., also v. 82.

14 *Unusual*, ἀηθὲς.] This word is called *harsh* by Pollux, 5, 145. But it is used not only by our author, but by Sophocles, Xenophon, Josephus, Dio Cassius, and others. Pollux, therefore, must have had in view some uncommon sense of the word, which, however, may arise rather from what is *implied*, than actually inherent in the term. Thus here the notion of *insult* is *implied*. It is *expressed* at Xen. Ath. 3, 5. ἀηθὲς ὕβρισμα. There is also an *implication* in the gloss of Hesych. ἀηθὴς, ἄγριος.

15 *Gain the greatest, &c.*] Literally, *carry off*. The δόξαν is to be taken, like *fame*, in a middle sense, both for good and evil. The words ἐπ ἀμφότερα are exegetical.

16 *Wherever you may be led.*] The ὅπη, edited by Bekker and Goeller, is confirmed by Xen. Hist. 4, 6, 2. ἐπόμεθα ὅπῃ ἄν ἡγησθε, and 5, 3, 36. The τις answers to the French *on*, and our *one*. It is employed through modesty; the speaker (who is here addressing officers only) meaning himself. There is a similar passage in Lesbonax, 174, 27. χρῆσθε τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ ἐπείδαν ἡγῆταί τις ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. On this whole passage there is much apposite matter to be found in Onosand. p. 30., where, for ἐπαναθέοντες, I conjecture ἐξαν.

17 *Esteeming order, &c. above every thing.*] Περὶ πάντος ποιούμενοι. The commentators do not notice this phrase, which is rare, and is of nearly the same sense as (though a stronger expression than) περὶ πλείστου π. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 352. 13. imitates the passage by κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν φυλάττοντες.

18 *Quick to hear and, &c.*] Τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι. The term δέχεσθαι happily comprehends the *two* significations inherent in

it is the most imposing spectacle, as well as the best safeguard, for great numbers to be seen observing one and the same order." [19]

XII. Having thus spoken, Archidamus broke up the assembly; and first sent Melesippus son of Diacritus, a Spartan, to Athens, to try whether the Athenians, seeing them on the road, would be more inclined to give way to their demands. But they would not admit him into the city, nor grant him any access to the public assembly: for the opinion of Pericles had previously prevailed, to receive no herald or embassy from the Lacedæmonians after they had set forward on the expedition.[1] They therefore sent him away without admitting him to a hearing, and ordered him to be gone from their confines [2] that very day.[3] They further

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ἀκούειν, namely, to hear and to obey. And *ὀξέως* may be acommodated both to the *natural* sense (as in Æschyl. Suppl. 883. e conj. Schutz, *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὀξὺ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.*), and the *figurative* one. The phrase, *ὀξέως δεχ. τὰ παρεγγελλόμενα*, is used by Arrian Tact. p. 17. and 64. 71, 73. (where, for *ὀξέως δέχεσθαι τὰ ἐνδιδόμενα*, I conjecture *ο. δ. τ. ἐκδιδόμενα*, *given out.*) Similar expressions occur in Paus. 10, 23, 3. Appian, 1, 469. Arrian E. A. 3, 9, 15. Procop. 21, 37., and often. The whole passage is closely imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 163, 31. And so Livy: "ut *imprimis* intenti essent ad *imperia accipienda*," where the *imprimis* corresponds to the *περὶ παντὸς* of Thucydides. Nor can I omit to notice a similar, and very striking, passage in Joseph. 1125, 43. (where he is speaking of the military discipline of the Romans,) *ὀξεῖαι δὲ ἀκοαὶ μὲν παραγγέλμασιν, ὄψεις δὲ σημείοις, ἔργοις δὲ χεῖρες.*

[19] *It is the most imposing, &c.*] We must here subaud *χρῆμα*, which is *supplied* by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 230. (in a passage imitated from this) *καλὸν μὲν χρῆμα πολλαὶ πολεῖς μιᾷ χρώμεναι γνώμῃ.* So also Xen. Cyrop. 3, 3, 57. *ἠπίσταντο — γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον εἶναι καὶ ῥᾷστον* (I conjecture *καὶ ἄριστον*, the words *ἄριστον* and *ῥᾷστον* being often confounded) *τὸ ὁμοσε ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις.* One may here bring to mind the saying of Sallust: "fortissimum quemque tutissimum." But especially apposite is Æschyl. Theb. 210. *πειθαρχία γὰρ ἐστι τῆς εὐπραξίας μήτηρ, γύναι, σωτῆρος.*

[1] *After they had, &c.*] The Schol. and Smith supply, "against them." But that is not necessary; and the sense, "as long as they were in the field," is not to be found in the words. Yet it may be *implied;* and, indeed, what follows seems to confirm it.

This passage is referred to by Aristid. 250., who took *Λακεδαιμονίων* and *ἐξεστρατευμένων* for genitives absolute.

[2] *Ordered him to, &c.*] So Eurip. Med. 274. *εἶπον* (*jubeo*) *γῆς ἔξω περαν — πριν ἂν σε γαίας τερμόνων ἔξω βάλω.*

[3] *That very day.*] i. e. before sun-set, as it is paraphrased by Arist. 1, 250. This order was not uncommon. Thus it occurs in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 303. Appian, 1, 527. Herod. 5, 51. Eurip. Suppl. 469. The *εἶναι* (*be*), of Thucydides, explains *manere* in a similar passage of Livy, l. 23, 5.

desired[4] the Lacedæmonians to first retire to their own territories, and then send an embassy, if they wished in future to transact any business with them. They also sent with Melisippus some guards [5], that he might hold no communication with any one. On reaching the borders, and being about to part from them, he said thus much — "That that very day would be the commencement of numerous calamities to the Greeks[6]," and then departed. On his arrival at the camp, Archidamus, having learnt that the Athenians would not yet make concession — then, indeed[7], broke up his encampment, and proceeded forward into their territory. As to the Bœotians, they furnished their quota in aid of the Peloponnesians in *horse*[8], and with the rest of their forces went to Platæa and ravaged the territory.

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missumque lictorem, qui ex urbe educeret eos, atque eo die manere extra fines Romanos juberet. See also Liv. 2, 38.

[4] *Desired.*] This must be taken from ἐκέλευον. At σφέτερα must be supplied ὅρια, from the preceding ὁρῶν. And ὅρια occurs just after. Thus, also ὅρια γῆς is found in the historians.

[5] *Guards.*] This also was usual in such a case, as we find by Livy, above cited.

[6] *That very day would, &c.*] This passage has afforded abundant matter for imitation. Thus, Appian, 2, 270, 24. ἠδε ἡ ἡμέρα μεγάλων Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξαι κακῶν. Sallust. Jugurth. p. 71. illum diem — maximarum ærumnarum initium fore. Liban. Orat. p. 1. A. and 284. C. Dionys. Hal. 442, 17. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 713, 26. Plut. Cæs. (at the crossing of the Rubicon) Plutarch Tit. Gr. 8. Theophyl. Sim. 79. A. Pausan. 7, 10. The words seem to have been had in view by Aristoph. Pac. 436. εὐχώμεθα τὴν νῦν ἡμέραν Ἕλλησιν ἄρξαι πᾶσι πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν. They are also referred to by Aristid. 2, 322. Possibly our author might have in mind Herod. 6, 67. τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν ταύτην ἄρξειν Λακεδαίμονι μυρίης κακότητος, ἢ μυρίης εὐδαιμονίης, and 5, 97. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο Ἕλλησι τε καὶ βαρβάροισι.

[7] *Then, indeed.*] Such is the sense of οὕτω δή, of which I shall give copious examples in my edition.

[8] *Furnished their quota, &c.*] There is a difficulty connected with the words of the original, on which the commentators have omitted to touch. Smith renders: "sent their quota of foot, and their horse, to join the Peloponnesians in this expedition." And Gail: "avoient donné aux Peloponnésiens une partie de leurs gens de pied et toute leur cavalerie." The question is, what is meant by the μέρος? The Schol. says, it was the two before mentioned. But, supposing it to be so, what can the words καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας mean? Did they, then, furnish *cavalry* besides the two-thirds of infantry? If so, what can the article have to do? But, we find from c. 9., that they furnished *cavalry only*. Therefore this latter clause can only be exegetical of the former; and the καὶ must have the sense *nempe*, on which see Lex. Xen. Of course a comma must be put after the καὶ. A similar mistake, indeed, respecting a clause exegetical, has been noticed, supra, c. 9. I must not omit to observe, that in the case of those states

XIII. While the Peloponnesians were yet assembling together at the isthmus, or were on their way thither, and before they had penetrated into Attica, Pericles son of Xanthippus, being commander-in-chief of the Athenians (in conjunction with nine colleagues), as soon as he had ascertained that the invasion would take place, suspecting, that as Archidamus happened to be connected with him by the bond of hospitality[1], he, either through private courtesy, or by the order of the Lacedæmonians (from a desire to bring Pericles into reproach and odium[2], as they had before demanded, on his account, the expulsion of the polluted), might, in some measure[3], leave his estates untouched; he therefore, in a public

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which furnished cavalry, we must *not* suppose that they contributed two-thirds of the men *able to bear arms*, because there could not have been easily found horses to mount them. May we suppose, that the horses and accoutrements were taken in lieu of a certain proportion of infantry?

[1] *Connected by the bond, &c.*] "This" says Smith "was sacred and inviolable amongst the antients. It was a necessary exertion of humanity, at first, from the want of inns and lodging-houses, and was frequently improved into friendship." It may be observed, that this hospitality might be exercised towards a private individual, or to an ambassador from a state. In the former case, as in that of Archidamus and Pericles, it was a private and particular connection and bond;* in the latter (as in that of Alcibiades, who was the public host of Lacedæmon) it was of a public nature. For as the connection between the great states was not unfrequent, some one distinguished person, who was well affected to the state which sent the embassy, acted as its *public host* by receiving and entertaining its envoys.

[2] *From a desire to, &c.*] This was a not unfrequent policy. On which Hudson refers to Justin, 3, 7., and says, it was practised by Hannibal towards Fabius, and eluded in the same manner. See Livy, 2, 39., and Dio Cass. 23, 55. The ut infensus plebi — oriretur of the former, and the ἤτοι χαριζόμενος τῷ Θ. ᾧ καὶ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ of the latter, are founded upon Thucyd., as is also the phraseology of Justin. See also Æschin. p. 55, 24. sqq.

[3] *In some measure.*] On the sense of πολλάκις the commentators are not agreed. The earlier ones take it in the common signification, *sæpe*. The later ones, however, as Abresch, Gottl., Wyttenb., and Hack, assign to it the sense of *forsitan*, of which they adduce examples from Plato, referring also to Virg. Æn. 1, 148., to which may be added, Aristoph. Conc. 791. σεισμὸς εἰ γένοιτο πολλάκις., and Joseph. 1020. ult. But Bauer has, I think, successfully shown that this signification is ill-founded, at least can have no

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* This was called ἰδιοξενία, as we find from a passage in Suid. in v. (which relates to this very subject) δεδιὼς μὴ διὰ τὴν ἰδιοξενίαν ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον. Those words are, as Toup observes, from some writer not extant. I suspect the passage to be a fragment of *Ephorus*. The *nature* of the bond in question appears from Pollux, 3, 60. ἰδιόξενος δὲ ἐστιν ὁ ἰδίᾳ τίνι τῶν ξένῳ φίλῳ χρώμενος, ὡς Περικλῆς Ἀρχιδάμῳ. A similar story is related of *Coriolanus*, by Dion. 1, 489.

assembly, apprised the people beforehand that though Archidamus was, indeed, his host, yet that should not be to the detriment of the state; but that if the enemy should pass by his estates[4] and houses[5], without ravaging them in the same way as those of the rest, he would give them up to the public use[6]; and he protested against any suspicion or odium falling upon him on that account.[7] As to the present state of affairs, he gave the same counsel as before, namely, to prepare themselves for the war, and to remove their property from the country; not to come to any general engagement, but to confine themselves to the city and the guarding of it; also to equip and fit for service[8] their navy, in which consisted

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place as used of *one* thing done, or to be done, once. And he (rightly, I think) assigns the sense *subinde, occasionally.* This is adopted by Goeller (though he makes no mention of Bauer), who refers to Wolf on Plat. Phædon, p. 25. Of this sense of πολλάκις I would adduce another example from an ill-understood passage of Joseph. p. 1020. ult. ὡς πόλλακις ἔτυχε.

[4] *Estates.*] Such seems to be the real sense, and not *lands*, as the translators render. It is, indeed, required by the nature of the thing, and is confirmed by what follows a little further on, τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας, "estates and villas." This signification is frequent in Xenophon. See Lex. Xen.

[5] *Houses.*] Namely, either villas and country seats, for his own use, or granges and farm-houses for his tenants.

[6] *He would give them up to, &c.*] Smith renders, "make a free donation of them to the public." And so the translators generally take the words. But we cannot suppose that Pericles meant, or was understood, to give the *property* of the estates to the people. He could only mean the *produce*, for the present and every succeeding year of the war; either the *whole*, or that *proportion* which he received, in lieu of rent, from the occupiers. *That*, he means to say, he would permit to be taken and sold, and the proceeds paid to the public treasury. Gail well renders *abandonnoit.*

[7] *Protested against, &c.*] There is a difficulty connected with this passage which scarcely any commentator touches on, and no one removes. This clause is plainly dependent upon some verb to be supplied (though Smith contrives so to mould his version as to dispense with it). Hobbes supplies *desires.* And Reiske would insert βούλεται. But there is no authority for its *insertion;* and its *subaudition* (as also that of κελεύει proposed by Goeller) would be too arbitrary. Some verb must be supplied from the context. Now Bauer, seeing this, would repeat ἀφίησιν, and by *accommodation* (per dilogiam) give it the sense *vult.* And so Goeller. But this is too harsh and strained. It is surprising that no one should have seen that the preceding προηγόρευε is to be *repeated*, and taken *per dilogiam.* The sense I have assigned is one which easily arises out of the other; and is confirmed by a passage of Synes. adduced by Budæus in his commentaries, where he explains it *contestor.*

[8] *Equip and fit for service.*] This sense of ἐξαρτύεσθαι is required by the context. The term may also be rendered *put in order.* So Gail, "mettre en bon êtat;" as 4, 107. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Α. ἐξηρτύετο.

their strength; to keep a diligent hand[9] to the affairs of the allies — observing that from the revenue paid to these was strength chiefly derived, for that victory in war mainly depended upon[10] counsel and an ample supply of funds. He, moreover, bade them be of good courage, since there was a total revenue of six hundred talents of tribute[11] annually

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[9] *Diligent.*] Literally, attentive. It is not easy to fix the sense of the phrase διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν. The most literal version is that of Hobbes, "hold a careful hand over the allies," similar to which is that of Smith, "keep a tight rein on." And indeed we have the yet closer phrase, "keep a tight hand over." And so perhaps Hesych. took it, who explains διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν by φυλάττειν. But, in fact, that is quite another idea; and besides that the sense cannot well be elicited from the words, it is not so suitable to what follows as that which I have adopted, and which is supported by the Scholiast's explanation δι' ἐπιμελείας. It must be observed, that Pericles had not reference to strict exaction of obedience, but that close and continual attention to colonial affairs which would be the best calculated to improve the revenue; a subject on which he then proceeds to treat of at large. If it were allowable to change the metaphor, we might render, "keep an attentive eye to." But it seems the Greeks derived the metaphor from the *hand* rather than the *eye*.

The above interpretation is also confirmed by Steph. Thes. in v., who, after adducing διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν from Plutarch, and διὰ χειρὸς ἐχεῖν τὰ δημόσια from Aristid. in the sense *administrare*, adds, that "it sometimes signifies *sedulo administrare*;" citing this passage, and Aristid. Pol. 5, 8. φοβούμενοι γὰρ διὰ χειρῶν ἔχουσι μᾶλλον τὴν πολιτείαν. Finally, he compares the French phrase, *tenir la main à quelque chose*. Nor is a similar phrase wanting in our own language. To the examples of Steph. I add Lucian 2, 359. 6. τῷ Β. δὲ ἕτερα μέλει, καὶ ἀνδρίζεται πολλὰ, καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα; Appian, 1, 676, 80. τὰς ναῦς διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον; and 709, 45. τὴν πόλιν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον.

[10] *Mainly depended upon.*] Literally, "most objects in war are accomplished by." At πολλὰ subaud πράγματα. This sense of κρατεῖν (*accomplish*) occurs also at 7, 46. where see the note.

[11] *Six hundred talents of tribute.*] This number is confirmed by Plutarch Arist. 24. Xenophon, indeed, in his Anab. 7, 1, 27. may seem to impeach the correctness of the statement when he says: προσόδου οὔσης κατ' ἐνιαυτοὺ ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνδημῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μεῖον χιλίων ταλάντων. But he there speaks of the *total* income, and thus includes the *other revenue*, of which the sum would appear by this to have been then three hundred talents; for no great difference can be imagined to have arisen in the *tribute*. Now here πρόσοδος denotes *income* in a *general* sense; φόρος, in a *special* one, an article of the whole, namely, the tribute from the allies. Then again, the ἄλλης προσόδου plainly includes several items which are not specified. What those were may seem uncertain. The Scholiast, perhaps from some antient authority, says they consisted of the εὐφορίαι τῆς γῆς, τῶν καταδικαζομένων, τῶν λιμένων, καὶ μετάλλων, and other items. Now the three last signify the proceeds of the property of condemned criminals (or persons condemned to pay a fine), the customs, and the profits of the mines. But the first is not of easy explanation. It seems to have been a tax upon agricultural produce, to be paid in kind, or by commutation; on which see

accruing to the state from the allies, besides other items of revenue; also that there was yet laid up in the citadel the sum of six thousand talents[12] of coined money[13] — for the gross

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note on 2, 97. Possibly this was the *ἑκαστόστη*, of which we read in the Greek orators and Aristophanes.

Certainly the sketch here given (for it is no more) of the revenues and resources of Athens is very valuable; but we are not to suppose that those continued the same throughout the war. For Plutarch Arist. c. 24. in an interesting passage where he mentions the statement here given, adds, with reference to the tribute (*φόρος*), that this the demagogues* who governed the state after Pericles' death, gradually screwed (*ἐπιτείνοντες*) to 1300 talents. He says nothing about any increase of the *ἄλλη πρόσοδος*. And yet I find from a most curious passage of Aristoph. Vesp. 657. sqq. that it was raised to 700 talents; for he estimates the total revenue at 2000 talents, and, what is more important, adverts to the articles in the following words: *καὶ πρῶτον λόγισαι φαύλως* (nullo labore) *μὴ ψηφοις, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ χειρὸς, Τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυλλήβδην τὸν προσιόντα· Κἄξω τούτου τὰ τέλη χωρὶς, καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἑκατοστὰς, Πρυτανεῖα, μέταλλ', ἀγορὰς, λιμένας, μισθοὺς, καὶ δημιόπρατα. Τούτων πλήρωμα, τάλαντ' ἐγγὺς δισχίλια γίγνεται ἡμῖν*, where the *ἀγορὰς* denotes the market *tolls*. The *δημιόπρατα* corresponds to the *τὰ καταδικαζόμενα* of our Scholiast. The *πρυτανεῖα* and *μίσθους* involve more of difficulty, and must be reserved for some other occasion. Upon this whole subject of the revenue of Athens, I cannot but refer my readers to the masterly work of Boeckh, entitled, Staatsh. d. Athen. iii. 15–20. t. 1. p. 427–472.

[12] *Six thousand talents.*] I would take this opportunity of attempting to emend a passage of Pausan. which seems to have been written with the present in view. It is 1, 29, 16. where, speaking of Lycurgus and his eminent services to the state, he adds: *Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν τάλαντα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον πεντακοσίοις πλειονά καὶ ἑξακισχιλίοις ἢ ὅσα Περικλῆς συνήγαγε.* Now here I would cancel the *μεν*, and substitute in its place the *number* ςφ. I would also cancel the *ἑξακισχίλιοις*, which seems to have been a mere insertion. This criticism is confirmed by Amasæus, who reads (or translates as if he read) *ἐπορίσθη ταλάντα πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξακισχίλια, πεντακοσίοις πλείονα ἢ ὅσα Περικλῆς.*

On the present passage Goeller refers to the Schol. on Aristoph. Plut. 1196. Æschyl. de falsa leg. p. 336. and Andoc. de pace, p. 92., from whom it appears that a great sum of money was, in time of peace, laid up in the treasury, as a resource for war or other pressing emergencies.

[13] *Coined money.*] Literally, having a *σημεῖον* stamp, or impression, (not as the Schol. explains, the *royal* one only.) It is strange that the above sense of *ἐπίσημος* should have been frequently mistaken. Thus at Ælian V. H. 1, 22. *τάλαντον ἐπισήμον ἀργυρίου*. The Latin translator renders *præstantissimi*, which is, however, corrected by Perizon. into *signati*. So Pausan. 1, 34, 3. *ἀργυρίον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον*; and in Plutarch Mar. 13. *ἀργυρίον* is opposed to *νομίσματος*. The term *ἐπίσημος* occurs in this sense also at Appian, 1, 820, and 416. Joseph. 770, 29 and 35. 785, 38. and Xen. Cyr. 4, 5, 40. Among a variety of passages which I have remarked may be especially noticed Appian, 1, 128, 55. *χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, τὸν δὲ ἀσήμαντον.*

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* He has, I imagine, especial reference to *Cleon*; though Aristid. 3, 247. B. after remarking on the excessive height to which the revenue was raised, even such as men could scarce hope to pay, attributes the raising of it to *Alcibiades*.

amount of the whole had been nine thousand seven hundred [14], out of which the difference had been expended upon the *propylæa*[15] of the citadel, and the other edifices erected, as also upon Potidæa; and that independent of the uncoined gold and silver in the offerings[16] both private and public, as also the sacred utensils employed in the celebration of the processions and games, the Median spoils[17], and whatever

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Hence may be emended and illustrated Philostr. Imag. 825. ἐκ θησαυρῶν χροίσου τῶν ἀργῶν, where read χρύσου. The ἀργῶν signifies the ἀέργων, i. e. what is *in the mass*, and not *worked up*. So Isidor. l. 16, 17. "Tria sunt genera argenti et auri et æris, *signatum*, *factum*, *infectum*. Signatum est quod in nummis est, factum est quod in vasis et signis, infectum est quod in *massis*." Hence is illustrated the *facti argenti* of Livy, l. 22, 52. And so in our Schol. ἀσήμου is explained by μὴ ἔχοντος σημεῖον, οἷον μαζία τινα. Whence is defended the common reading in Hesych. μαζίον ὄλιγον, where Alberti would subaud τῆς μαζῆς. But that is unnecessary; supply μέρος. The expression answers to our *a bit*, (i. e. bite, or piece broken off, like the Heb. חרוש. Now μαζίον signifies properly *mamilla*; but, from the *form*, it is given to what we call *ingots*. Hence may be emended a *locus conclamatus* in Hesych. Πιατοις· τὸ ἄσημον ἀργυρίον. I am surprised the editors should not have seen that the true reading is Μαστοῖς. The M might easily pass into Π. For τὸ ἄσημον ἀργυρίον, also, read τῷ ἀσήμῳ ἀργυρίῳ. Finally, hence may be emended and illustrated Joseph. 100, 34. πολὺς μὲν ἀργυρός τε χρυσὸς — πολὺ δὲ ἐπίσημον πλῆθος ἑκατέρων καὶ ὅσα ὑφανται.

[14] *Had been nine thousand seven hundred.*] Isocrates de Pace 40. p. 295. says: εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα, χωρὶς τῶν ἱερῶν. But there there seems some mistake in the number. It is plain that a *round* number is meant; and I would conjecture ἡ or Θ′.

[15] *Propylæa.*] Portals to the temple of Pallas, (of which Mnesicles was the architect,) said to have been raised in five years, and at the expense of two thousand and twelve talents; as we learn from Harpocr. in προπυλαῖα ταῦτα. For this Pericles is accused of profusion by Demetr. Phal. See Cicero de Offic. l. 2, 17. Plut. in Pericl. c. 13. and Meurs. in Cecrop. c. 6. (Gottleb.) I have not chosen to notice the calculations of commentators as to the amount of all these sums in pounds sterling, or German dollars; because there is so much of uncertainty in determining the exact value of the talent in modern money; and because it is next to impossible to show the exact value of the money *in the purchase of goods* at the period in question; without which no clear notion can be formed on the subject. There is, however, reason to think that money went twice or thrice as far in the payment of agricultural and mechanical labour, or in the purchase of the necessaries of life, as in England, France, and Germany at the present day.

[16] *Offerings.*] i. e. votive or other offerings dedicated in a temple, see 1, 132. and 6, 46.

[17] *Median spoils.*] i. e. (as the Schol. tells us), the golden throne and golden scimetar of Xerxes. Those, however, would seem to be only the most remarkable of the spoils, to which we may add the *golden shield* mentioned by Pausan. 1, 25, 5.

Most commentators from Abresch (amongst whom is Goeller), have been of opinion that ἦν ought to be omitted. And in this I must now acquiesce, though I formerly thought that ἦν should be retained, as preserving some

else of that sort there might be, to the amount of not less than five hundred talents. He, moreover, said that the money from the rest of the sacred [18] gifts and utensils was not inconsiderable, which he said they might use; nay, and if they should be driven to very great straights[19], even the

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vestige of the truth; and that for ἦν ἢ should be read εἶναι governed of ἔφη above.

[18] *Rest of the sacred, &c.*] All the interpreters take the τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν to mean "of *the other temples.*" And Hobbes adds (de suo) "out of the city." But nothing has been before said of *temples*, nor is it necessary so to take the word, since it may (as we learn from Steph. Thes.) denote not only sacred *edifices*, but all other *sacred things*. And though Steph. does not adduce *examples* of this use, yet it occurs in good authors. So Xenophon Hist. 1, 7. 10. employs the term of sacred *vessels*, or other *utensils* dedicated in temples. See also Bos. Ellips. p. 76. who treats of this use of ἱερὸν by which δῶρον or ἀνάθημα is to be understood. But the most apposite example I can adduce is from a passage of Appian plainly written with a view to the present, t. 2. 613, 1. ἀποροῦντες, καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ τε κοινὰ ἀπεδίδοντο πάντα· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὅσα εἶχον ἐς πομπὰς, ἢ ἀναθήματα, ἔκοπτον. The sense, therefore, is: "the rest of the sacred vessels or utensils," namely those of a *minor* sort.

I must observe that there is the same error committed in the interpretation of the term at Appian 2, 633, 40. B. τῶν ἱερῶν περισώσας ὅσα ἐδύνατο. where it is rendered, *sacras ædes;* though it plainly denotes *sacram pecuniam.*

[19] *If they should be, &c.*] There are few passages on which the commentators have worse acquitted themselves than this. There is a real difficulty which they have disingenuously slurred over, and supinely foreborne to encounter. Hobbes (following Portus) renders: "if they should be barred the use of all these, they might yet use the ornaments of gold about the goddess herself." And such is the sense, with a little varying of the expression, assigned by Smith. But this is absolute nonsense; for if they were excluded the use of the other sacred property, much more would they that of the golden ornaments about the *goddess*. And this is yet plainer from the use of αὐτῆς τῆς Θ. In fact, it seems impossible to elicit from the passage, as it stands, any tolerable sense. Viewing the matter in this very light, and considering that the present reading yields a sense directly the contrary, it is very many years since I came to the opinion that a μὴ had been omitted after ἦν. Thus the following sense will arise: "and unless they should be prohibited from the use of *all* the sacred utensils and offerings, there would be for use the golden ornaments." Thus, by a very small alteration, a good sense is obtained. And I should have adopted and followed this reading, but that I now perceive it is liable to some exception, and I have another and better conjecture to propose. The objection to the former is, that it can hardly be imagined Pericles would even *suppose*, or *put the case* of their being debarred from the use of *these*, since, as will appear from my note on 1, 143, it was a principle universally admitted by the antient world that valuable offerings in temples and other sacred places might be appropriated to the service of the state in great emergency, if the value were afterwards faithfully restored. So Livy l. 22, 32. æquam censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi quum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad subsidium fortunæ a majoribus relictum foret. Nay there is reason to think that valuable articles were often deposited there *with this view.*

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golden ornaments around the goddess herself. He showed them that the statue[20] had to the weight of forty talents[21] of the purest gold[22], the whole of which was remov-

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Under these circumstances, we have to discover some more apposite sense of ἐξείργεσθαι, and (as the passage is manifestly corrupt), resort to some critical *conjecture*, at once mild and effectual. Both objects will, I think, be attained, if for πάντων we read πάντως, and cancel πάνυ, which seems to be gloss or var. lect. of πάντως. Indeed πάντως is *necessary*, since if πάντων be retained, it is impossible to avoid assigning such a sense to ἐξειρ. as has been shown to be highly objectionable. By reading πάντως we are enabled to take ἐξειρ. in a sense which is found twice in Herodotus, 1, 96. οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαίᾳ ἐξέργομαι. and 7, 139. ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκάιῃ ἐξέργομαι. In this passage of Thucyd. ἀναγκαίᾳ may very well be understood; and the ἐξ has, as often, an intensive force. Finally, the signification in question is perfectly regular; for ἔργω, or εἴργω, signifies primarily (as in Homer) to *hedge* or *hem in;* and then to *straiten*, both in a physical and a moral sense.

With the above version that of Gail is very reconcileable, " et si toutes ces ressources ne suffisoient pas." He seems to have been fully aware of the absurdity of the common one.

[20] *Statue*, ἄγαλμα.] On this word see the learned dissertation of Mr. Barker in his new edition of Steph. Thes. On the statue here mentioned (which was the work of Phidias), Goeller refers to Plin. H. N. 36, 4, 4. Paus. 1, 24. 7. Manso Spart. 2. p. 398. and Bredow on this passage.

The ἀπέφαινε, perhaps, has reference to some documents which Pericles laid before them, to show the weight of the gold.

[21] *Forty talents.*] Diodor. has πεντήκοντα. But the number in Thucyd. is confirmed by Plutarch. t. 2. p. 828. B. (who there has the present passage in view), καὶ τοι ὅγε Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος τὸν τῆς Θεᾶς κόσμον, ἄγοντα τάλαντα τεσσαράκοντα χρυσίου ἀπέφθου, περιαιρετὸν ἐποίησεν, ὅπως (ξ' η) χρησαμένοι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, αὖθις ἀποδῶμεν μὴ ἔλαττον. However, as Diod. plainly here follows Thucyd, we should probably read τεσσαράκοντα, i. e. simply μ for ν, a perpetual error. Philochorus cited by Wesseling on Diod., has μδ. yet the δ is probably not genuine.

It is proper, however, to notice the words of Plutarch in the above passage Περικλῆς τὸν τῆς Θεᾶς Κόσμον — περιαιρετὸν ἐποίησεν. Certainly there is nothing of this in Thucydides. And I formerly suspected that Plutarch read the passage differently. But it is more probable that he only adverted to it from *memory*, and in his assertion had also reference to some other passage (perhaps of Ephorus or some other antient writer), in which it was said that Pericles *purposely* had the statue so made that the golden ornaments might be removable, with a view to their being used on any great emergency.

[22] *Purest gold*, χρυσίου ἀπέφθου.] Literally, " boiled away or off," so that the purest particles only remained. So Herod. 1, 50. ἀπέφθου χρύσου τέσσαρα, &c. See also 4, 166. and Pind. Nem. 4, 133. The phrase also occurs in Lucian 1, 630. Theogn. 449 and 1102. Athen. 232. Arrian Ind. 8, 13. χρυσίον ἀπέφθον. which is wrongly taken by Salmas Exerc. Plin. p. 1124. to denote gold found in the mass, and formed without fire, what we call *native gold.* But *that* was termed ἄπυρος, as in Herod. 3, 97. Moreover, the word was also applied to *water*, purified by distillation. On which see Reimar on Dio. Cass. 1047, 50. And Wessel. on Herod. 1, 50. Nay it should *seem* to be applied even to *brick* by Agath. p. 49, 25. πλίνθου ἀπέφθου. But I suspect that the true reading there is ἀπέπτου, *non coctilis*, i. e. not the *furnace-baked*, but the *sun-dried* brick.

able.[23] Having, however, used it for preservation, they were bound, he said, to replace it by the same value.[24]

Thus, then, did he hearten them in regard to funds with which to carry on the war; and as to military strength, he told them that there were thirteen thousand heavy-armed, besides those in the garrisons and those stationed on guard at the city wall, amounting to sixteen thousand[25] (for such was the number which at first kept guard there when the enemy made their irruption), composed of the very old and very young, and such *Metœci* as were of the heavy-armed[26]: for the Phalerian wall extended thirty-five stadia[27] up to the

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[23] *Removable.*] It appears from Pausan. 1, 25, 5. that this was actually removed by Lacharis (in the time of Demetrius, son of Antigonus), who also took away the golden shields from the acropolis. Pausanias's words are these: καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸν περιαιρετὸν ἀποδύσας κόσμον. As to the form of these ornaments, we are told by Pausanias that it was α χιτὼν ποδηρής. But that can only refer to the *tunic*, which is supposed by Barthelemy to have been of ivory. The *ornaments* here meant must have been some others, as the Ægis, or gorgonium, which covered the goddess's breast and left arm, the borders of which were surrounded by serpents; and in the field of which buckler, covered with serpents' scales, appeared the head of Medusa. Now this shield, we learn from Isocrates and Suidas, had been *wrenched* off, and *stolen*, in the time of the former. Of course, it was of gold, except (as we find from Pausan.) the head of Medusa, which was of ivory. The wings, too, of the victory, which Minerva held in her hands, were of gold; and they also were stolen by some robbers, as we learn from Demosth. in Timocr. p. 702. The basso-relievos of the helmet, the buckler, the buskins, and, perhaps, of the pedestal, may be presumed, from various testimonies, to have been of gold. See Barth. Anach. vol. 2. p. 500. sq., from whom the above particulars are derived.

[24] *Replace it by, &c.*] Part of the phraseology here is borrowed by Plutarch Syll. 12.

[25] *Sixteen thousand.*] With respect to the two numbers here mentioned, it is remarkable, that Diod. makes the former one thousand less, and the latter a thousand more, than Thucydides, perhaps by an error of the scribes; for δις and τρις, and ἑξ and επτα, are frequently confounded.

[26] *Metœci — heavy armed.*] Petit has shown, from Xenophon, that the Metœci *took the field* among the other heavy-armed. But that might be of later introduction. Certain it is, from various passages of Thucyd., that the Metœci also served as seamen (see 1, 143.), also as light-armed. See 2, 31. On this whole passage respecting the military and naval strength of Athens, at the period in question, see Boeckh. Staatsh. ii. 21. t. 1, 273.

[27] *Thirty-five stadia.*] Pausan. 8, 10, 3. makes it but twenty. And Hudson thinks it is not certain which is emended from the other. To me it seems probable, that the discrepancy partly arose from difference of design in the two writers, and partly from a slight corruption in Pausanias. For κ' read λ', 30. Then the difference may be satisfactorily accounted for, if we suppose that Thucydides, by the *Phalerian wall*, means not only that which extended from the city wall to the sea, but also that which encircled port Phalerus. Indeed that he *does* so, is plain, by his afterwards men-

circumference[28] of the city wall; and that the part which was *guarded* was forty-three stadia in extent — for there was a part not guarded[29], namely, that between the long wall and the Phalerian. The long walls extended forty stadia down to the Piræus.[30] Of this the outer one alone was

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tioning the wall of Piræus and Munychia, omitting Phalerus, which, nevertheless, we *know* was guarded. Equally certain is it that Pausanias, in the above passage, speaks only of the distance of the sea, at Phalerus, from the city wall. And that could not well have been more than thirty stadia. Nay, even Pausanias says, μάλιστα, *about*. As to the extent of Phalerus, it was about five stadia.

There is a kindred passage at 1, 1, 2.

[28] *Circumference.*] So called because the wall of Athens was of a circular form; though, indeed, the term κύκλος often denoted no more than the περίβολος (as it is explained by Hesych.), without reference to form. Thus, it is used by Demosth. de Cor. §. 4. γ. of the wall of Piræus. Nay, Joseph. 1125, 45., applies the term κύκλος to the form of a Roman camp, which was square.

[29] *A part not guarded.*] For, as being between the two long walls, it required no guarding. This, the Scholiast says, was seventeen stadia. And, undoubtedly, he had antient authority for this statement. M. Barthelemy, indeed, in a note (vol. 2. p. 496.) touches on this very circumstance, by which it appears, that he and M. Barbie were aware of the passage of the Scholiast, but slighted the information it conveys, from an opinion that some considerable error must have crept into the words. Of which opinion, too, is Hawkins, p. 505., cited by Poppo, 2, 250. And, certainly, had the Scholiast simply said the τὸ μεταξὺ was of seventeen stadia, we might have been justified in entertaining such a suspicion; but, as he adds, "for the whole wall was of sixty stadia," we are not permitted to suppose any mistake. Barthelemy, indeed, objects, that if we were to adopt this mensuration, "the wall of the Phalerian would reach to the Lycæum, which is not possible." But that does not follow, if the long, or north wall be carried *farther out*. Perhaps, too, the long wall, and the Phalerian, were carried out from some part of the city wall, about four stadia from the sacred gate; and the Phalerian about as much from the gate of Ægeus. I am not aware that this involves any insuperable difficulties as to sites in the interior of the upper city. If it *should*, we might, indeed, imagine an error in the Schol., by supposing, that the clause ὁ γὰρ ὅλος — ἑξήκοντα, was an *addition* of some later hand, and founded on the former words. In which case, for δεκαεπτὰ (ιζ), might be read ζ; the ι might easily have arisen from the ι preceding, and corruptions of such a kind are not unfrequent. *Seven* stadia will occasion no inconvenience. As to *two* stadia, the space assigned in B. Du Boccage's plan, it is manifestly too small. In all the plans, indeed, of Athens, the same kind of error is committed. There is also a defect in making the circumference of the walls of the upper city far too limited.

[30] *The long walls extended, &c.*] Most writers speak of the long walls as comprehending both the north, or long wall, properly so called, and the Phalerian. But if they were *conjointly* called the *long walls*, which, I would ask, is the wall in comparison with which they are called long? For those walls comprehend *all*. Besides, Thucydides here, plainly, does not include the *Phalerian;* yet he speaks of the long *walls* and the long walls to the *Piræus;* not one to Piræus, and the other to Phalerum. Now, it is plain, that there

guarded; and of the Piræus, including Munychia, the whole circumference was sixty stadia[31], of which the part guarded

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must have been a *third* wall; namely, a wall running parallel with the north wall (at what *distance*, is uncertain), which would be intermediate in respect of the North wall, and the Phalerian. Besides, at ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν, no other subaudition can be admitted than τείχος. Gail has egregiously erred by rendering it, "à la face exterieure." It is plain, that the Scholiast took it of a *third* wall, which he calls τὸ μέσον. And that is the name given it by Harpocr. in v. διὰ μέσου τείχους (read τεῖχος.) His words are these: τριῶν ὄντων τειχῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης φησιν ἐν Τριφάλητι, τοῦ τὸ Βορείου, καὶ τοῦ Νοτίου καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ διὰ μέσου τούτων ἐλέγετο τὸ Νότιον, where I would, for διὰ τοῦ μέσου, read δ. τὸ μέσου, and take τὸ Νότιον for the nominative; also, for ὄντως read τῶν, and for ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ read ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς. The sense will then be, "and of these the *southern* was called the *middle* (wall)." Now, it might well be called τὸ Νότιον, since it was south in respect of the *other* of the two *long walls*, so called in comparison with the Phalerian. Nor let it be objected, that thus it is not easy to conceive the *use* of the third wall. That might very well be to preserve a double communication with the sea, since, if either outer wall were taken, two others would remain. But, in fact, that advantage seems not have been *alone* considered in its erection. There is reason to think that the wall of Phalerum was built many years after the north and south walls, which were *first* built, to secure a communication with Piræus, and as such the south wall would not be brought down further than the end of the isthmus of Piræus, thus leaving the ports of Munychia and Phalerum outside of the wall; and, therefore, requiring to be fortified by separate walls. Now, when it came to be considered how desirable it would be to include Munychia and Phalerum, save the building of walls round them, and include far more ground, without rendering any further garrisoning necessary, and yet render the communication with the sea *doubly* secure, then the third wall, or that of Phalerum, was built.

Goeller, indeed, accounts for the difference by supposing, that Dio Chrys. there does not reckon the length of wall between the north long wall and the Phalerian, which was seventeen stadia, and will make up the difference. But the former method of accounting for it seems the more satisfactory. And it may be added, that Dio Chrys. is there speaking of the circumference of Athens, as compared with that of Babylon (which was, he says, one half); and, therefore, he could not reckon that middle space. He seems to have used a round number (as I have just observed); and, certainly, speaks very carelessly about the comparative areas of Athens and Babylon. For were we to grant him that the perimeter of Athens was half that of Babylon, yet it would not follow that the *area* of what was actually built upon was half. The space between the north wall and the Phalerian, had, it is probable, only scattered habitations.

As to the comparative areas of Athens, and other antient cities, Goeller remarks, from Herod. 1, 98. and 5, 89., that the areas of Athens and Ecbatana were equal; and that Dionys. Ant. 1, 219, 12. says the same of Athens and Rome, in the time of Servius, i. e. sixty stadia. But both those writers evidently mean the circuit of Athens *proper*. And this will prove that there were really seventeen stadia between the north wall and the Phalerian.

[31] *Sixty stadia.*] Dio Chrysost. p. 282. says, it was more than ninety. But unless this be an oratorical exaggeration, we may suspect a mistake in the number. For Π read Ξ.

was of half that extent.[32]. He, moreover, showed them that the cavalry, together with the horse-archers, amounted to one thousand two hundred; that the archers were one thousand seven hundred, and the number of triremes fit for service three hundred.[33]

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[32] *Half that extent.*] By the *half* here mentioned is to be understood, the Schol. says, that part of the wall which fronted the continent, which is very true; but if that were all, it only occupies, in Barbie's plan, about six stadia. There seems reason to think, that the Piræus extended further in length than is supposed. In like manner, I have no doubt but that the long walls (or σκέλη) extended much farther, both in the city wall, and that of Piræus, than is usually imagined, and of course would leave so much the less of the wall necessary to be guarded. It was, surely, sound policy to include as much space as possible between the long walls; and I have no doubt but that they took in as large a one as the respective forms and bearings of Athens and Piræus, would permit.

Thus, according to our author, the whole extent of all the walls was 172 stadia; the same, according to Dionys. Hal. Ant. 624, 13., as that of Rome in A. U. C. 292.; see also p. 219. With our author's statement of the circumference of Athens there is a discrepancy in Dio Chrys. Orat. 6. p. 87. who there estimates it at 200 stadia. But that need only be considered as the use of a round number, and a sort of rhetorical exaggeration. The same may be said of the expression of Aristid. de Pac. 326. B., that it was a day's journey in circuit. It is moreover an Orientalism.

After writing the above, I find the view of the subject there adopted supported by the opinion of Poppo in his Proleg. vol. 2. p. 250. who truly observes that the southern wall was called τὸ διὰ μέσου τεῖχος, not because it was a transverse one, but because it was between the outer wall and the Phalerian. And he refers to Walpole's Memoirs, a work which I have not at hand. My conjecture that the north wall and the south, or that to Munychia were first built, and then the Phalerian, is, I now find, proved true by a passage of the Schol. on Plato cited by Goeller in his preface to Book II., to whose learned matter I must refer the reader. That there were *three* walls he shows was also the opinion of Hemsterhusius; though the old opinion has of late been maintained by the intelligent Colonel Leake, whose arguments Goeller examines and solidly refutes. The only formidable one is, that Xenophon Hist. Græc. saying, that after the battle of Ægos Potamos, the Lacedæmonians required the walls of Athens to be beaten down for ten stadia, uses these words: προεκαλοῦντο δὲ, τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκάτερον (where must be read ἑκατέρου.) words which certainly cannot denote more than *two* walls. Now the most probable solution of this difficulty is to suppose, with Goeller, that those two walls, the *middle* and the *outer* (τὸ ἔξωθεν) are, on account of their greater length, distinguished from the Phalerian by being called the *long* walls, and from their number and form, were called σκέλη, *bracchia*.

The forty stadia mentioned in our author is confirmed by Diog. Laert. 6, 3. and Strabo, and especially by an actual measurement by Mr. Gell of the distance between the Pantheon and the middle of the Piræus. The distance (he says) measured 2000 feet, equivalent to 41 stadia.

[33] *Three hundred triremes fit for service.*] There appears some discrepancy between this statement and that of Xenophon Anab. 7, 1, 27. ἔχοντες τριήρεις οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων., as also of Strabo, who, at p. 574, 5. says, there was in the Piræus a dock capable of containing *four hundred ships*,

Such, at the lowest estimate, were the provisions for the war, general and particular, in possession of the Athenians when the Peloponnesians made their first invasion of Attica, and they were thus hurried into war. Other things besides the foregoing spoke Pericles, according to his custom, in order to show them the probability of their bringing the war to a successful issue.

XIV. The Athenians having heard him, were swayed by his counsels, and fetched in from the country their wives and children, and all their household furniture [1], nay, even the very wood-work [2] of their houses they took down and re-

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and not less than that number was sent out by the Athenians. Now this Meursius and Falconer would alter to *τριακ.*, though all the MSS. agree in *τετρακ.* That, however, is not necessary, and the common reading is defended by the words of an Athenian Plebiscitum occurring in Taylor's Preface to Lycurg. *τετρακοσίους τριήρεις πλωΐμους κατεσκεύασε.* Nevertheless our author's account is confirmed by passages of Æschines and Demosth. adduced by Meurs. Att. Lect. 1, 1., to which I add Aristid. t. 2, 79. B. *ἕως μὲν ἐώρων τριήρεις πλείους ἢ τετρακοσίας ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ.* So also Diod. Sic. and Aristoph. Acharn. 545. who has a view to this, *καθείλκετε ἂν τριακοσίας ναῦς.* In fact there is no real discrepancy; since, by examining the words which accompany the *τετρ.* in Xenophon (namely, *τὰς μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ τὰς δὲ ἐν νεωρίοις*) it will appear that he meant the *total*, both those fit for service and those building or repairing, like our *ships in commission*, and *ships in ordinary*. Such is also plainly the sense of Strabo; and the words of the Plebiscitum need not be understood of 400 ships at once in actual service. Thucydides, indeed, shows his meaning by adding *τὰς πλωΐμους*, where the article has great force. The term *πλωΐμος* occurs also in Pausan. 10, 20, 3. And I formerly was of opinion that it should be restored to Max. Tyr. Diss. 22, 3. *οὐδὲ νῆες αὐταὶ πλέουσαι*, where I suspected the *πλέουσαι* to be a gloss. But perhaps it may be better to regard *πλέουσαι* as one of those strained senses of words in which that not ineloquent rhetorician delights. Or we may read *εὖ πλέουσαι.*

[1] *Household furniture.*] Literally, all the utensils and furniture both in doors and out of doors which they used at home. The *ἄλλην* must not be *pressed;* for *καὶ τὴν ἄλλην* signifies much the same as *ἄλλα καὶ.*

[2] *Wood-work.*] By this is, I conceive, meant not only the roof-tree and timbers of the roof and gable, but also a sort of *frame-work* employed for the walls of inferior houses, such as was much in use in our own country two or three centuries ago, and is yet found on the continent, and in America. This timber-work they removed, not only to save labour in the future construction, or to make huts in Athens, but even for the purposes of fire-wood, which was scarce in Attica, and much of what was yet there might be expected to be destroyed by the invaders.

The sense here of *καθαιρέω*, by which it signifies to *take down*, is the primary one. See my note on Mark, 15, 36. Luke, 23, 53. Acts, 13, 29. *Ξύλωσις* is thought by the Schol. *peculiar* to Thucyd.; but Gottleb. adduces an example from Liban., to which I add Joseph. 110, 13. 213, 25. (where I

moved. As to the sheep and beasts, they sent them to Eubœa[3] and the adjacent islands.[4] Very indisposed, however, were they to make this removal[5], as having most of them been long accustomed to reside in the country.

XV. This, indeed, had been from the earliest ages more customary with the Athenians than other nations: for in the time of Cecrops and the earliest kings, up to Theseus, it was all along inhabited in separate towns[1], which had their own councils[2] and archons; and as long as they had no cause for

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read τὰς πυλὰς), 774, 9. Had they not taken this timber down, the enemy would doubtless have destroyed the houses for the sake of it. So Xen. Anab. 2, 2, 16. διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα.

[3] *Eubœa.*] Very different from what took place after the fatal battle of Chæronea, when (as we learn from Demades, § 30.) the roads were choked up with cattle driving to the city, and the city was filled with them like a stable.

[4] *Islands.*] As Salamis and the petty islands around Attica, also Ægina, Ceos, &c.

[5] *Removal,* &c.] Literally, "this migration went hard with them." Ἀνάστασις is somewhat rare in this sense. Examples occur in Herod. 9, 106. Dio Cass. 174, 268, 342. Appian, 1, 233, 78., where Steph. causelessly proposed to be read ἀναζεύξεως.

[1] *In separate towns.*] Hobbes renders *burghs*, referring to δήμοι. But the original is πόλεις, which, considering its application, cannot well denote more than *towns.* Κατὰ signifies here (as often) "in a regular continuity or succession."

Why this had been the case with Attica more than other parts of Greece, may be accounted for from some peculiarities in its original colonisation.

[2] *Councils.*] That such is the sense, is plain; for it is not probable that those petty towns had πρυτανεῖα like Athens. And it is confirmed by what follows, where the term is united with βουλευτήριον, where the latter is exegetical. Smith, indeed, takes it to denote "*magistrates,* dispatching public business and administering justice; offering sacrifices, and living in, as it were, an *Hotel de ville,* at the public expense." In those small towns, πρυτανεῖα were, we may suppose, only like the *town-halls* or *guild-halls* of our corporate towns. Thus Hobbes here rightly renders it *common halls.* Yet in his note he explains it as of the *Athenian.* As to the derivation which he adduces from others; namely, quasi πυρὸς ταμεῖον, it deserves no attention, since πρυτανεῖον is itself a derivative from πρύτανες, *prefectus,* which (unless it be a word of foreign origin) may, with Scheid ap. Lennep, be derived from πρύω, whence πρυμνὸς, *extremus.* And the idiom by which the ideas of *first* and *last* are confounded may here very well be supposed. Thus ἀκρὸν signifies both *beginning* and *end.*

The Prytaneum at Athens, according to the researches of Hawkins, p. 499. confirmed by Pausan. 1, 18, 3., was situated not far from the east angle of the acropolis.

Instead of ἔχουσα, I would observe, we might have expected ἔχουσας, agreeing with πόλεις. But as the MSS. give no countenance to such a

fear, those archons did not use joint counsel with the king, but conducted affairs and took counsel each by themselves. Nay, some of them even occasionally *went to war* with him [3], as did the Eleusinians, in conjunction with Eumolpus, against Erectheus.[4] But Theseus coming to the throne, who possessed both wisdom and power [5], in various respects, set in order [6] the affairs of the country. Thus, having abolished the councils and magistracies of the other towns [7], and appointed one general senate, at what is now called *the*

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reading, we must regard ἔχουσα as a Thucydidean hypallage; and κατὰ πόλεις must be repeated in the sense *separatim* or *pagatim;* to use the words of Livy in a similar passage, l. 31, 26. "Templa Deûm, quæ pagatim sacrata habebant." This passage of Thucydides is had in view by Pausan. 1, 22. 3. ἐπεὶ τε Ἀθηναίους Θησεὺς ἐς μίαν ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῶν δημῶν πόλιν.

[3] *Went to war with him.*] Hobbes and Smith wrongly render, "went to war with each other." It is plain that τὸν βασιλέα is to be supplied. And the construction with the accusative is found both in Thucydides and the best writers.

[4] *Eleusinians — Erectheus.*] On the story see Meurs. de Regno Athen. p. 109. and Attic. Lect. l. 6, 21., referred to by Hudson, and Pausan. t. 1, 145. Fac., also Saint Croix de Myster. p. 88., referred to by Goeller.

[5] *Who possessed both wisdom and power.*] The expression is imitated by Appian, 1, 495, 68. ὡς μετὰ τοῦ δυνατοῦ φιλάνθρωπον; and Herodian, 1, 6. μετὰ τοῦ ἀπρεποῦς καὶ ἐπισφαλές. To advert to the thing itself, it seems meant that in him were united (as had not before been the case) both political sagacity and considerable power, so as to be able to effect his plans for the settlement of the state.

[6] *Set in order.*] So Epist. to Tit. 1, 5. ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ., where see my note. Pausan. 1, 3, 2., perhaps with this passage in view, remarks: δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ γραφὴ, Θησέα εἶναι τὸν καταστήσαντα Ἀθηναίοις ἐξίσου πολιτεύεσθαι.

[7] *Other towns.*] Or cities, πόλεις. Smith renders *boroughs* (as does Gail *bourgades*). And he remarks that their number was 174. Be that as it may, we are here not concerned with the boroughs, (δῆμοι) which were quite different from the πόλεις, and indeed were only *pagi, villages.* (See the Memoir on the State of Greece, &c. prefixed to this work.) Had Smith given the number and names of these towns, the information would have been acceptable to his readers. This he might have found in a fragment of Philochorus preserved by Strabo, l. 10. Κεκροπία, Τετράπολις, Ἐπακρία, Δεκέλεια, Ἐλευσὶς, Ἀφύδνα, Θόρικος, Βραύρων, Κύθηρος, Σφῆττος, Κηφισσία, Φαληρός, πόλιν δὲ ὑστερον εἰς μίαν πόλιν συναγαγεῖν λέγεται τὴν νῦν τῆς δωδεκα Θησεύς. Plutarch, in his comparison of Theseus and Romulus, thinks that these names were derived from those of the most antient kings and heroes. Thus we see there were twelve of these towns. Charax, indeed, ap. St. Byz. says, ὅτι ὁ Θησεὺς τὰς ἕνδεκα πόλεις, τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ συνοικίσας εἰς Ἀθήνας, Συνοίκια ἑορτὴν κατεστήσατο. But yet we need not alter ἕνδεκα to δώδεκα, as Meurs. proposes. There is no doubt but that Charax does not include among those eleven *Cecropia,* around which very antient town, as a nucleus, arose the city of Athens. The number twelve is also confirmed by Etym. Mag. in Ἐπακρία, and Theophr. Char. Eth. 26.

city, he brought all together [8]; and compelled each, enjoying their private rights as before, to use this one city only, which, now that all were contributary to it, and there despatched all their public business [9], having attained unto greatness, was so delivered by Theseus to his successors. In memory of this the Athenians to the present day keep, at the public expense [10], a festival to the goddess called *Synœcia*. Before that period, the city only consisted of what is now *the citadel*, and the space occupying the foot of the hill to the south.[11] — A manifest proof of which is, that the temples are either in the citadel, or if out of it, are chiefly situated adjacent to that part of the city; as that of the Olympian Jove, of the Pythian Apollo, that of Terra; and that of Bacchus in Limnæ [12], to

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[8] *Brought all together.*] The words ξυνώκισε πάντας (which are oddly rendered by Hobbes "made them cohabit,") do *not* mean, according to some translators, "made them dwell together," but made them go together thither as to a metropolis, for the purposes of justice, legislation, and government, ξυντελεῖν ἐς αὐτήν, as it is just after said. Indeed the words following are exegetical of the ξυνῴκισε. The above view of the subject is confirmed by Dio Chrys. p. 517, 10. Liban. Orat. 679. D. Pausan. 7, 18, 6. Appian, 2, 608, 36. Arrian E. A. 4, 24, 12., and finally (to omit a variety of passages and much critical discussion which I must reserve for my edition), Plato Polit. 2, 369. πολλοὺς εἰς μίαν οἴκησιν ἀγείραντες, κοινώνους τε καὶ βοήθους, ταύτῃ τῇ ξυνοικίᾳ ἐθέμεθα πόλιν ὄνομα.

[9] *Were contributary, &c.*] Such seems to be the full sense of ξυντελεῖν, which is quaintly, but not improperly, rendered, "paid their duties to it;" for φόρον, or εἰσφοράν, may be understood, which are *supplied* at Arrian, E. A. 1, 17, 11. Polyb, 4, 60, 4. Dionys. Hal. 223, 16. So Harpocr. Συντελεῖς. οἱ συνδαπανῶντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες. Hence is illustrated Æschyl. Agam. 515. συντελὴς πόλις. However, it is possible that it may have the *figurative* sense, which almost always appertains to *contribuere;* and there is no little to countenance this, in the learned illustration of this word, to be found in Steph. Thes. 3, 1383. C.

[10] *Keep, at the public expense, &c.*] Smith and Goeller take the δημοτελῆ merely in the sense *public*. But as I find the term often used by the historians, in the *proper* sense, and never elsewhere in the *derived* one, I would not introduce that here. It is plain, that Charax and Plato, in the passages above cited, had this passage in view.

[11] *To the south.*] For νότον, Palmer, with Valla, would read ἀρκτὸν; but wholly without cause; for it was likely that the city would first extend itself in the direction of the *sea*, and thus lead, in the end, to the construction of the long walls. Indeed, the notion that the most antient part of the city was situated to the north of the acropolis, has been refuted by the researches of modern travellers (as Wilkins and Hawkins), from whom extracts are adduced by Poppo in his Proleg. t. 2. p. 240. note.

[12] *Limnæ.*] On this, and the other temples here mentioned, the words of Meurs. (referred to by Hudson) will supply ample information. I would here observe, that the Scholiast has, perhaps, been too severely censured for placing Limnæ *in* the acropolis, when it has been shown to have been

whose honour the more antient Bacchanalian feasts are celebrated on the twelfth day of the month Anthesterion; a custom still in use among the *Ionians*[13], who are of Attic descent. In this quarter, too, are situated other antient temples, and the conduit[14] now called Enneacrunus (or nine-

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outside. It is not improbable that he wrote πόλει. And the reading of the Cod. Aug. πόλις plainly points that way. To the references of Wasse I would add, that Casaub. on Athen. p. 445. endeavours to prove, that Limnæ was situated close under the walls of the acropolis.

Gell, p. 40. (cited by Poppo Proleg. 241.), remarks, that Stuart calls the theatre of Bacchus the odeum of Pericles; and what is commonly supposed to be that of Herodes, he calls that of Bacchus. "To the south (continues he) of these theatres is commonly supposed to have been a marsh (λίμναι), where stood most of the antient temples. There is, however, no marsh there; nor is there in the whole city any place where there could be a marsh, unless to the north-west of the temple of Theseus." Hawkins, too, p. 492. (cited by Poppo) observes, in reference to the same subject. "Before his coming to the theatre Pausanias speaks of a very antient temple (202.), which seems to have been in his way to that theatre (*before* that building which had the form of Xerxes' tent). This, no doubt, is the temple of Bacchus in *Limnæ*. The words, ἐν Λίμναις, show its deep and marshy site. And although, from there being no such spot near, the above temple has been supposed not to be the same with that in Limnæ; yet *that* is certain, from the place assigned to it by Pausanias, which, in fact, is *now* the lowest part of the city; and since some fountains of brackish water flow that way. And that there should be at present no vestige of marsh, is no wonder, considering that the ground, in most parts of the city, is raised sixteen feet."

[13] *A custom still, &c.*] There seems an emphasis in *Ionians*, by which it is implied that those antient rites were now obsolete, and unobserved, at *Athens*, though yet in use among the *Ionians*, a people ever observant of antient customs, as, indeed, might be expected in what was originally the mother country of Attica.

With respect to the Bacchanalia, antiquaries have shown that there were *three*, of which this in Limnæ was the chief. The others were the country and the city Bacchanalia. The month *Anthesterion nearly* answers to our *February;* for (as Smith observes) the best chronologists are unable to exchange the Greek names of months *into currency* with exactness.

Νομίζουσι signifies "usu recipiunt." So Aristid. 3, 241. σιδήρῳ νομίζουσι. Soph. Elect. 326, and Dio Cass., often. In this idiom there seems to be an ellipsis of χρῆσθαι, or ἔχειν, the former of which is *supplied* in Thucyd., just after, and in Herod. 1, 202. ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρῆσθαι; the latter in Aristot. 1, 215. νομίζοντες ἔχειν. Other examples may be seen in my note on Acts, 16, 13.

[14] *Conduit.*] Not *fountain*, as all the translators render. For the above sense there is the authority of Plato ap. Steph. Thes. And so also Hom. Od. ρ. 205. ἐπὶ κρήνην ἀφίκοντο Τυκτὴν (*made by the hand*) καλλίροον, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται. It should seem that the name *Callirrhoe* was given to this conduit with reference to the Homeric passage.

pipes [15], from the tyrants [16] having so constructed it [17]), but

[15] *Enneacrunus, &c.*] Hudson maintains, that the ἐννέα must not be taken precisely for *nine*, but for *many*. And he instances ἐννεάδεσμος from Nicander, ἐννεάκροσσος from Hesych., and ἐννεάγηρα from Aratus, and the river Timavus, which, though it had but *seven* mouths, has nine assigned to it by Virgil. He urges, too, on the authority of Cratinus, that Callirrhoe had *twelve* pipes. But, as to the Virgilian passage, it is of another nature, being a poetical amplification, unless the *learned* bard had some *authority* which he chose to follow. As to the other passages, he might, perhaps, have added the antient name of Amphipolis, *Nineways*. But of the three examples he has adduced, the third is irrelevant, since Aratus only uses ἐννεάγηρα by a witty amplification of τριγέρων. And even the rest may admit of another explication. Indeed, ἐννέα is too *small* a number to be fitted to express a *large indefinite number;* and, as Hudson does not pretend that there were more than twelve pipes, there seems no reason why the idiom should have been adopted. In fact, the δωδεκάκρουνον στόμα of Cratinus, is only (like the ἐννέα just mentioned) a witty allusion to, or amplification of, the εννεακρ. This is far more probable than to suppose, with Olearius, that three other spouts were added after its first erection. Certainly, *nine* may be regarded as indicating a real and specific number. As to the testimonies of the Greek lexicographers, those being all founded on the passage of Cratinus, can be allowed no weight. It is surely more likely that the *appellation* should allude to the *real* number than any epithet of a poet. Besides, the οὕτω seems to allude to ἐννέα. And so thought Pausanias, 1, 14, 1. Ἐννεάκρουνον οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου. There is a similar conduit mentioned by Mr. Keppel Craven, in his Travels into Naples, p. 259., which he describes as "a fountain at the foot of a declivity, gushing through *five pipes* into a long trough." With *such*, we may suppose, this of Enneacrunus was furnished. The water was, probably, brought together into one vast cistern, from which it was distributed by nine pipes.

To the above may be added the following matter, translated from Poppo's Proleg. 2, 244. "The fountain, Enneacrunus, according to Suidas, was near the Ilissus, and not far from the temple of Jupiter, in which place the ruins of a fountain [conduit. Edit.] may yet be seen. Wilkins, p. 59. Stuart speaks of Callirrhoe as of a copious and beautiful fountain, which flows into the channel of the Ilissus. The Albanian women at Athens, he says, wash their clothes there; and water for that purpose is collected into a small circular cistern, a few feet from which it glides into the Ilissus. Hawkins, p. 479. But Stuart seems to have confounded the Ilissus with the fountain of Æsculapius, or Clepsydrium (in Dodwell, p. 473). For, according to Dodwell, p. 472., the fountain Enneacrunus is choked up with mud, although water constantly trickles from the fissures of the rock. And Gell, p. 42. writes, that it is found by digging in the bed of the Ilissus."

[16] *The tyrants.*] By these are meant (as the Scholiast says) the Pisistradæ. For though Pausanias ascribes it to Pisistratus, yet we may suppose that the work (doubtless a laborious and sumptuous, and, certainly, a most beneficent, one) was finally completed, or, probably, improved or adorned by his successor.

[17] *Constructed it.*] The reading of several good MSS. κελευσάντων is *not*, as Hack fancies, *a gloss*, but a mistake of the scribes for καλεσάντων, which is found in the Schol. on Apthonius, referred to by Goeller. And

formerly, when the springs were open[18], Callirrhoe[19]; *that*, as being near, they used upon solemn occasions[20]; and even to this day it is, from antient usage, customary to use it before the marriage-rites[21], and at other sacred solemnities. It is, too, from the antient habitation of it, that the Acropolis is to this very day called by the Athenians the city.[22]

XVI. Now this mode of living, dispersed over the country in unrestrained independence, the Athenians had long used[1],

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that is not so much a gloss, as a pure *diorthosis*, founded on a misapprehension of σκευσισάντων.

[18] *Open.*] Or *visible*. For φανερῶν, Hemst. on T. Mag. p. 568. would read λαμυρῶν. And, indeed, the two words are often confounded. But there is no certainty that Thomas so read in Thucydides; for I agree with Lobeck on Phrynich. p. 292., that Θουκιδίδῃ is an error of the scribes. And it is justly observed, by Goeller, that the expression, λαμυρὰ πηγή, savours of poetic diction, and may be compared with the *loquaces lymphæ* (*babbling brook*) of Horace. And this is confirmed by the words following. The epithet, therefore, was undoubtedly that of a poet; though the above learned men are not prepared to say *who*. I confidently conjecture Φωκυλίδῃ. Many instances of similar confusion I shall notice in the preface, or prolegomena, to my edition.

[19] *Callirrhoe.*] Poppo, Bekker, and Goeller, edit καλλιρόῃ, from three MSS., and the old editions. But there is no reason why, in a *prose* writer, the ῥῥ should not even, *cæteribus paribus*, be *preferred*, as being more agreeable to the analogy of language; though one of the ῥ's may be thrown out by poetic license, as in the passage of Homer above cited.

[20] *Upon solemn occasions.*] Or, "for the most important purposes."

[21] *Marriage rites.*] Meurs., Hudson, and Duker refer to passages of Pollux, Etym. Mag., and Harpocr., confirming and illustrating this use of the water of Callirrhoe, to which I add Eurip. Phœn. 358. Ἀννμέναια δ' Ἰσμηνὸς ἐκηδεύθη Λουτροφόρου χλιδᾶς. Æschyl. P. V. ὅτ' ἀμφὶ λουτρὰ καὶ λέχος σὸν ὑμεναίον, ἵστατο γάμων. Hence is illustrated Aristoph. Lys. 378. λουτρὸν (scil. e fonte Callirrhoe) ἔγω παρέξω—καὶ ταῦτα νυμφικόν γε. The Schol. on Eurip. says, it was customary with the antients to there wash and sprinkle themselves with the water of their country rivers and springs, meaning thereby *symbolically* to pray for procreation of children. It should rather seem, however, that the water was symbolical of *purity*. And this is confirmed by the circumstance that it was used on other solemn occasions; nay, (as Pollux says) was used to wash or sprinkle virgins *who died before marriage*. That Thucyd. here reckons marriage among the sacred rites, is plain; on which Duker refers to Spanh. de Præst. and Usu Numism. p. 292.

[22] *The city.*] Goeller remarks (from Hemst. on Arist. Plut. p. 260.) that the name πόλις, especially in public acts, is almost a proper name. See Thucyd. 5, 18. 23, 47. He also refers to Pausan. 1, 99. in proof of the Acropolis there being called *Polis*. And this is no more than has been the case with the most antient parts of many other cities both antient and modern, as Rome, Alexandria, Syracuse, Paris, and London. For proofs and illustrations I refer to the learned note of Goeller.

[1] *Now this mode &c.*] There are few passages with which the commen-

and even after they had been united into one political body; yet, from the force of custom, most of the antient, and even the later Athenians, up to the present war, residing in and inhabiting the country [2], with their whole families [3], did not readily acquiesce in this migration [4] (especially as they had, subsequently to the Persian war, repaired their habitations [5]);

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tators have been more perplexed than this. And, in order to remove the difficulty, they have devised conjectures which, however, serve rather to increase it. Bauer justly pronounces that of Abresch "languidam et hiulcam." But his own is by no means apt. Gottleber's is mild, but inefficient. The subaudition proposed by Matthias of τῆς χώρας or τῶν ἀργῶν is too arbitrary. After all, the method of the Scholiast who supposes an *antiptosis*, involves the least difficulty; for, indeed, what is there thus to stumble at, in a καινῶν συντάξεων εὑρετὴς, as our author is called by an antient critic? There is, too, the less harshness in this, if we consider that *participation* involves a sense of *use;* and, therefore, if μετέχειν have (as it has) the sense *use, enjoy*, it may take the dative. Indeed, Xenophon employs μετέχειν in that sense at Œcon. 17. 6., though with a genitive; and also at the Cyrop. 7, 5, 18, in the sense *enjoy*, with an accusative.

Κατὰ τὴν χώραν implies the being dispersed over (κατὰ) the country. The αὐτονόμῳ adverts not only to the *councils* above mentioned, but to that kind of independence which provincial towns, and even country villages, in all the early stages of settling a country (as now in America), are found to enjoy, and which sometimes continues long in half civilised or semi-barbarous and imperfectly governed ones, as Turkey.

[2] *In — the country.*] Such is the sense of ἐν ταῖς ἀγροῖς, like the Latin *in agris*. So in Joseph. 373, 25. it is opposed to ἐν τῇ πόλει. See my note on Matt. 22, 5. Yet it may signify *in prædiis*, vel *villis*. Such is the sense in Joseph. 862, 20. 771, 4. 334. 43. Appian 1, 859, 55.

[3] *With their whole families.*] i. e. making the country their permanent residence, and not merely temporary sojourn, πανοικησίᾳ. For I would retain that reading, notwithstanding that some critics adopt, from several MSS., πανοικεσίᾳ. The above reading is confirmed by the usage of Dio Cass., Dionys. Hal., and other imitators of Thucydides; whereas I cannot find πανοικεσίᾳ in any good writer except Josephus 1308. and 1322. Πανοικίᾳ is used by the best writers from Herodotus downwards. And thus in our Scholiast: πανοικησίᾳ, καὶ οὐ πανοικίᾳ. I would for πανοικίᾳ read πανοικεσίᾳ.

[4] *Migration.*] Though many MSS. have μεταστάσει, yet the common reading μεταναστάσει is rightly retained by the editors. And I have to add that it is confirmed by the usage of Dionys. Hal. and Xenophon, and by an almost *transcript* of the passage in Lucian 3, 233. On the sense in which the word is here used, see Schneider on Xen. An. 3, 2, 25.

[5] *Habitations.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense here of κατασκευας as at 1, 10. And so Levesque renders *établissements*. That these *villas* were not only repaired and rebuilt, but fitted up in a style exceeding in beauty and costliness even the city mansions, I find from Isocr. Areopag. c. 20. p. 234, 1. μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀσφαλείας διῆγον ὥστε καλλίους εἶναι καὶ πολυτελεστέρας τὰς οἰκήσεις, καὶ τὰς ἐπισκευὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρων ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους, καὶ πόλλους τῶν πολιτῶν μηδ' εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ αἱρεῖσθαι μένειν κ. τ. λ. To this antient custom of residing in the country, (similar to what obtained in our own nation two or three centuries ago,) Aristoph. alludes Pac. 574. Ἀλλ' ἀναμνησθέντες, ὦ ἄνδρες, Τῆς διαίτης τῆς παλαιᾶς, ἣν παρεῖχ'

nay, they were much grieved, and thought it hard to leave their houses, abandon their temples (which had been all along from the antient polity their national [or patriarchal] fanes), and at last change their mode of life, and, as it were[6] quit each his own city.[7]

XVII. When, too, they came to the city, some few, indeed, had habitations or places of refuge[1] with relations or friends, but the greater part were fain to take up their abode in the vacant[2] places of the city, as also the temples[3], or the chapels[4] of heroes; all except those of the Acropolis and the Eleusinium[5], and whatever other edifice was not utterly closed upon them; nay, what was called the *Pelasgicum*[6], a

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αὕτη ποθ' ὑμῖν, τῶν τε παλασίων ἐκείνων, Τῶν τε σύκων, τῶν τε μύρτων, Τῆς τρυγός τε τῆς γλυκείας, Τῆς ἰωνιᾶς τε τῆς πρὸς Τῷ φρέατι, τῶν τ' ἐλαῶν.

[6] *As it were.*] Literally, little less than, nought else but.

[7] *His own city.*] Smith renders "his *native home.*" But that is changing the idea. The hardship was, that they seemed to be abandoning their own state, or civil society; for they could scarcely bring themselves to regard as such *that* with which they had had so little connection.

[1] *Places of refuge.*] So, in a kindred passage, Livy 28, 15. Dilapsi omnes quocunque hospitia, ut fortuitus animi impetus ruit.

[2] *Vacant.*] i. e. unoccupied with houses. Some places, probably, in the north part of the city. And such, I find, is the opinion of Hawkins, p. 505., cited by Poppo Proleg. 2, 246. Others (he says) fix on the part near the Musæum towards Piræus.

[3] *Temples.*] These were, indeed, not all of them understood to be closed. Thus it appears from Diog. Laert. 6, 23. that Diogenes used to inhabit the portico of the temple of Jupiter.

[4] *Chapels.*] *Sacella*, petty fanes erected to the honour, if not the worship, of heroes.

[5] *Eleusinium.*] "A temple" says Hobbes, "used with great religion." It was doubtless so called as being dedicated to the Eleusinian goddess, namely Ceres. Poppo observes that there were at Athens three or four temples of this goddess, one near the entrance to the city from Piræus, (supra 1, 2, 4.) another of Ceres and Proserpine beyond the Enneacrunus, (14, 1.) a third Δήμητρος Χλόης, 22, 3. The present, I agree with Hack, "was that of Ceres and Proserpine in the Ceramicus, where was kept the image of Iacchus which, on the day of the Eleusinia, was carried in great pomp from Athens to Eleusis." The above account is supported by the authority of Pausanias.

On the subject of the Eleusinian mysteries see an instructive article in Mr. Barker's new edition of Lempriere's Classical Dictionary.

[6] *Pelasgicum.*] With this word the commentators have been not a little perplexed. The early ones take it to denote a *temple*. But for this there is no authority. Wasse and Duker (as also Brunck on Aristoph. Pac. 832.) appear to have been of opinion that it was the wall built round the Acropolis by the Pelasgi, who formerly occupied it. And this is supported by Pausan. 1, 28, 3. and Herod. 6, 137. cited by the commentators; to which

part under the Acropolis, which it was even held accursed to inhabit[7] (and which was forbidden by the end[8] of a verse of

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passages I add Dionys. Hal. Ant. pp. 22. 37., who there quotes Myrsilus, as saying, that the Tyrrheni, afterwards called Pelasgi, wandered in hordes over both Greece and the Barbarian countries: *καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ τεῖχος τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τὸ Πελασγικὸν καλούμενον, τούτους περιβαλεῖν.* where I conjecture, for *καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, κἂν ταῖς Ἀθήναις.* which is supported by Hesych.: *Πελασγικὸν τειχίον οὕτως ἐν Ἀθήναις καλούμενον Τυρρηνῶν κτισάντων.* The Etym. says: *Πελαργικόν. τὸ ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν κατασκαφὲν τεῖχος.* where for *κατασκαφὲν* read *κατασκευασθὲν*, from Photius, who himself may receive correction from Hesych. and Etym.: *Πελαργικὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Τυράννων κατασκευασθὲν τῆς ἀκροπολέως τεῖχος.* Read for *Τυράννων, Τυρρηνῶν.*

It should seem that the Pelasgi, the original occupants of the acropolis, were by the early Attic colonists first expelled thence, but permitted to inhabit the foot of the hill; afterwards were compelled to remove to a situation below Mount Hymettus; and, lastly, were expelled from Attica altogether. Yet the words of Thucydides import that it was *under* the acropolis, not *a part of its wall*. Besides, to speak of inhabiting a *wall* (ἐξῳκήθη), involves somewhat of absurdity. Now Wilkins, p. 53. note (referred to by Poppo Proleg. p. 246.) would understand it of a *plot of ground* assigned to the Pelasgi when they evacuated the acropolis. To which, however, Poppo objects that it was near *Hymettus*. But it may be observed, that *that* was a *second* removal. There had been, it seems, a *former* one to some situation under the hill of the acropolis, — *where* it is not easy to say. Wilkins places it *south* of the acropolis; Chandler and Hawkins fix it to the *north;* and this, I agree with Poppo, seems better. The authorities, however, above adduced, will scarcely permit us to take it of a *plot of ground*. I was formerly of opinion that the Πελασγ. denoted not so much the *wall* around the acropolis, as the *strip of land* adjoining to it, inside and outside; namely, the *Pomœrium*, which, by antient custom, arising from good reasons, was left unoccupied by buildings. See an interesting passage on this subject in Livy, 1, 44, 4. As a proof of the antiquity of the custom I shall show, in a Memoir on Babylon, that it was acted upon in the building of that city. The purpose of the oracle will then be very clear; namely, that the pomœrium of the citadel should ever be left unoccupied with buildings. But I can find no authority to countenance this conjecture; and the ellipsis it supposes would be an unprecedented one. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the Pelasgicum was neither a *plot of ground*, nor a *wall*, but a *piece of ground surrounded by a wall*, and forming a *fortified place*. A sense of *τεῖχος* not uncommon. To this there is no objection, since it is quite reconcilable with all the above passages.

As to the curse pronounced by the oracular dict on its being ever again inhabited, that was a not unusual circumstance in such a case. Its *situation* cannot well be fixed, otherwise than that it appears to have been at the foot of the hill of the acropolis, and probably on the north of it.

[7] *Held accursed to inhabit.*] Ἐπάρατον ἦν has after it an infinitive (dependent upon ὥστε) with *μὴ*, as being one of those words which include a negative, and which, not by *pleonasm* (as is commonly supposed), but by way of *emphasis*, take also a negative particle.

[8] *End.*] The word *ἀκροτελεύτιον* is somewhat rare. Yet it occurs in Dio Cass. 1033, 1307, 13. and Aristid. 3, 202., and is acknowledged as Thucydidean by Pollux, 2, 16. and Suidas. It ought, too, to be restored at Stob.

the Pythian oracle, exclaiming "Pelasgic, best unoccupied"), was, however, from necessity, wholly occupied with huts.[9] As to the *prophecy*, it seems to me[10] to have had its fulfilment in a manner different from what they supposed. For the calamities befell the city, not (I conceive) on account of the sacrilegious inhabitancy, but rather the necessity of that inhabitancy arose from the war; which though the oracle did not name, yet [the utterer of it] foresaw that it would never be inhabited for any good. Many, too, made themselves huts in[11] the towers of the walls, or otherwise provided for their abode in the best way they could; for the city could not contain them when they were all assembled together; so that afterwards they partitioned out[12] and inhabited the long walls and the greater part of that of the Piræus.[13] At the same time, however, the Athenians applied themselves to the con-

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Eclog. Phys. 164. A. τὸ ἀκροτελευταῖον τῆς περιοχῆς (the passage). It may be paralleled by our *fag-end* (sometimes used in this very way, though only contemptim, vel familiariter), which I suspect to be a corruption or dialectical variation of the Ang. Sax. *tag*, whence *tagel* (tail); and so *tag*, the metal end of a lace.

9 *Wholly occupied, &c.*] Or, filled up with buildings, houses. The ἐκ is intensive (answering to our *up*), which I have no where else observed in this word. Soph. Œd. c. 27. has the kindred expression τόπος ἐξοικήσιμος. In the cognate word ἐξοικοδομέω I have, however, noted a similar use. Arrian E. A. 5, 29, 5. 7, 21, 11. Xen. Œcon. 20, 29.

10 *It seems to me, &c.*] The scope of this whole passage has been but imperfectly understood. To me it appears to be that of overturning any credit that might be claimed for the oracle. The last words of the passage προῴδει — οἰκισθησόμενον are wrongly rendered by the French and English translators. Προῴδει cannot signify *betokened*, but *foreknew, foresaw*. And by μαντεῖον is meant (per τὸ σημαινόμενον) the *giver of the oracle*; and the drift of the words is to take exception against his claim to foreknowledge, by hinting that he might very well guess that a place which had been already solemnly pronounced accursed to be inhabited, would never be inhabited for any good, but merely through dire necessity.

11 *Made themselves huts in.*] q. d. *hutted*; for there was no reason for Palmer and Wyttenb. to have conjectured κατεσκηνώσαντο. The Schol. has well explained it κατασκευὰς ἐποιήσαντο. On this sense of κατασκευή, see note, supra, 16, 4.; see also 4, 75. 8, 24. Poppo takes it to mean *unpacked*. But that sense would require ἀνεσκ.

12 *Partitioned out.*] i. e. partitioned and hutted out. *Where* these huts were placed we are not told. The Schol. says *upon the walls*. But they should rather seem to have been at the foot of the walls, by which the space might more easily be partitioned out, and the huts would have a *lean-to*.

13 *The greater part of, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense, and not "most parts of the Piræus," as the translators render; for there was no vacant space in that crowded seat of commerce except a *strip along the wall*.

cerns of the war, both by drawing together their auxiliaries, and by equipping a fleet of one hundred sail for Peloponnesus. And in this state of preparation [14] were the Athenians.

XVIII. But on the army of the Peloponnesians proceeding forwards, the first town of Attica that they came to was Œnoe [1]; at which point they had resolved to make the irruption; and having encamped before it, they prepared to make assaults upon the wall, both by machines, and in every other way. For Œnoe being on the borders of Attica and Bœotia, was walled, and the Athenians used it as a fortress on the occurrence of any war.[2] They therefore made preparations for storming it, and consumed some time on that

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[14] *In this state, &c.*] At ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς there is an ellipsis; though the philologists do not say of what word. Perhaps χωρίῳ. The clause is borrowed by Appian, 1, 557, 45.

[1] *The first town, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense; though all the translators join Ἀττικῆς with Οἰνοήν, by which it will mean Œnoe in Attica. But that would have been an unnecessary piece of information; though there was (as we learn from Steph. Byz. and Pausan.) another Œnoe in Argos. Nay, there was also another in Attica; so that even *that* information would not have been sufficient. In fact, there is no difficulty in taking τῆς Ἀττικῆς with πρῶτον. And as to transposition, nothing is more usual in Thucydides.

First, then, they advanced upon Œnoe, resolving to commence their invasion *there*; and not without reason, since it would have been by no means prudent to have passed by, and left on their flank or rear so strong a fortress, from which they might have been annoyed by sorties. Œnoe was doubtless a place of some strength by nature as well as art, otherwise it would not have baffled so powerful an army as that of the Peloponnesians. On its exact situation there is a difference of opinion. Poppo Proleg. 2, 257. quotes Stanhope and Barbie du Boccage, as maintaining that the present Castro is Eleutheria, and that Œnoe is a castle about ten minutes' ride from it, almost of a square form, and called Muopoli or Pyrgo. To this, however, Gell (Travels into Greece, p. 28. sqq.) objects. And he (as does also Poppo) supposes Œnoe further on, at *Gifto Castro*, which impends over the entrance to Cithæron. To this last opinion I must accede, and would observe, that Œnoe is placed very erroneously in the map to Travels of Anacharsis ten miles from Cithæron and the borders of Attica and Bœotia, whereas Thucyd. places Œnoe on the very border.

[2] *Occurrence, &c.*] It may be observed that καταλαμβάνειν is used of what overtakes or happens to us; and as things which overtake us usually come before they are expected, or looked for, so the term is, I believe, always used of what befalls for *evil*. Of this there are numerous examples in Herodotus. So also Thucyd. 2, 54. and 4, 20. Arrian Ind. 11, 5. 15, 12. Pausan. pp. 282, 286 and 287. Of the use with πόλεμος I know no other example but Diogen. Laert. 1, 53. καὶ ἦν ὁ πολεμος ἡμᾶς καταλάβῃ.

object to no purpose[3]; a delay from which Archidamus incurred no little censure: also in the congress[4] held for the purpose of consulting respecting the war, he had been thought faint-hearted, and too much inclined to the Athenians, in not heartily declaring for war. Indeed, after the army was assembled together, the delay which occurred in the isthmus, and the tardiness in the rest of the march, exposed him to blame; but especially did this stay at Œnoe[5]; for during that time the Athenians had effected their removal into the city; whereas, it was thought that, had the Peloponnesians advanced with speed, they would have found every thing[6] yet without the city, and made it their booty, had not his tardiness frustrated the plan. Such were the angry feelings which the army entertained towards Archidamus at this stoppage.[7] He, however, had delayed, expecting (it is said) that

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[3] *To no purpose.*] Hobbes and Smith render the ἄλλως "otherwise, by *that* and other means." But ἄλλως cannot have so much meaning. There was surely no reason for them to have deserted their *fidus Achates*, Portus, who rightly renders it *frustra* (as does also Gail, *en vain*); a signification confirmed both by the context, and by an imitation in Dio Cass. 217, 8. μάτην ἐνδιάτρεψαι. Steph. *causelessly* suspected χρόνον, which is defended by an imitation in Dio Cass. p. 25, 68. χρόνον τινα ἐνδιατριψαι. Here τινα is left to be understood.

[4] *Congress.*] Or war assembly. Such seems to be the sense, and not, as the translators render, "in gathering the forces together." That use of πόλεμος is unprecedented, and the sense would not be apt; for it does not appear how Archidamus could have much hand in retarding the *assemblage* of the troops. Besides, there would be a strange *Hysteron proteron.* The signification above assigned is confirmed by the Schol., and is very agreeable to what follows. And though this sense of συναγωγὴ is not frequent in the earlier classical writers, yet it occurs in Polyb. 4, 7, 6. συναγωγὴ τῶν ὄχλων. And Thucydides has elsewhere συνάγειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

[5] *Stay at Œnoe.*] And yet this may be justified on sound military reasons. Though probably Archidamus was not so much swayed by *them*, as by the profound policy (alluded to in his speech) of suspending the blow, and trying meanwhile the effects of terror in extorting concessions.

Σχολαιότης and ἐπίσχεσις are happily varied. Both terms are rare and Thucydidean.

[6] *Every thing.*] Not *all the people*, as Hobbes renders (for they might have effected their escape), but all the moveable property. It is, however, not probable that, had the Peloponnesians advanced with speed, and left Œnoe on their flank or rear, they would have found all the property yet unremoved. The measures of the Athenians were under too able a direction to permit us to suppose this. The expression "it was thought," should, perhaps, be confined to the Peloponnesians. *They*, it seems, thought so, warped by prejudice, and stung by disappointment. And this is much confirmed by the words following.

[7] *Stoppage.*] Wasse seems half inclined to take καθέδρᾳ in the sense

the Athenians, while their lands were yet unravaged [8], would make some concession, as being loath [9] to suffer them to be devastated.

XIX. However, after making various assaults upon Œnoe, and trying every other mode of siege-operations, they were not able to carry the place; and after the Athenians sent no message by herald — then at length, setting forward from the place, about the eightieth day after the event of the entry into Platæa by the Thebans, at the height of summer [1], and when the corn was ripe, they made their irruption into Attica, under the command of Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians; and, encamping themselves, they first laid waste Eleusis and the Thriasian plain [2], and then engaged with and put to flight a detachment of the Athenian cavalry at a place called Rheiti [3] (the water-brooks,

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siege, of which he gives examples from Plutarch and Joseph., to which may be added Joseph. 194, 20. ἀχθόμενοι τῇ καθέδρᾳ. But the other sense is required by the words following ἄνειχε, &c. Here ἐν is used for ἐπὶ.

[8] *Unravaged.*] On this signification, see Valck. on Herod. 4, 152.

[9] *Loath.*] Κατοκνεῖν is a very strong term, and though rare, is found in Æschyl. P. V. 67. where it is explained by Dr. Blomfield *cunctando detrectare*.

This policy was not unfrequently used by Augustus Cæsar. So Appian, 1, 860, 61. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ἕως μὲν ἤλπιζεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὔτε τὰς κώμας οὔτε τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἐλυμαίνετο. οὐκ ἀπαντώντων δέ, πάντα ἐνεπίμπρη. See also Xen. Hist. 4, 7, 13.

[1] *At the height of summer.*] Goeller remarks, that our author uses such expressions as the present, to signify different times of the year; as 2, 78. περὶ ἀρητούρου ἐπιτελάς. 3, 15. ἐν καρποῦ ξυγκομιδῇ. 4, 1. περὶ σίτου ἐμβολήν. See also 2, 6. 7, 16. 8, 30. And he endeavours to prove that σίτου ακμὴ every where denotes the time when corn is in flower, Getreide blüthe [the flower of the year]. He well compares the *æstatem adultam* of Tacit. Annal. 2, 23.

[2] *Thriasian plain.*] As πεδίον is not found in two MSS., Duker thinks it should be cancelled. And this may be supported by Aristid. t. 2. Plutarch Pelop. 8., and Arat. 33. But the word occurs, in the same phrase, at c. 20, and 21, 22. in Xenophon Agesil., and Herod. 9, 7.; also κρισσαῖον πεδίον in Soph. Electr. 724.

[3] *Rheiti.*] On this place the commentators furnish little or no information, chiefly touching on the accentuation. From Pausan. 1, 38. and 2, 24. we find that it consisted of a couple of brooks, issuing from under ground, and of a brackish taste, insomuch that they were supposed to issue from the sea at Euripus; also, that they were accounted sacred to Ceres and Proserpine, and the fish from them permitted to be taken by the priests only, i. e. in the language of Polynesia, they were *tabooed* to the people. Hesych. and Etym. Mag. say, that they were in the Thriasian plain, and

or rivulets). They then moved forwards, having on their right mount Ægaleos [4], through Cropéa [5], until they came to Acharnæ, a town the largest in Attica of what are called the Demi [6] (or boroughs), and there taking post, they formed

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near Eleusis; and Pausanias tells us they formerly constituted the boundary between the district of Eleusis, and the rest of Attica. From Photius, in his Lex., we learn that they were mere brooks, springing from the same source. But he spells the word Ῥειτὰ, which I suspect to be a corruption for Ῥειτοί; and the mistake seems to have arisen from the neuter, *ναμάτια*, occurring just before. It may, therefore, be rendered *water-brooks*, as Psalm, 42, 1., or, *water-courses*, as Is. 44, 4.

[4] *Ægaleos.*] Or Ægaleon. I have, however, preferred the former, as being the orthography of Herodotus, and the more antient writers. The other is only found in the later ones, as Pliny. Our Schol., too, and the Schol. on Æschyl., are agreed that the *masculine* is the true form. On the *site*, however, of this mountain, commentators and critics differ in opinion. See Wasse in loco, and Wessel. and Valckn. on Herod. 8, 90. It is not, indeed, easy to reconcile the words of Herodot. with those of Thucydides. Few will hesitate to unite with Dr. Blomfield, on Æsch. Pers. 473., in preferring, in such a point, the authority of Æschylus; but there is little doubt that both authors are correct, though it may not be easy, without a better knowledge of the face of the country, to reconcile them. The most successful attempt is that of Dodwell, cited by Poppo Proleg. 2, 259., in the following words: — "The northern extremity of Corydallus begins almost in a straight line under Kasha, not far from the ruins of Acharnæ, and is separated by a plain from Parnes. Nor does there seem any reason to doubt, but that Corydallus and Ægaleos are one and the same mountain; the western part of it, commencing from the sacred or mystic fauces, and running out into the Saronicus sinus with the promontory of Amphialus, near Salamis, separated the territories of the Athenians from the Thriasian plain." According to the same writer, p. 513., the present name of Ægaleos is Scarmagga.*

Of this mountain mention is made in Theocr. Idyll. 1, 147. *ἀπ' Αἰγίλω ἰσχάδα τρώγοις.*, by which passage it seems to have been famous for figs.

[5] *Cropéa.*] This reading I have adopted from the best MSS., and Bekker and Goeller's editions. The common one, *Cecropia*, cannot be tolerated; for, as I have before observed, Cecropia was the old town (probably founded by Cecrops) on which arose Athens. Now, *that* being a comparatively well-known name, was easily substituted for the little-known one Cropéa. I say *little-known*, for it *is* also mentioned by Steph. Byz. in two places, one of which has been restored by Bredov.; though Duker unaccountably puts out this little gleam of light, by supposing, that the Cropea there mentioned is not the place here meant. Hoc est sapere!

[6] *Demi, or boroughs.*] These Demi may be illustrated from Herod. 1, 170, 17. *τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἧσσον νομίζεσθαι κατάπερ*

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* In confirmation of this, I would observe, that the present name bears some affinity to the former; for *Ægaleos* seems to have been given from some fancied resemblance of this mountain to the wild, rough, and horrid appearance of a *goat*; q. d. Goat-mountain (thus a mountain in Scotland is called Goatfield); and in like manner Scarmagga (or rather Scarmaggia) signifies what is *ruffled*, "all tattered and torn."

a camp, and remained a considerable time ravaging the adjacent country.

XX. Now the intent with which Archidamus remained about Acharnæ, keeping his army in battle array, and did not descend into the plain at that irruption, was said to be this — that he expected that the Athenians, then strong in numerous bands of young men, and better prepared for war than they had ever before been, would probably sally forth, and not suffer their land to be ravaged. When, however, they met him not at Eleusis, nor at the Thriasian plain, he made an attempt, by taking a position about Acharnæ, to see whether they would come forth to battle. The place, too, seemed to him commodious to encamp in[1], and, moreover, it appeared not probable that the Acharnians (who formed a considerable portion of[2] the state, consisting of three thousand heavy-armed,) would suffer their possessions to be destroyed, but would incite *all* their fellow-citizens to the contest. And if the Athenians should even not come forth at that irruption, they might afterwards more fearlessly both ravage the plain, and proceed to the city itself: for the Acharnanians being

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εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν. See also Pausan. 1, 29, 2. and Herod. 3, 55, 7. where Valck. has the following masterly illustrations : — " The word δῆμος may be rendered *oppidum*, or *curia*. Not only among the Athenians, but also elsewhere, villages and small towns were called δῆμοι; and yet the appellation was not given promiscuously to any whatsoever. When people from different villages, or small towns, united together, either voluntarily or compulsorily, into one city, then these villages were called δῆμοι, and the inhabitants of them all, having, as it were, their own senate, were styled *curiales* and δημόται. All these towns had not only their own particular sacred rites, but also their magistrates, their δῆμος, or popular form of government." As a proof that these δῆμοι were originally *villages* as well as small towns, Strabo enumerates 140 of them. A complete account of these Demi was lately read to the Royal Society of Literature by Colonel Leake, and will, I trust, be shortly given to the public.

[1] *Commodious to encamp in.*] This is very similar to Herod. 9, 7. Θριάσιον πέδιον ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐστι ἐμμάχεσθαι, where see the examples adduced by Wessel. and Valckn., and especially Porson's Advers. at Eurip. Bacch. 508. ἐνδυστυχῆσαι τοὔνομα ἐπιτήδειος.

[2] *A considerable portion of.*] Μέγα μέρος. A very similar phrase occurs in Herod. 1, 146. μοῖρα τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐλαχίστη; and 1, 104. and 7, 157., imitated by Pausan. 10, 29, 2. who often uses the idiom. And thus at 3, 22, 5. Ἐλευθερολακώνων οὗτοι μοίρας ἦσαν. I conjecture μοῖρα. Other critical matter I must reserve for my edition, only referring the reader to my note on Matth. 2, 6.

deprived of their own possessions, would not be equally zealous in meeting dangers for those of others; but dissension would be infused into their counsels [3] and plans. Such, then, was the design with which Archidamus continued about Acharnæ.

XXI. Now the Athenians, as long as the army lay about Eleusis and the Thriasian plain, entertained some hope that they would not proceed further forward [1]; remembering that Plistionax son of Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, after making an incursion with a Peloponnesian army into Attica, as far as Eleusis and towards Thria [2], fourteen years before this war, retreated back again, proceeding no further forward (on which account, indeed, he was sentenced to banishment from Sparta, as being thought to have been induced to make this retreat by bribery). But when they saw the army about Acharnæ [3] only sixty stadia from the city, they thought it an aggression and insult no longer to be endured; nay, it seemed to them (and not without reason) hard to behold their country ravaged in their very view; a sight the younger of them had never before witnessed, nor indeed the elder, except during the Median war; and it was the general opinion, especially

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[3] *Infused into their counsels.*] Such seems to be the sense, which is but imperfectly understood by the interpreters, partly from their not discerning the true signification of γνώμη, though it is of frequent occurrence in Thucydides. And indeed Reiske would read πόλει. They also fail to perceive that ἐνέσεσθαι is the future middle, with a passive sense, of ἐνίημι. Its sense here (which is noticed by Hesych. ἐνιέναι· ἐμβάλλειν) is elegant, and occurs in Polyb. 28, 4, 8. ἐνιέναι διαβολὰς κατά τινος. So ἐμβάλλειν ἐπιθυμίαν, φιλονεικίαν, στάσιν, and other terms.

[1] *Further forward.*] Such is the force of εἰς τὸ πλέον. This construction after προελθεῖν, and the use of πλέον for περαιτέρω, is very rare.

[2] *Towards Thria.*] On the force of ζε (which answers to our *ward* after the name of a place), see Abresch Diluc.

[3] *Acharnæ.*] The singular Ἄχαρνα is found in Steph. Byz., and Ἀχάρνη in Hesych.; both probably corrupt, the former from the carelessness of the scribe, the latter from itacism.

Ach. was a very large country town, famous (as we find from Hesych.) for its breed of asses, and partly for its charcoal, as we learn from Aristophanes. But so rude were its inhabitants that Ἀχαρνεῖς came (as appears from Etym. Mag.) to denote what we call *bumpkins*. Of this we have an example in that exquisitely comic character Dicæopolis in Aristoph. Acharn. a drama then written, to bring the measures of Pericles (able and salutary as they were) into contempt, and work on the irritable feelings of the people, especially the Acharnians. See Meurs. Paralip. Attic. c. 2.

of the youth, that they should sally forth, and not tamely look on and see themselves injured. Forming themselves, therefore, into separate bands (or knots [4]), they were at no little variance [5]; one party urging that they should go forth [6], the other protesting against the measure. The oracle-singers, too, uttered various prophecies, which each understood and interpreted according as inclination prompted or passion swayed him.[7] The Acharnians, moreover, considering themselves as forming no contemptible part of the Athenians, when their district was ravaged, most of all urged the going forth. Indeed, in every way the city was thrown into violent commo-

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[4] *Knots.*] Hack renders, "*political clubs.*" But I prefer, with Levesque, *tumultuous groups;* as 3, 27. This passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. p. 358. ult. *σύνοδοι ἤδη κατὰ συστροφὰς ἐγίνοντο*; Dio Cass. 672, 29. *κατὰ συστάσεις ἐστασιάσαμεν*; Dionys. Hal. 428, 39. *κατὰ τε συστροφὰς καὶ ἑταιρίας*; Appian 2, 691. *κατὰ συστάσεις*, 881, 39.; Joseph. 1204, 9. *κατὰ συστροφὰς οἱ στρατιῶται διελάλουν*; Artemid. 2, 20, 174. med. *κατ' ἀγέλας καὶ συστροφάς*; Malchus Rhetor ap. Corp. Hist. Byz. 1, 97. B. *χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γινόμενοι.* There is a similar passage in Eurip. Andr. 1078. *εἰς δὲ ξυστάσεις κύκλους τ' ἐχώρει Λαός*; and Xen. Anab. 5, 7, 2. *καὶ ξυλλόγοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι συνίσταντο.* Hence is illustrated Eurip. Heracl. 416. *καὶ νῦν, πικρὸν ὄν, συστάσεις ἄν εἰσίδοις. τῶν μὲν λεγόντων — τῶν δὲ κ. τ. λ.*; also Antiphanes ap. Athen. 342. E. *κύκλους ἀναγείροντες.* So the Latin writers use the words *circulus, coitus, concursus,* and *concilium.*

[5] *At no little variance.*] And no wonder, for the Acharnians seem, from Aristoph., to have been very irascible and obstinate. So Ach. 180. he describes them as *στιπτοὶ γέροντες, πρίνινοι, Ἀτεράμονες, Μαραθωνομάχαι, σφενδάμνινοι.* Compare also 332—335. and 665.

[6] *Urging that, &c.*] There is a passage much to the present purpose in Aristid. t. 3, 232. D. where for *συμβαῖεν* I conjecture *συμφαῖεν.*

[7] *Each understood, &c.*] Of this passage there has been more doubt respecting the *reading* than the *sense.* The reading of the editions up to Gottleb. was *ἠχροᾶτο.* Gottleb., from almost all the MSS., edited *ἀκροᾶσθαι.* And though Bauer battles hard for the old reading, which he thinks *magis vigere,* yet the new one is established on the most undoubted principles of criticism; for we can by no means account for so difficult a one unless on the supposition of its truth; whereas the other would readily suggest itself to any sciolist who stumbled at the passage. Yet I cannot agree with the editors that *διατιθεῖτο* is to be supplied. That is too irregular an ellipsis. I should rather supply *οὕτω ἠκροᾶτο* from the preceding *ἀκροᾶτο.* And the reading *ἠκροᾶτο* may have been from the margin, where it was placed for the purpose of supplying the ellipsis.

Here I must notice two passages of the classical writers, which seem written with a view to the present. Joseph. Bell, 6, 5, 4. *οἱ δὲ καὶ τῶν σημείων ἃ μὲν ἔκριναν πρὸς ἡδονήν, ἃ δ' ἐξουθένισαν*; Herodian, 3, 7, 15. *τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀνηρημένων ἢ ἁλόντων, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐβουλήθη τῶν συγγραψάντων, ἱστόρησεν.*

[8] *Underwent a, &c.*] Or, "was exceedingly irritated," "in a state of great irritation." The *ἀνα* has an intensive force; and the verb itself is rare, though it occurs in Xen. Anab. 6, 6, 6. and Joseph. 138. *ἀνηρέθιστο*

tion[8], and was fired with indignation against Pericles. They remembered nought of his admonitions, but reviled him for not leading them forth, as a general should — and, in a word, regarded him as the author of all the evils they were suffering.

XXII. He, however, seeing them exasperated at the present untoward position of affairs, and therefore biassed by false judgment[1] — fully persuaded, too, that he had decided rightly in not leading them forth, convened no assembly, nor any meeting[2], lest, being thus congregated, they should, under the influence of passion rather than reason, be hurried into some indiscretion[3], but contented himself with guarding the city[4], and preserving, to the utmost of his power, the public tranquillity. He, however, regularly sent forth detachments of horse, to prevent the enemy's advanced parties from making incursions, and ravaging the farms[5] near the

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τὸ πλῆθος. The Schol. explains it here by διεγείρετο. But that is too general a sense, and is rather applicable to the use of the word in a disputed passage of Xen. Mem. 3, 5, 7. προτρέπεσθαι αὐτοὺς (scil. Ἀθηναίους) πάλιν ἀνερεθισθῆναι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς.

[1] *Biassed by false judgment.*] Literally, judging amiss, being ill-advised. So 6, 36. κακῶς φρονῆσαι. The versions of Smith and Gail are too loose and paraphrastic.

[2] *Nor any meeting.*] By the way in which ἐκκλησίαν and ξύλλογον are introduced, there is a marked distinction between them, the nature of which, however, the commentators have omitted to point out. The former evidently denotes *the public assembly* of the people; the latter may signify a comparatively private meeting, or council, of the higher classes. The term is used of a council *of the allies* at 1. 67. Though at 2, 59. it *seems* to be equivalent to ἐκκλησία. There must, however, have been some minute distinction between the two terms, with which we are unacquainted. See Pollux, l. 9, 142.

[3] *Be hurried, &c.*] A rare and elegant sense of ἐξαμαρτάνειν, of which there is an example in Aristoph. Lys. 1277. εὐλαβώμεθα Τὸ λοιπὸν αὖθις μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἔτι.

[4] *Contented himself, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the real, though not the literal, sense of this clause, the scope of which has been but imperfectly comprehended by most translators, who take it to denote "keeping a strict guard over;" thus regarding the words following as exegetical of the preceding. But it should rather seem that this and the next clause are meant to indicate the *objects* on which Pericles was especially intent, namely, to completely guard the city, and keep it in tranquillity.

Δι' ἡσυχίας εἶχεν is wrongly explained by the Scholiast ἡσύχαζε. It must be taken in an *active* sense, as in a kindred passage at 7, 8. τὰ κατὰ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχων. See also 1, 17. and note.

[5] *Farms.*] i. e. prædia. Not *fields*, as the translators render. On the above sense I have before treated.

city; whereupon there was a skirmish [6] at Phrygia [7] between a body [8] of horse of the Athenians, together with some Thessalians [9], and the Bœotian horse; in which the Athenians and Thessalians had not the worst of it until, on the Bœotians being reinforced by some heavy-armed, they were put to the rout, and some few of the Athenians and Thessalians were slain. However, they fetched off the bodies the same day, without asking a treaty [10]; and on the following day the

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6 *Skirmish.*] Or, slight engagement. For *βραχὺς* here, as at 1, 78, and 141., signifies not *short*, but *slight*. Krueger, cited by Goeller, observes that it is sometimes put for *ὀλίγος*, the notions of length, magnitude, and multitude (and, I would add, the *contrary*) being not unfrequently interchanged. On which see Valckn. on Eurip. Hippol. 1.

7 *Phrygia.*] Not Phrygii, as Hobbes and Smith (nay, even Goeller) write; for we learn from Steph. Byz. and Eustath. there cited by Berkley, that it was called *Φρύγια*, *neuter plural*. Steph., too, describes it as a place between Attica and Bœotia. But this site does not suit the present context. I therefore suspect that that passage is corrupt, and that some words are lost after *μεταξύ*. The Geographer, I think, meant to notice that there was another Phrygia in Attica as well as in Bœotia. As to the *situation* of the place, it cannot be fixed. The name it bears was doubtless given from its dry site. So Hesych. *φρύγιος ξηρός*. Thus, by a subaudition of *χώρια*, it will signify the dry plains or tracts. So *Dry-burgh* in Scotland. And we may compare Jerem. 51, 43. "her cities are a *dry-land*, and wilderness."

8 *Body.*] Hobbes and Smith render, *troop*. But that conveys a notion of far too small a number; since, with us, the troop seldom exceeds fifty. I have adopted the indefinite term, *body*, because it is, I conceive, impossible to find any exactly parallel word, and very difficult to ascertain the extent of the Athenian *τέλος*, in the age of the Peloponnesian war. The Scholiast defines *τέλει* by *τάγματι*. But that clears up nothing. Ælian, indeed, in his Tactics, fixes the *τέλος* at two thousand and forty-eight. But that number far exceeds the *whole* amount of the Athenian cavalry, which, we find from c. 13. supra, was twelve hundred. The word, *τέλος*, often occurs in Herodot.; but never, I think, so as to convey any notion of its amount; except that it appears to have been a *large* body, probably answering to the *ἱππαρχία* of Ælian, which exactly corresponds to our *regiment;* and this is, perhaps, what the Scholiast means by *τάγματι*. The *ἱππαρχία*, it may be observed, was the largest of the *simple* turmæ; all *beyond*, as the *ἐφιππαρχία*, &c., were, like the Roman *legions*, *brigades* of two, or four, or eight regiments.

9 *Thessalians.*] These, we may observe, are not mentioned in the list of the Athenian confederates, supra, c. 9. And, indeed, the connection was only that of amity and good-will arising from antient treaties. (See Pausan. 1, 29, 5. who mentions the monument erected to the memory of these very Thessalians in this engagement.) By this the Thessalians (though the democratical party alone was firmly attached to Athens) were induced occasionally to send assistance.

10 *Fetched off, &c.*] By so doing they refused to admit that they were conquered; and, indeed, the being able to fetch away the bodies, without a treaty, implied that there had been no portion of equality lost by the battle. Hence, it is plain, that *οὐ πολλοὶ* was *rightly* edited by Steph.; for

Peloponnesians raised a trophy.[11] This aid of the Thessalians was now sent in consequence of antient alliance with the Athenians.[12] Those that came were the Larissæans, Pharsalians, Pirasians, Cranonians, Pyrasians, Gyrtonians, and Pheræans[13]; of whom those from Larissa

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had the greater part been slain, such could not have been done. I mention this, because the *old* reading (found in six MSS.) is preferred by Kistemaker.

Here Goeller refers to Wessel. on Herod. 9, 27., and the commentators on Ælian, V. H. 9, 27., citing Livy, 23, 46. posteram diem induciis tacitis sepeliendo utrinque cæsos in acie consumserunt, which illustrates what I, on a former occasion, remarked, on the truce being sometimes *tacit.* Ἀνέλεσθαι, in the above sense, signifies, properly, to take up; and, from the adjunct, to carry away, as Thucyd. just after adds.

[11] *And the Peloponnesians, &c.*] The circumstance, "the next day," may, at first sight, appear trivial. But, in fact, it is not; for it shows that the Peloponnesians did not venture to do this on the day itself, when the Athenians went and fetched away their dead; otherwise the same scene might have taken place as is recorded at l. 1, 105. When the victory was very doubtful, both parties used to raise a trophy; and, by a sort of tacit agreement, did not, on either side, hinder the opposite one from raising their trophy. See 1, 54.

[12] *Antient alliance with the Athenians.*] This alliance was also adverted to at l. 1, 107., where it is said, that the Thessalians came to the assistance of the Athenians κατὰ τὸ συμμαχικὸν, as here. And, it is there added, that they went over, in the action, to the Lacedæmonians; from which, we may presume, that these Thessalians were of the aristocratical party; for, we find by what here follows, that there were two parties at present, as there seems to have been at the preceding time.

[13] *Pirasians, &c.*] These names have occasioned no little difficulty. One thing is clear, that among these the old reading, *Parasii*, is indefensible, since there was no such a people in Thessaly as the Parasii. Gottleb. and Hack edit. *Paralii;* from the Scholiast, as they say. He tells us (they observe) that Parasii there were in *Arcadia*, but not in *Thessaly*, though there were *Paralii;* thus, evidently, suggesting *that* as the true reading. But, in fact, this Παράλιοι, in the Schol., is from the *alteration* of Duker for Παράσιοι; an emendation which he justifies by remarking, that the Paralii are mentioned by St. Byz. This, however, is but taking the thing for granted. Goeller *cancels* the word altogether, as being a var. lect. of Πυράσιοι just after. But as none of the MSS. countenance this, his criticism is surely too bold. I so far, however, agree with him, that Πυράσιοι should be read (from the best MSS.) for Πειράσιοι. For (as Goeller points out) Pyrasus is mentioned in Strabo, p. 435., and (it may be added) in such a manner as forbids all alteration of reading. Πειρασια, however, seems also to have been a town of Thessaly, in the province of Magnesia, from what St. Byz. says. Though, as I find no mention of it in any other author, I should suspect that Steph. was deceived by an error in his copy; and that the town which he speaks of was the same with Pyrasus, but that he has also *Pyrasus*, which he places not in *Magnesia*, but in *Pthiotis*. And that it was there situated, is plain from Strabo. I have, therefore, no doubt, but that in the above passage of the Schol., for Παράσιοι we should read, not Παράλιοι, with Duker, but Πειράσιοι, with Heringa; and that it ought to be headed Πειράσιοι; ει and α being perpetually interchanged. Then he may be supposed to mean, that the true reading here is, not

were commanded by Polymedes and Aristonus (each from his particular party[14]); those from Pharsalus by Menon. Of the rest each had its respective chief.

XXIII. Now the Peloponnesians, seeing that the Athenians were not disposed to come to an engagement, decamped from Acharnæ, and went and devastated some other of the *demi*[1] between Parnes[2] and mount Brilessus.[3] While they were in the country, the Athenians sent out the hundred ships which they had equipped to cruise round Peloponnesus, and embarked on board of them one thousand heavy-armed and four hundred archers. The command was given to Carcinus son of Xenotimus, Proteas son of Epicles, and Socrates son of Antigenes. With this force[4], then, they proceeded on their cruise.[5] As to the Peloponnesians, after remaining in

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Παράσιοι (or Παῤῥάσιοι), but Πειράσιοι. As to the Paralii, they were quite on the outskirts of Thessaly, and very little connected with the rest; and seem, by 3, 92., to have been a people of little account, and only an insignificant tribe of the Melians. Thus, the true reading of the present controverted passage, seems to be as follows: Λαρισσαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, Πειράσιοι, Κρανώνιοι, Πυράσιοι, &c. And this I have adopted in my version.

These cities, it may be observed, were all, as it were, in a group; whereas *Paralus*, which Duker would introduce, was situated a considerable way off.

[14] *Party.*] i. e. whether aristocratical, or democratical. I was formerly inclined to render, "from either party one;" which yields a somewhat clearer sense. But that would require us not only to subaud εἷς, but for ἑκάτερος to read ἑκατέρας. And such, indeed, is edited by Poppo and Goeller. But it is so destitute of authority, and its reception would be so at variance with the plainest critical canon, that it cannot be adopted.

Hence it appears that there were *two* parties; and so embittered against each other, that they would not trust themselves under a leader of the opposite faction. The names of the commanders of the other cities, as being of small account, are not mentioned.

[1] *Other of the demi.*] Probably, Aphydnæ, Decelia, Titacidæ, and, perhaps, Trinemeis.

[2] *Parnes.*] Not *Parnethus*, as Hobbes and Smith ignorantly spell it. Parnes (now called *Nossa*, or Nozio) was the highest mountain in Attica, from which, Gell says, Athens is supplied with water. It was formerly (as we find from Pausan. 1, 32, 1.) occupied by wild boars and bears. Dodwell informs us, that it extends itself from the roots of Pentelicus to the Thriasian plain. It should seem that what was formerly called Brilessus, is now accounted part of Parnes.

[3] *Brilessus.*] Supposed to be the present *Tourko Bouni*, which chain of mountains extends northward on the right of Anchesmus.

[4] *Force.*] Or armament, as 6, 31. and 3, 39.

[5] *Proceeded on their cruise.*] Not "went their way," as Hobbes renders; nor "sailed away," as Smith. For we have περιέπλεον, not ἀπέπλεον

Attica as long as provisions could be found, they then retreated through Bœotia, and not by the way at which they made their irruption[6]; and as they passed by Oropus[7], they ravaged the territory called Graïce[8], occupied by the Oro-

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This sense of περιπλεῖν is not unfrequent in Thucydides. See 1, 108. It occurs also in Dinarch. p. 91, 49., and Lycurg. C. L. 157, 5.; though the interpreters do not perceive it.

[6] *Not by the way, &c.*] Because, I imagine, in that track, there would have been a wasted country, which could supply them with nothing. And yet this was so much nearer a road for them, that nothing but provisions being utterly exhausted could have induced them to choose the circuitous route of Bœotia.

[7] *Oropus.*] Of this name (as we learn from Steph. Byz.) there were no less than five cities. It was derived from a son of Macedon, son of Lycaon. Which seems to show that the Macedonian Oropus was thought the most antient. The true origin (probably lost in the mists of antiquity) may be sought in the eastern, or the northern, languages. With respect to the city itself, the possession of it was long the object of eager contest between the Bœotians and the Athenians. On which Poppo refers to Muller Orch. 411. There is little doubt but that the Bœotians could prove priority of possession. But, as the Athenians were anxious to enlarge their territory, at the expense of their Bœotian neighbours, and to make (as all nations have been anxious to do) a *river* (namely, the Asopus) for their boundary, and also to secure their communication with Eubœa (especially, too, as Platæa, at the other end of this strip of debateable land, was already gained over to them), so they used their rising power to claim and appropriate to themselves Oropus, which, at this time, was subject to them.

For the passages in antient authors, where it is mentioned, see Wasse here, and at 8, 60. On its modern state, see Wheler Itin. p. 456., and on its present state, Gell's Travels, who says it is a poor village, called Oropo, distant twenty minutes (about a mile and a half) from the sea; and, as appears from the antient inscriptions found there, occupying the antient site.

As to their *passing by* Oropus, they must have done this by a concerted plan; for Oropus, otherwise, was not quite in their way. They would, doubtless, cross at the bridge of Tanagra; for that it was provided with such, I learn from Strabo, who, on the authority of Hecateus and Herodotus, says, that the Tanagræans were also called Γεφυραῖοι, or the bridgemen.

[8] *Graïce.*] On the reading of this word there has been no little controversy among critics. The MSS. would all seem to have Πειραϊκὴν, which, however, wears a somewhat portentous aspect; and no satisfactory account has been given of its meaning. Palmer, indeed, who defends the common reading, thinks it was so called from being a tract of land convenient for passing over to Eubœa; q. d. *the ferry district.* But this is scarcely satisfactory. Under these circumstances, I cannot hesitate, with Casaubon on Strabo p. 586, 10., Hudson, Poppo, and Goeller, to adopt the reading of Steph. Byz. Γραϊκὴν, especially as it is confirmed by Strabo ubi supra. But what, it may be asked, was this Graïce? Now Aristotle, cited by Steph. Byz., says that Oropus was formerly called Graia. But he is manifestly mistaken, confounding, it should seem, Oropus with Tanagra. For *that* city is said by Pausanias to have been formerly so called; who also remarks that the Graia of Homer Il. β. 498. is no other than Tanagra. And this may *seem* probable, from the comparison of the two words; for

pians, who were subjects of Athens. Then they proceeded to Peloponnesus, and were disbanded, each corps proceeding to its respective country.

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we find by Steph. Byz. that Tanagra was also called Ταναγραία. Are we, then, to suppose that this Γραϊκὴ was the district of Tanagra? Certainly not; for if so, the Peloponnesians would not have ravaged it, Tanagra being unquestionably Bœotian. It is here said to be "subject to Oropus," by which it is implied that it was not in the district of Tanagra. Indeed Strabo and Steph. Byz. agree that there was a place called Graia *near* Oropus. Strabo's words are: καὶ ἡ Γραῖα δ' ἐστι τόπος Ὠρωποῦ πλησίον. And he adds that it was *not* (as some said) the same with Tanagra. Steph. Byz., too, adverting to its situation, says it was τόπος τῆς Ὠρωπίας πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ Ἐρετρίας καὶ Εὐβοίας κειμένη. But it is strange that the commentators should not have seen that this is nonsense. It could not be situated in the district of Oropus, *and* in that of Eubœa, *and* Eretria. The passage is corrupt; and I would read Ἐρετρίᾳ τῆς Εὐβοίας; the iota subscr. and ς being often confounded, as are the καὶ and ᾗ. The sense, then, is, "lying near the sea, and adjacent to Eretria." It seems to have been situated in a strip of land appertaining to Oropus, on the *north* side of the Asopus; certainly not where Danville and Butler place it. Thus it had Eretria the nearest of Eubœa to it. Steph. Byz. further says, Ἔστι δ' ἡ Γραῖα τόπος, τῆς Ὠρωπίων πόλις But this, too, is surely corrupt; for it could not be at once a τόπος and a πόλις. I would, therefore, read τόπος τῆς Ὠρωπίων πόλεως. An emendation which is placed beyond doubt by *Steph. himself* in Τάναγρα, where the very same passage occurs, *with* πόλεως. It seems to have been about a mile from Oropus.

Steph. Byz. moreover says, that Tanagra was supposed to be the Graia of Homer, as being *near* to it. But this is admitting that it was not the *same with* it. He has also the following passage. Τὴν δὲ Γραῖαν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, τὸ νῦν τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς καλούμενον ἔδος. Τινὲς δὲ τὴν Ταναγραίαν. Certainly these words are enigmatical enough. Yet no attempt has been made to clear up the obscurity. Now it must be observed, in the first place, that the punctuation is vicious. Change the period after ἔδος into a comma, and cancel the comma after λέγουσι. Steph. is here detailing the *two* opinions which were in his time current, as to the situation of the Homeric Graia. Of these the latter is clear. Some, we know, fixed it to Tanagræa. Not so, however, the former. Some fix it (he says) at what is now called the τὸ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς ἔδος. Now from these words no satisfactory sense can be elicited; and, therefore, they may very well be suspected to be corrupt. The corruption, if I mistake not, is seated in Θηβαϊκῆς. I have little doubt but that Steph. wrote Περαικῆς, the Θ and Π being often confounded, and the ρ and ϵ, and the η and ε (MS. ι.) perpetually. It is easy to comprehend how so uncommon a word as Περαϊκὸς came to pass into the common one Θηβαικός. Now this will, I think, enable us to clear up the only remaining difficulty connected with the present passage of Thucydides, by accounting for the *origin* of the reading Πειραϊκήν. This seems to me not to have been a mere blunder of a scribe, but a deliberate alteration adopted from the margin. Here, however, I must observe, that Πειραϊκὴν is slightly incorrect, for Περαϊκήν. Now Περαϊκὴ is a variation of Περάια, (as Θηβαικὸς of Θηβαῖος &c.,) which signifies both in the classical and scriptural writers *the territory beyond the river*. So Peræa, in the Holy Land, beyond the Jordan, and Peræa a district in Corinthia. Thus it will signify the territory beyond the river Asopus.

XXIV. After their departure, the Athenians stationed guards [1] both by land and sea; making such dispositions to that effect as should continue throughout the whole war. It was determined, out of the money in the citadel to reserve a thousand talents, to be set apart [2] and not expended, but to carry on the war with the remainder. Nay, the penalty of death was denounced against any one who should mention or put to

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This orthography, therefore, I have adopted in the above passage of Steph. Byz. As to the *purpose* for which Περαϊκὴν was put down in the margin, it was, I imagine, to point out that this Γραϊκὴ (γῆ) was what was then called the Περαϊκὴ (γῆ), and thus indicate its site. For as to Steph., it is to be observed, that he only speaks with respect to what the district was called in *his* time (about the end of the fifth century); which, however, implies that it had not *always* been so called. By ἔθος he plainly means *district, country*. Now that old Graia was *then* called Περαϊκὴ I doubt not; but that its antient name was Γραϊκὴ is, as I trust I have shown, not less true.

The removal from old Graia to the new site afterwards called *Tanagraia* was, I suspect, made *chiefly* by some Egyptian colonists, who, while they retained the *old* name (to satisfy such colonists as were from Graia), yet engrafted thereupon the name of the city from whence they or their ancestors came, namely Tan or Tana, (Græce Ταν-ις) a celebrated city and province in Egypt, which also gave name to one of the mouths of the Nile. Of the same origin, perhaps, is Tanus, a city of Crete, and the rivers Tanais, and Tanas.

The situation of *new Graia* was, however, not entirely an unoccupied one. There had, we find from Steph. Byz., after the Homeric age, been raised there a small town called *Poimandria*, from the *name* of which we may divine what was the *reason* of the removal in question. For both Poimandria and two cities called Poimanimum, mentioned by Steph. Byz., as also Poimanenas, occurring in Aristid. 1, 569. B. were, I doubt not, all so called from the *extreme fertility* of *their soil*.

The territory of Oropus, on the other side of the Asopus, seems to have been the district proper of Graia, and therefore afterwards called Γραϊκὴ (γῆ); though the *town* had, in a great measure, ceased to exist, from the time of its abandonment.

[1] *Guards.*] i. e. *corps de garde*, by land, and *guarda costas* by sea. In the planning and executing of this measure, Pericles gave another proof of that sound judgment, which was so unweariedly exercised for the benefit of his (we must say,) ungrateful countrymen.

[2] *Set apart.*] Literally, to be made separate from; for ἐξαιρετὸν is what is separated and set apart from any thing. So ἐξέλεσθαι, *to set apart*, at 3, 50. And so Herod. 2, 141. τὰς ἀρούρας — δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους. Sometimes it signifies not only to set apart, but, from the adjunct, to *select out of*, of which not unfrequent sense the most apposite example known to me is Æschyl. Agam. 928. χρημάτων ἐξαιρέτον ἄνδος. where see Dr. Blomfield.

To this very money Aristoph. ap. Suid. thus adverts: ἕως ἂν ᾖ τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ ἄθυσσον παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκ εἰρηνεύσουσιν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει χίλια τάλαντα ἀπέκειτο.

vote the applying this money to any other purpose than that of necessary defence, in case the enemy should invade the city with a naval force.[3] Together with the above sum, they also ordered to be put aside every year one hundred triremes (and those each year to be the best[4]), and captains with them, not to be used any of them for any other purpose than (if need should be) on the same perilous emergency for which the *money* was reserved.

XXV. But the Athenians on board of the hundred ships cruising around Peloponnesus, and with them the Corcyreans, who had brought a reinforcement of fifty ships, together with certain other of their allies in those parts, among other acts of ravage[1] which they committed in the course of their cruise, they debarked at Methone in Laconia, and made an attack on the wall, which was weak, very few men, too, being in the place. There chanced, however, to be a Spartan called Brasidas, son of Tellis, stationed in that part of the country with a party of guards. He, hearing of the affair, went to the assistance

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[3] *Naval force.*] Literally, naval army, or armament. The *νηΐτη* may seem to savour of Ionic dialect, with which the old Attic was closely connected. And yet Herod. 3, 19. has *τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν*, and very frequently uses that phrase, which is also found in Zonar. Hist. 3, 46. Maximus Tyr. Diss. 6, 7. has *νηΐτην στρατόν*. Also Ælian V. H. 5, 10. Procop. and Arrian E. A. 7, 7, 11. *νηΐτης στόλος*. Soph. Phil. 270. *ναύβάτη στόλῳ*. Æschyl. Agam. 954. *ναυβάτης στράτος*. Suppl. 2. *στόλον νάϊον*. Lycoph. 120. *ναυβάτη στόλῳ*. Apollon. Rhod. 4, 239. *νηΐτην στόλον*. Thus it appears that the *old Attic* admitted both those words; but the Ionic required *ναυτικὸς*, which occurs, perhaps, twenty times in Herodotus, *νηΐτης*, I believe, never.

[4] *Ordered, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this awkward passage, which has been but imperfectly understood. Smith misrepresents the meaning by rendering, "they selected every year." Nor are we to suppose, with Heilman, that the hundred ships were *then* selected. Thucydides is speaking of what was ordered to *be done* every year; namely, that a hundred of those vessels which should be found each year the best of such as were fit for service, should then be put aside. Goeller has very well discerned the sense, in illustration of which he refers to Boeckh. Staatsh. t. 1. p. 311.

[1] *Other acts of ravage.*] Hobbes renders, "other *places* which they infested." But it is doubtful whether they attacked any other *town*. Diod. says, *ἐπόρθει τὴν χώραν, καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐνεπύριζε*. He, however, particularly specifies as the seat of devastation the Acte, by which, Wessel. shows from St. Byz. and Scymnus, is meant the east coast of Peloponnesus, near to Argos, where the Trœzenians and Epidamnians inhabited.

of[2] the inhabitants with one hundred[3] heavy-armed, and, dashing through the Athenian force scattered around the place[4], with their faces turned and their attention directed to[5] the walls, threw himself into Methone; and, though with the loss of some few of his party in the passage[6], succeeded in preserving the place. From which bold adventure he was the first who obtained praise at Sparta in this war.[7] Upon

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[2] *Went to the assistance of.*] Not "*succoured*," as Hobbes renders; for βοηθέω always implies a *personal cooperation* in assistance given.

[3] *One hundred.*] Either his corps de garde must have been small, or he must have depended much on the strength of the place, and the want of skill in the besiegers. But, in fact, all he aimed at was to secure it against a coup-de-main. For the Athenians would not venture, with so small a force as they were provided with, to *lay siege* to the place, since the population of the surrounding country would have overpowered them. Diod., indeed, says, γενομένης δὲ πολιορκίας καὶ Βρασίδου λαμπρότατα κινδυνεύσαντος. But this seems a mere rhetorical flourish, such as we often find in that writer.

[4] *Scattered around the place.*] Hobbes and Smith render, "scattered up and down the country." But that is inconsistent with the next clause; and, therefore, we must take the term *comparatè*, and with accommodation to circumstances; understanding it of the troops not being regularly formed, or being not in compact line or column, but drawn out into shallow order all around. Τὴν χώραν can only mean the country *around* the place, and in its immediate vicinity.

[5] *Faces turned, &c.*] Most translators take τετραμμένον in a physical sense; Smith takes it in a figurative one. Authority is equally strong for either acceptation; but both may here be intended; for the clause is meant to hint a reason why the Lacedæmonians were enabled to effect their purpose. Hobbes has quite missed the sense.

[6] *Some few of, &c.*] Diodor. even says, that he slew many of the enemy in his passage. But that is quite incredible, considering that his only object was to pass through the Athenians as quickly as possible. A question, however, arises, how Diodor. came by this circumstance? Did he derive it from some other authority? I think not; nor can I help suspecting that he here intended to follow Thucydides; but (by a carelessness too frequent in that writer) mistook his meaning, as if he read *o ὐκ ὀλίγους*, and took ἀπολέσας in an *active* sense!

[7] *The first who, &c.*] Literally, "he, first of those engaged in the war." For at τῶν some participle is to be supplied, as ὄντων, or the like. The character of Brasidas is here sketched not unsuccessfully by Smith, as follows: — "Trained up through the regular and severe discipline of Sparta, he was brave, vigilant, and active. He was second to none of his countrymen, in those good qualities which did honour to the Spartans; and was free from all the blemishes which their peculiarity of education was apt to throw upon them, such as haughtiness of carriage, ferocity of temper, and an arrogance which studied no deference or condescension to others. He serves his country much by his valour and military conduct, and more by his gentle, humane, and engaging behaviour. In a word, the distinguishing excellencies both of the Spartan and Athenian character seem to have been united in this Brasidas." Diod., in depicting his character, uses only these three words, *young*, *strong*, and *brave*.

this the Athenians weighed anchor, and sailed along the coast. Touching [8] at Phia [9] in Elis, they ravaged the country for two days, and defeated those that came to succour the place, consisting of three hundred select troops from the Hollow [10], and of the Eleans of the surrounding country. A stormy wind, however, blowing up [11], and they being ex-

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[8] *Touching.*] Literally, "bringing (the ship) to (land);" as infra, 33. The ellipsis is *supplied* by Eurip. Hec. 35. ναῦς ἔχοντες, ἡσυχοι θάσσουσι, where Musgrave compares Herod. 6, 95. παρὰ τὴν Η. ἔχον τὰς νέας.

[9] *Phia.*] Or Phea. With this place there is no little difficulty connected. As to the orthography of the name, my collections confirm the opinion of Wasse and Poppo that ει is the true spelling; though they cite Steph. Byz. as presenting Φέᾳ. But a careful inspection of the passage will sufficiently show that Steph. wrote, Φείᾳ —Ὅμηρος διὰ τοῦ ι. Φίας (not φείας) παρ τείχεσσι, and then Φειαῖος. Thus a little further on he has Φίᾳ, for which he refers to Homer. So that he plainly read φίᾳ in Homer. He recognises, then, two spellings, Φείᾳ the common, and φίᾳ the Homeric. It should seem, too, from Diod., that a *plural* form was in use.

But with respect to the situation of the place, that it is not easy to determine. It is represented in Danville's map as having a port; though it appears from the present passage of Thucydides to have had only an *anchorage*, or rather a *beach* fit for drawing the ships on shore; for on the approach of a storm, they were obliged to double Cape Ichthys, to reach the port of that district. Poppo thinks that Cape Pheia, laid down by Danville (and also Butler) from Strabo, as being between Pheia and Cape Icthys, does not exist. And he refers to Pouqueville Itin. 4. p. 291. Boccage's map seems, in this respect, the most correct; though it must be confessed that without a correct survey of this part of the coast, it is impossible to pronounce with certainty.

[10] *The Hollow.*] i. e. the most northern of the three divisions of Elis, and so called, Strabo says, ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβήκοτος, I imagine, from the hollow form of the valley of the Peneus, of which it is for the most part composed. Thus also, the hollow valley of the Leontes in Syria, shut in by the Libanus and Antilibanus, was called Cœle Syria; and the valley of the Peneus was, for the most part, shut in by similar mountains.

With respect to the λογάδας (*select troops*), the term gives no very definite idea; yet the commentators make no attempt at illustration. It may therefore be proper for me to remark, that λογάδες, as a substantive, and the phrase οἱ λογάδες στρατιῶται, not unfrequently occur in Thucydides; the former also in Herod. 8, 124. 9, 21.; and λογάδες νεανέες at 1, 36 and 43. These denote certain persons enlisted for military service, and kept on constant duty, therefore receiving regular pay; in fact, like the *solidati* of the middle ages, and the *regular soldiers* of modern Europe, and opposed to the οἱ πανδήμει στρατευόμενοι. The strongest light is thrown on the subject by the words of Thucyd. 5, 67. A. Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες, οἷς ἡ πόλις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἄσκησιν τῶν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον δημοσίᾳ παρεῖχε. Of such troops it is possible that the corps de garde, mentioned in the preceding chapter, was composed. Be that as it may, it should seem that the states of Argos and Elis kept on foot a corps of that kind.

[11] *Blowing up.*] Goeller explains ἀνέμου κατιόντος by "ingruente a terra vento;" and he refers to Matthiæ on Homer's Hymn to Apollo, 433. Yet I cannot but observe that there seems something in that phrase very

posed to tempestuous weather in a harbourless place, most of them embarked on board their ships, and doubling the promontory called the Ichthys, gained the port at Phia. Meanwhile the Messenians and certain others, who were not able to embark, had marched by land, and taken Phia.[12] Then

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inconsistent, and such as one may venture to say cannot be found in any classical author. The *ingruente*, I believe, never takes any addition; but if it did, that would be, not à *terrâ*, but à *cœlo*. The Greek phrase seems to be *sui generis;* though perhaps few sailors who have been accustomed to the stormy gusts of the Mediterranean (called *Levanters*, or *Tuffoni*, on which I have copiously treated on the Euroclydon of Acts, 27, 14.) will fail to recognise the propriety of the term; *the wind* seeming to come almost perpendicularly down from the sky.

The phrase occurs also in Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes. and Pollux. Aratus Phœn. 241. has βορέαο κατιόντος. Finally, St. Luke, 8, 23. has κατέβη λαίλαψ. I have, however, not expressed this idiom in the translation, since nobis non licet esse tam disertis.

[12] *Took Phia.*] In this account of the proceedings of the Athenians, at Phia there is no little obscurity; though the commentators, with the exception of Poppo, make no attempt to remove it. The Athenians seem to be first *at Phia;* then, upon a strong wind arising, go on board ship, and double the Ichthys, to get to the port of Phia; by which it seems that they were *not* before at Phia. And that the place they go to is not only the *port* of Phia, but Phia itself, is plain from what follows, where it is said that those who could not embark, went by land, and before the fleet got round, took *Phia.* I once thought that by ἐς Φείαν might be meant the *territory*, or *coast* of Phia. But this is removing the difficulty, by doing violence to the words. By the little Poppo says in his Proleg. 2, 177., he seems to have regarded it as a sufficient removal of the difficulty to suppose the *port* of Phia, (τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα) apart from the town, and separated by the Ichthys. Such, indeed, seems to have been the opinion of the Scholiast. Without far better knowledge of the situation of that part of the coast than we possess, we are not enabled to speak as to the *possibility* of such a separation; but the *common* reason assigned for it would not here hold good. In short, this mode of removing the difficulty does violence to the words; for such a sense would require ἐς τὸν τῆς Φειᾶς λιμένα. And what is more, the words following plainly show that Phia and its port were *together*. The difficulty may, however, be entirely removed by supposing that Thucydides has, by his usual excessive brevity, *omitted one circumstance* which was necessary to the understanding of the whole affair. We are not told *where* they were, when the tempest arose; but, from what follows, it certainly was not at Phia. Nor was it likely to be so, since for two days they had been ranging up and down the country. Where, then, was it? Somewhere, I conceive, to the *north* of the Ichthys,* which the fleet had doubtless doubled, in order to be ready to proceed on their cruise. The *battle* spoken of, was probably in the northern part of the territory of Phia. This link in the chain being supplied, all becomes clear.

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* For we *know* that Pheia was to the south of it; and its port was probably formed partly by the river Jardanus, on which we find by Homer it was situated, and which now gives name to the *promontory*, consequently must be near to it.

the ships sailed round and took them on board, and they weighed anchor and left Phia; for by this time a great force of Eleans had come to succour the place.[13] Then the Athenians, cruising along the coast, committed ravages upon other places.[14]

XXVI. About the same time the Athenians sent out thirty ships to cruise around Locris [1], and at the same time to guard the coasts of Eubœa, under the command of Cleopompus son of Clinias. Having made descents, they ravaged certain parts of the sea-coast, stormed Thronium, and took hostages of the inhabitants; and then at Alope [2] they defeated the united force of the Locrians.

XXVII. This same summer, the Athenians expelled [3] the Æginetæ, men, women, and children [4], from the island, re-

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[13] *For by this time, &c.*] Hobbes and Smith have ill represented the sense of this clause, from not perceiving that it conveys a hint of the *reason why* the Athenians immediately left Phia. Nay, Diod. says: ἀπεκρούσθησαν εἰς τὰς ναῦς.

[14] *Committed ravages, &c.*] On which see infra 30., where the remaining acts of this cruise are detailed.

[1] *Locris.*] i. e. the country inhabited by the two tribes of the Locri, the *Opuntii*, and the *Epicnemidii*.

[2] *Alope.*] Poppo, Proleg. 2, 305., remarks that in the road from Lebanitis to Longachi, Gell found the ruins of a city which may have been *Alope*. We are, however, told by Dodwell 2, p. 62. that the situations of the towns in this country are not easy to determine. And it may be added, that there are no less than six places of this name mentioned by St. Byz. As to the *origin* of the name, here we have the usual trifling derivation from some personage of the heroic or fabulous age. It is, however, more reasonable to suppose that, as all the Alopes (i. e. all that really *existed*, for there is some doubt as to the *Attic* one), were situated on the *sea-coast*, the word is derived from ἅλς ἁλὸς, *the sea*. It seems to come immediately from the old form ἅλοψ. As to the Attic Alope, Berkley would prove from Pausan. that it was not a *town*, but only a *fountain*. There might, indeed, at first have been only a fountain; (and thus it will be equally derived from ἅλς, though in the sense *salt;* for it seems to have been a *salt spring*), but afterwards, (i. e. by the time of Steph. Byz.) a *town* might arise round it, as in the case of our *Bath*, and many other places.

As to Thronium; it is by some placed at Badonitz; by Gell at an old ruin above Longachi, or Palœo Chorio. See Poppo, who refers to Gell 235—237. Melet. p. 337. and Dodwell 2, 66.

[3] *Expelled.*] Or *expatriated*. Hobbes and Smith render *removed*. But that is too mild a term. The sense above assigned occurs frequently; as in 1, 12. 6, 2 and 4. So Gail, *chasserent*.

[4] *Men, women, &c.*] Literally, "themselves, their children, and their wives." A form to denote universal expatriation. So in a very similar

proaching them with being the chief authors of the war. And, indeed, it seemed to them safer to send out[5] colonists[6] thither, and occupy the island *themselves;* it being situated over against Peloponnesus. And not long after they sent the colonists out thither. Now to these expatriated Æginetæ the Lacedæmonians gave Thyrea to dwell in, and the land around it to occupy.[7] This they did, both through the enmity they bore the Athenians, and because these had rendered them services at the time of the earthquake and the insurrection of the Helots. The district of Thyrea[8] is a

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passage of Daniel 6, 24. "And they cast them into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives."

[5] *Send out.*] Here I read πεμψάντας, with six good MSS., and the editions of Bekker and Goeller. The scope of the passage (which is ill rendered by Hobbes and Smith), is to show the purpose of the Athenians in this measure.

[6] *Colonists.*] Ἐποίκους. This passage seems to support the canon of the Scholiasts and lexicographers, that by ἄποικοι are denoted persons sent out to colonise an unoccupied situation, ἐποίκοι persons sent to colonise an inhabited one. But there are many passages which overturn this canon, most of which are adduced by Goeller in loc. Portus on 5, 1. thinks that ἄποικοι are so called in reference to being sent by some state, and under some leader; ἐποίκοι denoting those who go without such sending. But neither will this rule hold good, as far as regards ἔποικοι. Schæfer on Apollon. Rhod. 2. p. 339. (cited by Goeller) takes the ἐπὶ to have reference to a peculiar purpose of the colony, that of watching, and, upon occasion, attacking, hostile neighbours. But though this sense is suitable to the present passage and 8, 69., as also 7, 27. and 6, 87., it will often not hold good. And Poppo instances 4, 102. 5, 5. 6, 4. Goeller espouses the distinction of Krueger, that ἄποικοι are so called in respect of the place whence they are sent; ἔποικοι, of that to which they are going. And this, indeed, seems to be the most rational view of the phrase; nor am I aware of any passages that militate against it. But I shall consider the idiom more at large in my edition.

[7] *To dwell in and, &c.*] Here Smith's version does not ill represent the sense; but it is too paraphrastic. The words οἰκεῖν, καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι are meant to define and explain the ἔδοσαν. The houses and lands were given them for *occupation*, not as a possession or property; the Lacedæmonians probably thinking that they should soon reduce the Athenians, and then the Æginetæ might be restored. This sense of νέμεσθαι is little known, or at least attended to by commentators. I therefore subjoin the following examples. Thucyd. 2, 30. Joseph. 741, 20. χώραν ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι. Herod. 6, 90, 5. τοῖσι Ἀθηναῖοι Σούνιον οἰκῆσαι ἔδοσαν. Soph. Æg. frag. 1, 3. Thucyd. 5, 42. 4, 64,

[8] *Thyrea.*] Of this place very little is said by the antient geographers, or other writers. Almost all the passages are collected by the indefatigable Meursius in his Misc. Lacon. 4, 13. Thucydides here gives the most information. By *the Thyreatis* is meant the territory of Thyrea, and no doubt the whole of *Cynuria*, as appears from 4, 56. and 5, 41. Of Thyrea there is no mention in Homer. It probably obtained its name, (as also Thyreum

strip of land jutting out into the sea, and bordering upon the Argive and Laconian territories. Here some of the exiles settled, while others were scattered over the rest of Greece.

XXVIII. During this summer, on the first day of the lunar month [1] (when alone, as it seems, such can happen), the sun was eclipsed in the afternoon, and then again appeared in its full phasis, after having been of the form of a crescent [2]; insomuch that some stars appeared.

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in Acarnania,) from the form of its site bearing some rude resemblance to a *door* or *shield*. Thus also the territory itself *Cynuria*, which derived its name, not from a son of Perseus, but from the form which its sea-coast, jutting out, presents, namely, a *dog's tail*. So Cynoscephale in Thessaly, Cynosura, a mountain in Arcadia, Cynossema in Lybia, Palliùre in Macedonia. Also *Dog's head*, a cape in the county of Galway.

The above illustrations sufficiently support the spelling Θυρέαν; though Θυραίαν is found in six good MSS., and in Pausan. 2, 29, 5. who has the present passage in view, as also Diod. and Strabo l. 1. See Ruhnk. on Timæus, p. 74.

[1] *First day of, &c.*] The day in which the sun and moon come together, called the interlunary day. Here Goeller (referring to Elmsley on Eurip. Heracl. 779.) remarks that the words κατὰ σελήνην are added by Thucyd., because the νουμηνία πολιτική of the Metonic cycle did not always fall upon the true νουμηνία. And Bredov. cited by Goeller, observes that, though the Athenians had months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, yet the true interlunium did not always fall upon the first day of the month. Since, however, they supposed the interlunium to fall upon the beginning of the month, (as, indeed it generally did,) the first day of the month was called the interlunii dies. But to prevent mistake, Thucydides *adds* κατὰ σελήνην, to signify the interlunium from the place which the moon held. And he notices that then first it began to be observed *when* the sun would suffer eclipse. "It does not, however, appear (continues he) that the true cause or necessity of solar eclipses were known to our author, or that from it any method of computation had been discovered. He rather at 1, 23. numbers eclipses with fortuitous calamities, earthquakes, famines, &c.; adding, that eclipses were, in the Peloponnesian war, more frequent than they had ever been remembered before. See also 4, 52." Bredov. mentions this, (he says), to refute the fancies of those who attribute so much of astronomical knowledge to the antients, which their contemporaries plainly prove them not to have possessed. Thus some ascribe that whole system, such as we now have it, to the antients; though they had evidently little more than a few scattered particles of knowledge. And though Thales foretold an eclipse, yet it was only the *year*, not the day and hour of it. And even that does not necessarily imply a knowledge of the *cause*. For there is in such phenomena a kind of circle, happening so regularly that they may be calculated (as by the Indian Brahmins and the Chinese mandarins) without any knowledge of the cause."

[2] *Of the form of a crescent.*] Of this use of μηνοειδὴς there is an example in Xen. Hist. 4, 3, 10. ὁ ἥλιος μηνοειδὴς ἔδοξε φανῆναι.

From the next words καὶ ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων may be emended a passage of Xiphilin, imitated from hence, 996, 13. ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας τινας ἐμφῆναι Read ἐκφῆναι. See my note on Matt. 24, 29.

XXIX. During this same summer, the Athenians made Nymphodorus son of Pythes[1] (whose sister was married to Sitalces, and who had great influence with him) their public host[2], and invited him to Athens[3] (though they had formerly regarded him as an enemy), hoping thereby to bring Sitalces son of Teres, king of Thrace, over to their alliance. Now this Teres father of Sitalces[4], was the first who advanced the kingdom of Odrysæ to a power greater than[5] that of all the rest of Thrace; for a considerable portion of that country is free and independent.[6] This Teres has no relation to[7] *Tereus*, who espoused (from Athens) Procne daughter of Pandion; nor were they of the same part of Thrace. The former dwelt at Daulis[8], in what is now called Phocis, then

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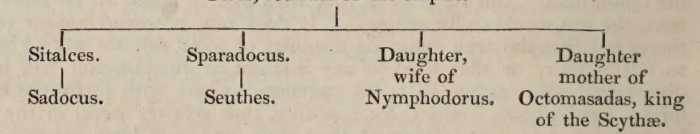
[1] *Pythes.*] Not *Pythos*, as Hobbes writes; nor *Pytheus*, as Portus. For it is rightly remarked by Gottleb. that this is the Ionic genitive in εω, of which the Attic or common nominative and genitive Πύθης and Πύθου occur in Herod. 7, 137. Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Πύθεω, ἄνδρος Αἐδηρίτεω.

[2] *Public host.*] One who used to receive, and entertain all envoys from the state, and discharged many of the offices of what is now called *resident*. On which Goeller refers to Huelmann. Init. Hist. Gr. p. 152. and Illustrazioni Corcires. t. 1. Mediol. 1811. I add an apposite passage of Ælius Dionys. ap. Eustath.: πρόξενοι, οἱ ὅλης πολέως ξένοι — παρ' οἷς καὶ πρεσβεῖς κατάγονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρεσβείας προσάγουσι πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον.

[3] *Invited him, &c.*] Of this use of μεταπέμπεσθαι I have not remarked any other example.

[4] *Teres, father of Sitalces.*] On this passage see the Scholiast on Aristoph Av. 145. as it is emended by Valckn. on Herod. 4, 80. The genealogy of this royal house is thus correctly exhibited by Goeller.



[5] *Greater than.*] The construction is: ἐποίησε τὴν βασιλείαν μεγάλην ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς, &c., *great beyond*, (subaud μέρος) *to a greater degree* (or *extent*) *than.*

[6] *Independent.*] i. e. not subject to the kingdom of Odrysæ. Πολὺ μέρος, *considerable part.* Not "the greater part," as Smith renders; which would require the article, and indeed be contrary to what immediately preceded.

[7] *Has no relation to.*] Or "has nothing to do with." For I read, with all the best MSS. and the editions of Bekker and Goeller προσήκει, as yielding a more apposite sense, and one less likely to have come from the scribes. Though I must confess that προσῆκεν is defended by an imitation which I have noted from Pausan. 1, 11, 1. οὗτος ὁ Πυρρος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆκεν οὐδέν.

[8] *Daulis.*] Portus doubts whether this was a city, or a region. But

inhabited by the Thracians[9] (where also the women perpetrated the savage deed concerning Itys[10], in memory of which the nightingale is by many of the poets called the Daulian bird; and it is more probable that he should have matched his daughter[11] with *this* person, for mutual succour, than with one many days' journey distant, at Odrysæ); but *this* one (Teres, who also differs in name,) was the first king of Odrysæ of any power.[12] His son, then, Sitalces, the Athenians had brought over unto their alliance, with the hope that he would cooperate with them in subduing the parts about Thrace[13]

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the former is testified by many antients. See Steph. Byz. in Δαυλις, and Berkley, Poppo refers to Cellar. p. 912. Muller, 1, p. 484. Dodwell, p. 102. says that it yet retains its name, and is a village of seventy houses. From the passages of antient writers adduced by Berkley, it is proved to have been situated on high ground near Parnassus, and surrounded by thick woods, whence indeed Steph. Byz. (with more than his usual judgment in such matters,) derives the origin of the appellation. For δαῦλον signifies *thick, woody*. So we have villages in England of the name of Thickley and Thickthorn; and very many commencing with *Wood;* a few even with reference to the *kind* of trees, as Ashby, Ashton, Ashbourne, Ashford, Oakham, Oakley, Oakhampton, and Oakingham, Willoughby, Willoughton, &c., Elmley, Elmstead, besides many others.

9 *Then inhabited, &c.*] Here I would adduce a most apposite passage of Pausan. 1, 41. 8. ὁ Τηρεὺς — Δαυλίδος ἦρχε τῆς ὑπὲρ Χαιρωνείας. πάλαι γὰρ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Ἑλλάδος βάρβαροι τὰ πολλὰ ᾤκησαν.

10 *Deed concerning Itys.*] This is had in view by Liban. Orat. 507. τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν. On this horrible atrocity the learned reader will be gratified with the following spirited passage of Æschyl. Agam. 1110 — 1114. Ὀροεῖς Νόμον ἄνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ Ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, ταλαίναις φρεσὶν Ἴτυν, Ἴτυν, στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῆ κακοῖς Ἀηδὼν βίον. where see the erudite annotation of Dr. Blomfield. So also Catull. 44, 14. Daulias absumpti fata gemens Ityli. Aristoph. Av. 210. Χῦσον δὲ νόμους ἱερῶν ὕμνων, Οὓς διὰ θείου στόματος Ὀρνεῖς, Τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ σὸν πολύδακρυν Ἴτυν Ἐλελιζόμενη διεροῖς μέλεσιν Τέννος ξουθῆς.

On the *Daulian bird* Hack refers to Apollod. 3, 14, 8. Ovid. Metam. 433—679.

11 *Matched his daughter.*] Literally, contracted affinity by means of his daughter. This, the Scholiast remarks, is the only story introduced by Thucydides in his history, (whereas Herodotus abounds with them.) But, as Hack rightly observes, he forgets that of Alcmæon 2, 102.

12 *Of any power.*] Such seems to be the true force of ἐν κράτει ἐγένετο. Portus, Hobbes, and Smith, and indeed all the commentators up to Gottleb., took it of *forcibly seizing the kingdom,* which has nothing to do with the present subject, and is a sense not inherent in the words. Gottleb. and Goeller explain it "qui opibus valeret." But it rather refers to *power,* than to *wealth.* Ἐν κράτει is for ἐγκράτης, i. e. firmly seated on the throne, and armed with regal power. Indeed I now find that this sense of the phrase had long ago been pointed out by Steph. Thes. in v. Gail well renders: il fut à Odryse le premier roi puissant."

13 *Cooperate with, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage,

and Perdiccas. This Nymphodorus, then, coming to Athens, formed the alliance with Sitalces, and procured his son Sadocus to be made[14] an Athenian citizen.[15] He also undertook to bring the war in Thrace to a conclusion; representing that he could persuade Sitalces to send a Thracian army of horse and targeteers[16] to the assistance of the Athenians. However, he even brought about a reconciliation be-

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which has been strangely misinterpreted by all the commentators, from the Scholiast downwards, who all take it to signify "reconcile them to." A sense suitable, indeed, to *Perdiccas*, but by no means so to the τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, by which are denoted those parts of Thrace to which they laid claim, and which had lately revolted. Indeed so little satisfactory is that sense, that Abresch long ago hazarded no less than three conjectures, all objectionable and unnecessary. It is strange that not even the recent editors have seen that the true reading is ξυνεξελεῖν, found in at least six MSS., and which yields a sense so apposite that no doubt can remain. The reason why the editors hesitated to adopt this reading was, I imagine, because the word would seem by Steph. Thes. to be destitute of authority, not a single example being there adduced. But the word occurs in the best writers, as the following examples will show. Joseph. 960, 29. Pausan. 36, 5. and 40, 43. Plutarch Thes. 29. Dionys. Hal. 642, 37. Plutarch Lucull. 3. Joseph. 1179, 9 and 33. Pausan. 83, 2. Polyb. 17, 4, 7. Xen. Hist. 7, 4, 12. Eurip. Ion. 61. Herod. 1, 36. In the above passages the substantives are names of towns, &c. conquered.

[14] *Procured his son Sadocus, &c.*] Not simply *made*, as Hobbes and Smith render; for verbs are used not only of what is done, but *caused* to be done. With respect to the name *Sadoc*, it seems to be of oriental origin, and the same with *Zadoc*, which frequently occurs in Scripture.

[15] *An Athenian citizen.*] So the Scholiast rightly explains. Of this somewhat rare phrase, neglected by the commentators, I subjoin the following examples. Pausan. 1. 35, 2. Φίλαιον — γενόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναῖον. Dinarch 95. 38. τὸ γράψαι Ταυροσθένην Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι, and 95, 45. τὸν δὴ Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε. Hence may be understood Xen. Hist. 2, 2, 1. ἐφυγον ἐς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

Wasse observes that this story of Sadocus is also touched on by Aristoph. Acharn. 145.

[16] *Targeteers.*] Namely, those who carried darts and *pelts*. Now the pelt is explained by Hesych. a *Thracian weapon*. It seems to have originally been invented by and chiefly used among the Thracians. Photius more fully defines it *a square small shield*. And he elsewhere says, πέλτη δὲ εἶδος ἀσπίδος οὐκ ἐχούσης ἴτυν οὐδ' ἐπίχαλκον, οὐδὲ βοός, ἀλλ' αἰγοδέσματι περιτεταμένη. A passage manifestly corrupt. Whether it has been corrected in the late edition of Dobree, I know not; but I venture to propose the following emendation: π. δ. ε. α. ο. ε. ι. ο. ἐπιχαλκου, οὐδὲ βοος, ἀλλ' αἰγος δέρμα τι περιτιθεμένης. Now αἰγὸς δέρμα is found in MS. D. The whole may be rendered, "The pelt is a sort of shield without an umbo, not covered with brass, nor even bullock's hide, but goat's skin only." Lightness, it seems, was alone consulted in the make of the pelt. On the subject of the Thracian pelt Gottleb. refers to Lips. in analect. ad l. 3. de Mil. R. dial. 1. Salmas. ad. Vopisc. Carin. c. 20. Petit de Amaz. c. 25. Cuper Obss. 4, 2.

tween [17] Perdiccas and the Athenians; persuading them to restore Therme [18] to him; and immediately Perdiccas [19] united his arms with those of the Athenians, and cooperated with Phormio against the Chalcideans.[20] Thus, then, was Sitalces son of Teres, king of the Thracians, brought into alliance with the Athenians, as was also Perdiccas son of Alexander, king of Macedon.

XXX. Meanwhile the Athenians on board the hundred ships, who were yet cruising around Peloponnesus, took Sollium [1], a town of the Corinthians [2], and assigned it over to the Palæreans [3] alone of the Acarnanians, to occupy [4] the place and its territory; and seizing Astacus [5], of which Evar-

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[17] *Brought about a reconciliation, &c.*] The Schol. well explains, "made them friends." And so Hesych.: συμβιβάζει· εἰς φιλίαν ἄγει. This sense occurs also in Dio Cass.

[18] *Therme.*] This had been before captured by the Athenians, as was related 1, 61.

[19] *Perdiccas.*] Wasse observes that of him and Archelaus much is said by Plato in his Gorgias, p. 321. Francof., which has escaped the notice of the historians. See l. 1, 57. and the note. On Pausanias and the other Macedonian kings, Gottleb. refers to Spanhem. Numism, p. 372.

[20] *United his arms, &c.*] A stratagem on this occasion is related by Polyæn. 3, 4, 1. ed. Frontin. 3, 11, 1., out of which passage I cite the following words, for the purpose of emendation: ἅρπασας οὐκ ὀλιγα τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας Κύρῳ πρόσεσχε. Now Κυρῳ cannot be tolerated (though the editors have not noticed it). Write χώρας σκύρῳ.

[1] *Sollium.*] I have adopted the *double* l, from several MSS., and especially on the authority of Steph. Byz. This town (not *fort*, as Smith strangely renders) is mentioned hardly any where else in the classical writers; and its situation can only be conjectured from this passage to have been somewhere near Palærus, not, as Danville and Butler place it, between Astacus and Œniadæ. I agree with Poppo Proleg. 2, 256. that Pouqueville seems to have rightly fixed the site of it at some ruins near Solavena, the name of which town, indeed, is plainly connected with the old appellation. Solavena seems to be the *new* town; and the ruins, the Palæochorio, or old town.

[2] *A town of the Corinthians.*] i. e. one of those maritime settlements which, as I have before observed, Corinth planted at various situations, along the coasts of Acarnania, Epirus, &c. and which were generally chosen with great judgment.

[3] *Palæreans.*] Not *Palirensians*, as Smith, by a double mistake, spells it. The æ for ι I have adopted from the best MSS. and from Strabo. This was a place of very little note, and, I believe, no where else mentioned in the classical writers. It was probably a colony of the Palæans of Cephallenia, as was Astacus.

[4] *Occupy.*] See note, supra, c. 27.

[5] *Astacus.*] Of this place little is known; though its situation may be tolerably well laid down from Thucydides, Ptolemy, Strabo, and Steph.;

chus was tyrant, and driving him out, they added the place to their alliance. Then proceeding to the island of Cephallenia, they brought it over[6] to their side without hostilities. Now Cephallenia lies over against[7] Acarnania and Leucas, and consists of four cities (or states); the Paleans[8], the

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which, however, has not yet been done, since it is placed too near the promontory Crithate, where, as it should seem from a passage of Strabo (the *only* one that determines its site) that it was near the Echinades. His words are: Εἶτα ἄκρα Κριθώτη, καὶ Ἐχινάδες καὶ πόλις Ἄστακος. Nay, Scylax places it at the mouth of the Achelous. Certainly it could not be far from it along the coast. The only circumstance respecting its *origin* is supplied by Steph. Byz. Ἔστι δ' Ἀκαρνανίας πόλις. οἱ δὲ Κεφαληνίας ἄποικον, where I am surprised the editors have not perceived that there is an hiatus valde deflendus after πόλις, commencing with οἱ μὲν. The portion was omitted from homeoteleuton. Doubtless the last clause contained some *other* opinion as to its colonization.

[6] *Brought it over.*] Hobbes and Smith render *subdued, reduced*; for which sense they have the authority of the Schol. and Portus. Yet the true sense seems to be "brought over to their alliance." And so Diod. took it, whose words are: καὶ τοὺς ταύτην (I would read ταύτῃ) κατοικοῦντας εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν προσαγόμενοι. Gail should *here* have rendered, as he did at προσπ., "engagerent dans leur alliance."

[7] *Lies over against, &c.*] Its situation is most accurately described by Polyb. 5, 3, 10. As to the origin of the name, the common accounts seem absurd. Buondelmont, cited by Palm. Antiq. p. 524., seems to suggest the true origin, by saying that to sailors approaching it from the south, the island appears like a *man's head.* And some parallels are to be found in modern geography.

[8] *Paleans.*] I have adopted the *single* l from the best MSS. and inscriptions, Etym. Mag. and Tzetz., to which authorities may be added Polyb. 5, 3, 4. and 5, 5, 10. Herod. 9, 28. Thucyd. 1, 27.

The primary names of these four cities it is not easy to fix. With respect to the first, it is written by our Schol. on 1, 27. *Pale*, but by Polyb. 5, 5, 10. *Palus.* This, Rochette, in his Colon. Græc. 3. p. 295., thinks was a Corinthian colony. Poppo observes that its site is commonly fixed at Lixuri; though, as appears from Muller, in his Travels into Greece and Ionia, p. 184., it is at one hour's distance from Lixuri, at a place now called Palæocastro, or the ruins of Palichi. *Cranion* seems, from Steph. Byz. to be the name of the *second.* This Muller places above Argostoli. Buondelmont's Map (mentioned by Palmer) has some ruins near those of Pale, which may justly be supposed, with Palmer, to be those of Cranion. The name of the *last* was possibly *Pronæa;* though, as Polyb. uses Πρόννους or Προνάους, it is probable that the town was usually called after the *inhabitants.* It is called Πρώνησος by Strabo, 455. His words are Πρώνησος καὶ Κράνιοι., where I would read Πρόνησος, from the concurring testimony of all authors; and perhaps for Κράνιοι should be read Κράνιον. As to the *situation* of Pronæa, I know of only *one* passage that at all tends to fix it; that is Polyb. 5, 3, 4. where Philip is said to sail from Patras, and to make the coast of Cephallenia at *Pronni*, where, however, for πρόννους I would read Προνάους, and in the Etym. Mag. for Προνοι read Πρόναοι. He also adds that the town was difficult of access, and the site narrow. Hence it appears that the situation laid down by Danville *must* be wrong. That of Barbié de Boccage answers *better* to the description. But the real site, I have no

Cranians, the Samæans, and the Pronæans. Not long afterwards the ships returned back to Athens.

XXXI. About the autumn of the year, the Athenians in full force (themselves and the Metœci) made an irruption into the Megarean territory, under the command of Pericles son of Xanthippus; and the Athenians, cruising around Peloponnesus on board the hundred ships (for they happened to be now at Ægina on their passage homewards), on hearing that their countrymen at home had gone in a body to Megara, sailed thither and united their forces with them. This army was, indeed, the greatest the Athenians had ever assembled together in one place; the city being now at the utmost height of its power, and not having yet suffered from the pestilence; for there were of the Athenians not less than ten thousand heavy-armed; besides which they had three thousand at Potidæa; and of Metœci who accompanied them in the irruption, there were not less than three thousand heavy-armed. Added to these there was a considerable body of light-armed. After, however, laying waste the greater part of the country, they returned home. There were also afterwards, in the course of the war, other irruptions into Megara, both with cavalry and in full force, until the time that Nicæa was taken by the Athenians.

XXXII. At the close of this summer, too, Atalante[1] (an

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doubt, is the most *northerly* of the three *horns* which run out to the sea at the west part of the island; since that is the one which the fleet must first make in passing from Patræ. It also exactly answers to the *name*, by having (as appears from Boccage's map) a small island at the end of the promontory. On *this* (which might, however, be a peninsula) I suppose the town to have been situated. Thus, it is called *Pronesus* by Strabo, and its inhabitants *Nesiotæ* by Livy.

I cannot omit to observe that though all antient writers agree in assigning to Cephallenia *four* cities, yet Danville and (after him) Butler place a *fifth* in the south part of the island, called Cephallenia. Now for this there is not a vestige of authority. A *sixth*, also on the north, called Neros, is found in D'Anville (and in a late Oxford map). For a *town* of this name I know no authority; at least no such place existed in the age of Thucydides. There seems to have been an error, originating in a confusion with Pronæa; for the Pronæi (as was before observed) are by Livy called *Nesiotæ*.

[1] *Atalante.*] On this, see Steph. Byz. and Pausan. 10, 20, 2.

island off the coast of Locris Opuntia, and before uninhabited) was fortified as a post, in order to prevent privateers from sailing out of Opus and the rest of Locris, and ravaging Eubœa. Such were the transactions which took place this summer, after the Peloponnesians had retired from Attica.

XXXIII. During the following winter, Evarchus, the Acarnanian, desirous of being restored to the possession of Astacus, prevailed upon the Corinthians to reinstate him with a fleet of forty ships and one thousand five hundred heavy-armed, besides some mercenaries which he had himself taken into pay. The armament was commanded by Euphamidas son of Aristonymus, Timoxenus son of Timocrates, and Eumachus son of Chrysis; and, proceeding thither, they restored him. Then, wishing to reduce some other of the maritime towns of Acarnania, they made the attempt; but not being able to succeed, sailed homewards; and in their passage touching at Cephallenia, and making a debarkation on the territory of the Cranians, and being deceived by them under colour of a certain truce[2], they lost some of their men from a sudden attack of the Cranians; then, after a somewhat precipitate retreat[3] to their ships, proceeded homewards.

XXXIV. In the course of this winter the Athenians, according to the custom of their country[1], solemnised a public

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[2] *Truce.*] Such appears to be the sense of ἐξ ὁμολογίας τινὸς, which may literally be rendered "by means of a certain (pretended) convention."

[3] *Precipitate retreat.*] With this word βιαιοτ. the translators and commentators have been not a little perplexed; and, consequently, their explanations vary. The truth is, it seems to comprehend the conjoint notions of compulsion, precipitancy, straits, difficulty, &c. It is strange that no one should have compared the kindred phrase at 5, 73. ἀποχώρησις βιάιος, where see the note. So also Arrian, 4, 27, 13. βεβαιότερον ἤδη εἴργοντο τῆς χώρας. See also Lex. Xenoph.

[1] *According to the, &c.*] The words τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι have occasioned no little controversy. Petit, in his Attic laws, p. 54., inserts this as a *law*. But νόμος here only denotes a custom or observance, though that was probably founded on a positive decree or law. So far, then, there is no difficulty; but Demosth. Lept. p. 499. claims this observance for the Athenians as peculiar to them; whereas Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 885. Reisk. shows that this rite was in use among the Romans before it was observed by the Athenians. Gottleb. pleads Demosthenes' ignorance of Roman affairs. But Wolf, on the passage of Demosth., after denying that the Athenians had any public funerals, except for those who had died in war

funeral for those who had first fallen[2] in this war, in the manner following. Three days before the solemnity they form a tent[3], in which they lay out (or expose to view[4]) the bones[5]

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for their country, puts aside the excuse of ignorance. "For (says he) however well informed Demosthenes might have been of Roman affairs, he might have written as he has. He means funeral orations, not *private*, such as were in use at Rome, but *public*, and celebrated by order of the people." And that this may be claimed for the Athenians only, is apparent both from the circumstance that nothing similar is any where narrated of any other nation in Greece; and from the words of Aristid. 1, 180. The real origin and institution, however, of this observance, is to be carried back to the time of the Persian war, according to Diodor. Sic. 11, 33. and Dionys. Hal. Ant. l. 5, 17. On this Gottleb. refers to Cic. Legg. 2, 25. Plutarch Popl. t. 1. p. 401. Taylor Lect. Lys. 6, 231. Orat. Græc. and also Philostr. Heroic. p. 721. who traces it up even to the Homeric age.

[2] *First fallen.*] Gail omits the πρῶτον, which, however, is important. This passage is had in view by Lucian, t. 2. 34, 8. Θουκυδίδης ἐπιτάφιον ἀγωνά τινα εἶπε τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦ πολέμου ἐκείνου νέκροις. As the unrivalled and immortal Oration, which follows, has been, in every age, the object of admiration, so I find, from what is subjoined to the above, that it was the object of servile imitation to certain petty writers of Lucian's time.

[3] *Tent.*] Probably this was not covered all round; for scarcely any tent, made in the usual way, would have been large enough. It should rather seem to have been an *awning*. We may conceive it to have been similar to one described by Bernier, in his Travels in the Mogul Empire, as follows: — "A tent, called the aspek, was pitched outside, larger than the hall, to which it joined by the top. It spread over half the court, and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver; three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a bark, the others smaller."

[4] *Expose to view.*] On this, as it were, lying in state for three days, Duker refers to the commentators on Pollux, 8, 146. Something not very dissimilar in expression is mentioned by Herod. 5, 8. of the Thracians: τρεῖς ἡμέρας προτιθέασι τὸν νεκρόν. But that was only a *private* laying out; and the custom, doubtless, originated in a desire to thus have the death of the person publicly ascertained.

[5] *The bones.*] Perhaps this signifies the skeleton, dressed in as decent a manner, as possible; for though it was the custom to burn the bodies of the dead, yet I cannot think, with Hobbes, that, by these *bones*, we are to understand what was left after the burning. I should rather suppose, that the bodies were prepared for the purpose by the flesh being boiled from the bones, so as to have the clean skeleton. Besides, as it appears from the ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο, and, especially, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ, that the corpses in question were *interred* (and, indeed, interment was then customary as well as cremation*); so there is no reason to imagine why *two* modes of disposing of the dead should have been here resorted to, and the first so unsuitable to the observance which was to be celebrated.

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* So, Potter (Antiq. t. 2. 208.) says it would be needless to prove that both interring and burning were practised by the Greeks. He then shows that, however the later ages might prefer burning, yet burying was the custom of the primitive ones. This, he adds, was still in general use in Cecrops' time. The Schol.

of the departed, when each brings what offerings he chuses[6] to his own body. When the time for carrying forth arrives, certain cars bear cypress[7] coffins, one for every tribe. In these are contained the bones of whatever tribe any one was of (together with his own[8]). There is, however, one empty bier[9] carried forth, covered with a pall, for such as may not have been found for removal.[10] Every one who chuses,

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[6] *Brings what offerings he chuses.*] Smith strangely renders, *decks out.* Such a sense cannot be found in ἐπιφέρει, which plainly has reference to those offerings of incense, as also of wine, ointments, and flowers, which the antients used to bring to the graves of the dead. Thus, the Schol. rightly explains ἐπιφέρει by ἐναγίζει.

[7] *Cypress.*] This wood was selected from its being the most adapted to resist corruption. So Gallæus on the Orac. Sibyll. p. 100., in a learned dissertation respecting the *ark*, says, that the cypress is of all woods, "adversus cariem ac tinias firmissimum;" appealing to Theophr., Pliny, and Martial. And he observes, that of this wood the vast folding-doors of the temple at Ephesus (which so long resisted decay) were made. See more in Gallæus, who has, however, borrowed the whole from Bochart Geogr. Sacr. Phaleg. 1, 4., who also adduces various passages of Diog. Laert. l. 8., where it is said, that the Pythagoreans ἀπείχοντο σωροῦ κυπαρισσίνης, διὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἐντεῦθεν πεποιῆσθαι. Here I would observe, that as the cypress there was meant to allude to the eternity of Jupiter's dominion (as Ps. 45. 6. ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ Θεὸς εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος); so, in the use of cypress for coffins, there may have been some latent allusion to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

[8] *In these are contained, &c.*] Such is, undoubtedly, the sense of this clause, which was much misunderstood by Smith.

[9] *Empty bier.*] Or *couch.* Not *cenotaph*, as Gail ignorantly renders. Smith causelessly adds, *sumptuous.* The κλίνη is here what is elsewhere called λέκτρον or φέρετρον. The word occurs in 2 Sam. 3, 31. Λάρναξ signifies the same as σωρὸς, though that at Luke, 7, 14. denotes the open coffin on which the dead were, among the Jews, carried out to burial.

[10] *For such as, &c.*] Abresch aptly adduces the words of Chariton, 4, 1. p. 85. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ σῶμα εὕρηται τοῦ δυστυχοῦς, ἀλλὰ νόμος οὗτος ἀρχαῖος Ἑλλήνων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀφανεῖς τάφοις κοσμεῖν. Hence (Dorville remarks) arose the custom of erecting cenotaphs. "The principal reason (continues he) why the antients appointed funeral rites, even for those whose bodies could not be found, is suggested by Porphyry de Abstin. l. 2. p. 213., namely, that the souls of the unburied were supposed to remain in their bodies.

The circumstance, *covered with a pall*, is omitted by Smith. This custom, however, was a general one with those that were to be *interred.* See Potter. As to the ἐστρωμένη, that is a somewhat rare term. Yet I can

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on Homer affirms, that "burning was first introduced by Hercules, and from the Trojan times generally practised; yet not so but that they *sometimes* interred their dead." Thus Socrates (in Plut. Phæd.) speaks of *both* customs, and mentions that some objected to burning. Several reasons are adduced by Potter from Eustath. *why* burning was practised.

whether citizen or stranger, may accompany the procession[11], at which the female relatives of the deceased attend, following[12] them to their grave with wailings.[13] They then deposit them in the public sepulchre (which is at the handsomest suburb[14] of the city) wherein they continually[15] inter those who fall in war[16]; except, indeed, that for those at Marathon (esteeming *their* valour pre-eminent), they caused a sepul-

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produce two examples. Xenoph. Cyr. 8, 2, 5. κλινὴν στρώννυσι. Herod. 6, 58, 20. ἐν κλίνῃ εὖ ἐστρωμένῃ ἐκφέρουσι.

[11] *Accompany the procession.*] Literally, join in the funeral. The word, ξυνεκφέρω, is very rare, and I know no other example but in Dio Cass. p. 840, 4.

[12] *The female relatives — attend, following, &c.*] I have added *following*, though it has nothing corresponding to it in the original; for it seems implied in ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον. That, in a funeral procession, the female relatives went by themselves, and following the men, we find by a law of sepulture promulged by Solon. We learn, also, that none were allowed to attend under sixty years, unless such as were, at least, cousins of the deceased.

[13] *Wailings.*] In ὀλοφυρόμεναι there seems to be an allusion to the peculiar kind of wail pertaining to women. See note supra, 2, 4., and also my note on Acts, 8, 2.

[14] *Suburb.*] Namely, the *Ceramicus*, which was situated out of the gate Dipylon, and in the way to the Academia. There were *other* suburbs also, as Sciros and Cœle. See Meurs. de populis Atticis in *Ceramicus*, and other works referred to by Duker. To the passages here adduced, I add the following: — Aristoph. Av. 395. ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νώ. Δημόσια γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν, Φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, Μαχομένῳ τοῖς πολεμίοισιν Ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς. Philostr. Vit. Soph. 2, 22. θάπτουσι ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἀκαδεμίας κάθοδον, whence we gain a circumstance, I believe, not to be gathered from any other quarter, namely, that this public sepulchre was on the *right* of the road to the Academia.

[15] *Continually.*] Or, *regularly.* So Smith: "It has been the constant custom." The *ever* of Hobbes can hardly be justified; for there was at least another exception besides that of the heroes of Marathon. Thus, we learn from Herod. 1, 30., that Tellus, who bravely fell at Eleusis, was, at the public expense, honoured with burial at the place where he fell. And Thucydides cannot be justified on the plea that *more* than one instance might be included in the πλήν γε; for πλήν γε, whenever it stands for πλήν γε ὅτι (as it here does, on which see infra, note 16.), can only refer to some *one* thing, declared in the words following: ἕν, or ἕνος (as Hoogev. has truly observed), being always understood, and sometimes *expressed*, as at Aristoph. in Pac. 227. See my note on St. John, 9, 25.

[16] *Fall in war.*] This sufficiently represents the *sense* of the irregular phrase τοὺς ἐκ πολέμων, where the commentators subaud ἀποθανόντας. And Abresch compares from Aristid. ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ ψύξεως. That, however, is a phrase of another nature. Ἐκ τῶν πολέμων may popularly be said to be put for ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις.* Yet Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 493. retains this very idiom: ὁ δὲ ἐπιτάφιος εἴρηται ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πεσοῦσιν.

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* And so it was taken by Pausan. 1, 29. 4. (who has this passage in view). Ἔστι δὲ καὶ πᾶσι μνῆμα Ἀθηναίοις, ὁπόσοις ἀποθανεῖν συνέπεσεν ἔν τε ναυμαχίαις

chre [17] to be erected on the spot [18] where they fell. When the earth has been thrown over them, some person selected by the city — one of distinguished abilities, and of pre-eminent dignity [19] and station — pronounces over them a suitable panegyric [20], after which the company depart. Such, then, is the ceremonial of the sepulture, and this observance was employed throughout the whole war [21], as often as they had occasion

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[17] *Except indeed, &c.*] Such seems to be the construction. For τοὺς I would read τοῖς. And it seems to me that the δὲ should be cancelled, as arising from the following δι, and from a misapprehension of the construction. The passage will then be pointed as follows: πολέμων· πλήν γε τοῖς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, ἐκείνων διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες, αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. Thus all will be regular and easy. The MSS. indeed, afford no countenance to the alteration, but it is so small as scarcely to need MS. authority. Besides, the τοῖς would be very likely to pass into τοὺς, on account of the τοὺς just before. It must be observed, too, that thus we avoid the harshness of having at τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι to supply a *past* tense from a *present* (ἔθαπτον from θάπτουσι). At τοῖς we may as easily supply ἀποθανοῦσι as at τοὺς supply ἀποθανόντας. The πλήν γε is for πλήν γε ὅτι, as in Plato, cited by Hoogev. de Part. p. 531.

[18] *On the spot.*] Literally, *there.* Hobbes strangely renders *there-right.*

[19] *Dignity.*] Of the two readings, ἀξιώματι, the old, and ἀξιώσει, the one (edited by Bekker and Goeller) whichever be adopted, the sense will be the same. But as ἀξίωμα is far more usual in this sense, it may the better be supposed a gloss.

As to the προήκῃ, one would rather expect προέχῃ, which, indeed, seems to have been read by Dio Cass., who, at 467, 8., has ἀξιώσει προέχειν, and at 398, 23. δύναμει π. Yet, I must confess that at 430, 26. he has ἀξιώματι προήκοντας, which shows that he so read; and its very *rarity* is an argument for its being the true reading.

[20] *Panegyric.*] Or eulogium. On this sense of ἔπαινος, see Spanhem on Julian, p. 6—8.

[21] *This observance, &c.*] Hobbes is here not a little perplexed, being at at a loss how to reconcile this expression with that at the beginning of the chapter, τῶν πρῶτον ἀποθανόντων. And he would remove the discrepancy by supposing, that "the several actions of this great war are counted as several wars, and so the first slain in any of them had the honour of

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καὶ ἐν μάχαις πεζαῖς. So in the Schol. to Æschyl. Theb. 49. ἔθος γάρ ἦν τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς οἰκείοις πέμπειν σημεῖα, ἢ περόνας ἢ ταινίας; where, however, it may not be necessary to insert τελευτῶντας, as Dr. Blomfield thinks, nor ἀποθνήσκοντας. Probably there is an ellipsis, and that simply of ὄντας. Also Schol. on Aristoph. p. 560, 6. C. οἱ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀναιρούμενοι ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἐθάπτοντο. ὡς Μενεκλῆς καὶ Καλλίστρατος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀθηνῶν συγγράμμασί φασι. The words following βαδίζουσι δὲ, &c. are obscure, and, perhaps, partly corrupt; but the sense seems to be, "as we go up and down we meet with στῆλαι set up over those who died for their country, and are here buried at the public expense. The στῆλαι have also inscriptions denoting when each died." This information was manifestly derived from those antient writers Menocles and Callistratus, in their topographical descriptions of Athens.

for it.[22] Over these first, however, Pericles son of Xanthippus, was chosen to speak. And when the time came on[23], he, advancing from the sepulchre to a stand erected for the purpose, raised so high that he could be heard as far as possible by the crowd of bystanders, spoke to the following purpose.

XXXV. "The greater part[1] of those who have hitherto

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this burial." But there is no necessity for so harsh an experiment. As to the words at the beginning of c. 34, they, of themselves, would seem to imply, that the customary observance there mentioned is intended of those who *first* died in the war, i. e. (as the event explains) the *first year of the war*. At least, such a sense might very well be imagined. Yet, when taken in conjunction with the present, it is clear that our author meant the customary observance only to be understood *of the public funeral*, and not of the πρῶτον; q. d. "They now observed the law of their country, which enjoins a public funeral to be bestowed on those that had died in war, by celebrating this rite over the first who were slain in *this* war; namely, those who were slain in the first year of the war." The words of this whole passage compel us to suppose, that the same mark of respect was shown every succeeding year towards those that died in that year; though it seems the *chief* honour was always accorded to those who died in the *first* year of a war, by appointing (as in the present case) the most distinguished personage of the state to pronounce their panegyric.

[22] *As often as, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense; and not what Hobbes, Smith, and Gail make it, "as often as occasion recurred," or presented itself. For at ξυμβαίη there is an ellipsis of τοῦτο ποιεῖν, scil. θάπτειν.

[23] *Time came on.*] Such is, I think, the sense of καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, which Abresch says is for κατέλαβε, citing Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 2141, 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελάμβανεν ὁ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν καιρός. He might better have appealed to Dio Cass. 393, 21. ἐπεὶ τε ὁ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προσῆλθε κ. τ. λ. which passage is evidently imitated from the present, and sufficiently defends the common reading, for which Bekker and Goeller edit καιρὸν from five MSS., referring to Coray on Isocr. 2, 4, 81. To me I confess it appears a manifest *paradiorthosis*. Nor can I regard it, with Abresch, as a locutio ἐπαμφοτεριζοῦσα. I would rather suppose an ellipsis of πέρας.

[1] The commencement of this oration is closely imitated by Aristid. t. 2. 2. 297. and by Choricius in a funeral oration, ap. Villois. Anecd. t. 2. p. 21. This far-famed funeral oration is universally allowed to be altogether an unrivalled performance in the severe and simple style of the early and best age of Grecian oratory. As to the question which has been agitated respecting its real writer, there has been no little diversity of opinion on that subject. Some maintain that the oration which we have here, is as it was delivered by Pericles, having been previously or subsequently committed to paper. But this is utterly at variance with the assertion of Plutarch in Pericle, c. 5. that he left nothing behind him *in writing*, except some psephisms, or decrees of the senate (like our Parliamentary *bills*). Though, besides the other orations preserved by Thucydides, he pronounced at least *one* other funeral oration, namely, over those who died in the conquest of Samos; since I find it is mentioned, and a passage from it cited by Stesimbrotus ap. Plutarch in Pericle 8. It may be observed, too, that the oration

addressed you from this place, have not failed to commend

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in question is not without the characteristics of Thucydidean style. Others, therefore, maintain, that the whole came from Thucydides. But this opinion (which the persons by whom it is embraced extend to all the orations in Thucydides) is, I conceive, destitute of foundation, indeed, more as respects *this* than any of the orations in the history. For it is hardly possible to doubt but that Thucydides (considering his intention at the beginning of the war, to write its history) was present at the delivery of *this* oration. And from his own recollection, and that of his friends (and *possibly* some assistance from Pericles) he would be fully enabled to give us the oration, in all substantial points, the same as it was delivered by Pericles. On the method pursued, and the principles acted upon by our Historian in the orations generally, see the observations on l. 1, 22.

Wasse, indeed, argues that we cannot have the oration, in any degree, as it was delivered by Pericles, because Aristot. Rhet. 1, 7, 720. mentions Pericles as observing in his funeral oration, *τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνηρῆσθαι, ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαιρεθείη*. But we find, on the authority of Stesimbrotus, who can be proved to have been a contemporary of Pericles (see Vossius de Græcis Hist. p. 370.), that Pericles delivered *another;* and therefore there is no reason to doubt but that the passage in question was in that other oration. Certainly this passage is very worthy of Pericles. As to what Gottleb. and, from him, Goeller say, that Aristotle represents Pericles as commencing his oration with these words, it is quite false. A piece of negligence, in those commentators, very blameable.

As to the story current among the antients, that the oration delivered by Pericles was written by Aspasia (and indeed Synes. 37 D. calls it the oration of Aspasia and Pericles; nay at 58 D. considers it as *hers*), it seems entitled to little attention; though, if the intellectual powers and exquisite taste of that extraordinary, and perhaps unjustly treated woman, were so great as we have reason to suppose, there would be little cause to doubt, but that it received some of its *polish* at least from her hands.

With respect to the comparative merits of this and the only other antient funeral oration that can bear any comparison with it, namely that of Plato, I would adopt the pithy remark of Synes. p. 37. D. *ἑκάτερος ἑτέρου παραπολὺ καλλίων ἐστι, τοῖς οἰκείοις κανόσι κρινόμενος*. In fact, they differ from each other in much the same way, and therefore as little bear comparison, as the cathedrals of York and Lincoln.

This may, perhaps, be the best place for me to notice an anecdote, which is given by Mr. Butler, in his Reminiscences p. 166, where he says he has it on the authority of Mr. Pitt, that the translation of this oration in Smith's work was executed by Lord Chatham. Without meaning to question the veracity of so truly respectable and excellent a person as Mr. Butler, I cannot but suspect that his memory has, in this instance, deceived him. Had Lord Chatham really translated it, it would surely have been in a very different manner. Perfect accuracy would certainly not have been attained; but there would have been numerous characteristics of the style of that distinguished orator, which I am ready to admit bore some resemblance to that of Pericles; both, in some degree, meriting the epithet that has been applied to the former, *Olympian*. Had Mr. Butler affirmed this of the *third* oration of Pericles, there might have been more of probability in the assertion. For, on a certain clause of that oration, p. 175., Smith remarks, " that his first attempts at it were very faint and imperfect; of which he was soon convinced by the greatest genius of the age, who did him the honour to read over this speech in manuscript, and who, as think-

the legislator[2] who superadded to the other observances enjoined by law on this occasion, the *oration*[3], as honourable to be pronounced over those who are brought hither from the field of battle for interment.[4] To myself, however, it would, have seemed sufficient that men, who by deeds have evinced their valour, should by *deeds* (such as you now behold in this publicly solemnized sepulture) have their honour illustrated[5], and not that the virtues of *many* should be endangered by[6]

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ing and speaking like Pericles, could not endure that any of his words should be depreciated." But it does not appear that even *that clause* was translated by Lord Chatham; nay, Smith's words *imply* that he retranslated it himself. And as there is not the least reason to doubt the worthy dean's veracity, or call in question his integrity, so all that I can account probable is that Lord Chatham (whom I had *always* supposed to have been meant by Smith) read over this funeral oration, and marked such passages as he thought were incorrect, or fell beneath the dignity of so noble a composition.

2 *The legislator.*] *Who* is here meant, has not been determined; whether, as the Scholiast tells us, Solon, *or* some person who lived at the time of the Persian war. For we learn from Diod. 11, 33. that the law for the establishment of this oration was passed soon after the battle of Platæa. And Dionys. Hal. says, it was of *late* addition. Gottleb., indeed, thinks, that even *Solon* was only the *restorer* of it, since it may be traced to Cecrops. And he refers to Petit Leg. Att. p. 603. The second opinion, that it was of a *late* period, may seem strongly confirmed by the funeral orations of Lysias and Demosthenes. But there is every reason to think the *latter* a forgery; and the former is but of dubious credit; not to say that the very mention there of the founder of this law is suspicious. The truth seems to be, that Solon first promulgated the law, though something similar to it had prevailed in the age of Cecrops (by whom, I imagine, is to be understood Cecrops the second), and, indeed, may be found in the Trojan war. After its establishment, however, it had probably been suffered to grow into disuse by the time of the Persian war, when it was thought necessary to re-establish and perpetuate it.

3 *Superadded to, &c.*] The phrase, προσθέντα τῷ νομῷ τὸν λόγον, is somewhat extraordinary; but it is, nevertheless, defended by the passage of Dionys. Hal., cited by Hudson. I would add, that it seems to be imitated from Herod. 2, 136. προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τουτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε.

4 *Brought hither from, &c.*] Θαπτομένοις is a *vox prægnans*, including both the being brought from the field of battle, and the being interred. So Dionys. Hal. 1, 291. who has this passage in view: Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον θαπτομένοις καταστήσασθαι τοὺς ἐπιταφίους ἀγορεύεσθαι λόγους. Smith, Hobbes, and Gail, here hardly offer a paraphrase.

5 *It would have seemed, &c.*] So Aristid. 3, 296. B. speaking of Themistocles and his actions: ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἐστιν ἐνδείξασθαι τῷ λόγῳ, πῶς ἄν τις ἐκ τούτων ἐκεῖνον θεωρήσειε.

6 *Endangered by.*] Such is the sense of κινδυνεύεσθαι ἐν, where the ἐν (signifying *at, by*) is omitted in some MSS., but is defended not only by the passage of Lucian cited by Goeller, but by Lucian 2, 246, 76. τὰ ἡμετερὰ ἐν ἑνὶ· ἀνδρι κινδυνευόμενα; Phalar. Epist. 105. πρεσβύτην οἰκτείρεις ἐφ' ἑνὶ κινδυνεύοντα παιδί, which is imitated from Joseph. p. 75, 29. and 744, 38.

being entrusted[7] to an *individual*, who may acquit himself well or ill.[8] Whereas, to hold the middle course, and speak even tolerably well [9], were perilous, on a subject where even manifest truth[10] is hard to be established. For the auditor,

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Menander ap. Corp. Hist. Byz. 1, 147. C. ἐν δούλῳ κινδυνεύεσθαι κρίσει, Finally, (to omit much *critical* matter which I reserve for my edition) Eurip. Cycl. 650. ἐν τῷ καρὶ κινδυνεύομεναις.

[7] *Being entrusted.*] Πιστευθῆναι is by some regarded as dependent on ὥστε understood; by others, as put for μὴ πιστευθῇ; by others, again, as put for the genitive, or the accusative of πίστις. The first method is too feeble and precarious, the others far too violent. Notwithstanding what Goeller says, πιστευθῆναι is dependent upon κινδυνεύεσθαι, though not by means of ὥστε. This use of the infinitive after the *active* (κινδυνεύω) is not unfrequent, as 3, 74. 8, 91. In the *passive* it is rare. The harshness and difficulty here found chiefly results from the sentence being *monocolus* with two verbs; whereas perspicuity would require it to be *bimembris*.

[8] *Acquit himself, &c.*] Goeller here deserts the common opinion, that τε — καὶ are for ἢ — ἤ, and maintains that they ought to be taken, not with πιστευθῆναι, but with κινδυνεύεσθαι. But nothing more violent can be imagined. The truth is, τε — καὶ belong to εἰπόντι, which is to be taken twice. There the participle is for a relative pronoun and a verb. The τε καὶ *may* be taken for ἢ — ἤ, but if they be *not*, the sense will be the same. Indeed, in our own language, if the constructio bimembris be *completed*, the *copulative* will be preferable; if not, the *disjunctive* must be employed.

[9] *Whereas to hold, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the difficult words χαλεπὸν γὰρ — εἰπεῖν, with which the translators and commentators are not a little perplexed. Smith renders the μετρίως "*judiciously*." And so Goeller. Hobbes, "keep a due medium." But these significations are precarious, and here unsuitable. For thus the τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν would be considered the same as the τὸ εὖ εἰπεῖν; whereas that they are different is plain from the γὰρ, which denotes *whereas;* a signification on which I have before treated, and which here being unperceived by the commentators caused them to mistake the sense of μετρίως εἰπεῖν, where the whole difficulty centers. Now *that* is meant to represent the *middle point* between the εὖ εἰπεῖν and the χεῖρον εἰπεῖν. The orator intends to meet a tacit objection, that "the danger is not so great, since it cannot be difficult to find a person who may speak in a middling manner, *tolerably* well." To which the answer is, that "the *tolerably well* is really difficult on a subject where even the best oratory, and the plainest evidence of truth, will hardly bear any one out."

The above sense of μετρίως is confirmed by the Scholiast, and was perceived by Bauer.

[10] *Manifest truth.*] The phrase ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας (on which I shall fully treat in my edition) is a somewhat anomalous one. It is not, however, as some think, a periphrasis for ἡ ἀληθεία, but the genitive τῆς ἀληθείας is put for the cognate adjective (an idiom frequent in the New Testament, and which is usually accounted a Hebraism), and then, by an *hypallage*, the noun and the adjective are interchanged.

With the *sentiment* Goeller (after Wasse) compares Sallust Catal. c. 3., also Cic. Ep. ad Fam. 6, 7., and Dio Cass. p. 497. The first and third of these passages are imitations. I would subjoin a most pithy remark of Isocr. Panath. § 13. p. 400. τὰ μὲν μικρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ῥᾴδιον τοῖς λόγοις

who has had personal experience of the transactions, and is well affected, may perhaps think some circumstance [11] treated short of what he would wish, and what he knows to be the truth [12]; while he who is unacquainted therewith, will, if he hears any thing beyond the reach of his own nature, through envy, regard it as an exaggeration. For thus far only are the praises bestowed on others endurable, as long as each may judge himself able to *perform something* of what he hears [13]; whereas whatever surpasses their own powers excites their *envy*, and then their *disbelief*.[14] Since, however, the observance of this branch of the solemnity has been judged proper by the wisdom of our ancestors, it becomes my duty (while I thus conform to law and custom) to endeavour, as far as possible, to satisfy the wishes and meet the approbation of every one present.

αὐξῆσαι, τοῖς δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσι τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει χάλεπον ἐξισῶσαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους.

[11] *Some circumstance.*] Not *every thing*, as Smith inaccurately, and even absurdly, renders.

[12] *Short of what, &c.*] Literally, "short of what he would have had expressed, and what he knows to be."

[13] *For thus far, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Lucian, 2, 485, 15. μεχρὶ γὰρ τοῦδε οἱ ἔπαινοι ἀνεκτοί εἰσιν εἰς ὅσον ἄν ὁ ἐπαινούμενος γνώριζῃ ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων προσον ἑαυτῷ; Aristid. 3, 672. B. καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος (ἀκροατης) ἔχει φυσέως ἢ δυναμεως οὕτως ἐπαινεῖ. And Cicero: "Nunc enim tantum quisque laudat, quantum sperat se posse imitari."

[14] *But whatever surpasses, &c.*] There is some diversity of reading in this passage, occasioned, it should seem, by the difficulty of the words. Duker remarks that Dionys. Hal. read *ὑπέρβαλλον*. And, it may be added, that such also was the reading of Agathias, who at p. 67. imitates this passage. But I see no reason to desert the common reading *ὑπερβάλλοντι*, especially as it is confirmed by the following close imitation in Dio Cass. p. 698. ἃ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε ποιῆσαι, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ ἑτέρου λεγόντος πιστεύειν βούλεται. Καὶ μαλισθ' ὅτι πᾶς παντὶ τῷ ὑπερέχοντι φθονῶν, ἑτοιμότερον ἀπιστεῖ; also Procop. de Ædif. 2, 18. τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄπιστα γέγονεν.

As to the var. lect. *αὐτὸν*, though it be found in almost all the best MSS. and preferred by Abresch, yet I see not how it is tenable. Nay, I cannot but suspect that it is a mere blunder for *αὐτοῦ*, which may *seem* more suitable to *ἤκουσε*, and to be countenanced by the above imitation in Sallust; but the *αὐτῶν* is required by the *φθονοῦντες ἀπιστοῦσιν*. Αὐτῶν cannot, however, refer to *ἐπαίνων*, as the Schol., Gottleb., and Hack suppose; but with Kistemmacher and Goeller, must be taken for *what they themselves can do*. Hence may, perhaps, be illustrated the somewhat obscure words of Tacit. Agric. c. 1. Quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium, parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, *ignorantiam recti* et invidiam. So also Eurip. Belleroph. Frag. 10. *φθονοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ χείρονες πεφυκότες*. Εἰς τὰ 'πισημα δ' ὁ φθόνος πηδᾷν φίλει.

XXXVI. "I shall commence[1] with the previous commemoration of our ancestors; for both justice and decorum, as regards them, alike demand that in an address such as the present, this honourable mention[2] should be assigned them. For surely by having uninterruptedly[3], and always the same race[4], inhabited this country; by having, through successive generations down to the present time, delivered it to us free through their valour, they are worthy of praise. And yet more so are our immediate forefathers. For acquiring, not without toil, in addition to what they inherited, the empire which we possess, they bequeathed it to us of the present age; though farther enlargements have been made by ourselves (especially such of us as are in the maturity of our age[5]), which have thereby fur-

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[1] *I shall commence, &c.*] There may appear a sort of pleonasm in ἄρξομαι πρῶτον; but it may rather be considered *emphatic;* as in Eurip. Med. 473. ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρώτων πρῶτον ἄρξομαι λέγειν. There is an imitation of the passage in Dio Cass. 408, 51.

[2] *This honourable mention.*] Literally, this very honour of mention; by which is meant the honour of being *first* mentioned; for Smith wrongly takes it of being *mentioned* only. It had been needless to say that their ancestors ought to be mentioned in an oration like this; but that they should have the honour of a *first* mention, was not so obvious; this, however, the orator says, justice and decorum alike demand.

[3] *Uninterruptedly.*] Such is here the sense of ἀεί.

[4] *Always the same race.*] Or, they being always the same race, the country always being inhabited by the same race, and not having those frequent changes of inhabitants spoken of in 1, 2., and which is there said to have prevailed in all the best portions of Greece. It is not meant that there was no foreign admixture; for it is plain from 1, 2. that Attica was especially the seat of colonisation; but that, to use the kindred expression at 1, 2. τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνθρώποι ὤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί. Now this was ever the especial boast of the Athenians; nay, they pretended to be αὐτόχθονες. So Aristoph. Vesp. 1076. Ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς—Ἀττικοί, μόνοιδι καίως εὐγενεῖς αὐτόχθονες, Ἀνδρικώτατον γένος, καὶ, &c.

[5] *Maturity of our age.*] Goeller explains this *ætatem stantem*, scil. militarem; thus regarding ἡλικίᾳ as standing for *youth*. And he musters a formidable array of critics in support of this signification. But, admitting it to be well founded, it can have no place here; since Pericles was no *youth*, any more than was Archidamus, who uses a not dissimilar expression at 1, 80. In short, there is no reason to abandon the interpretation of the Scholiast and the earlier commentators. Ἡλικία here, as often, simply denotes *age, time of life*. And καθεστηκυῖᾳ *determines* the sense; and having a passive signification, denotes *settled, stayed*, which latter term, though it now has only the figurative sense *sedate*, yet formerly was referred to *age*. So Butler says of Hudibras, "he was well stayed." And Spenser (cited by Johnson in his Dictionary) speaks of *riper years* and *stronger stay*. So that the Scholiast Ang. rightly explains it *middle age*, what Florus (cited by Gottleb.) calls the *robusta maturitas*.

nished the city with resources for its independent[6] well-being, in every exigency, whether of war or peace. On the warlike achievements, however, by which each acquisition has been made, or on the valour with which we ourselves, or our forefathers, have repelled impending invasion[7], Barbarian or Greek, your own intimate knowledge of the events renders it unnecessary that I should dilate[8], and, therefore, I shall altogether pass them by. But *by what institutions* we have risen to empire — by what form of civil polity — what dispositions and habits of life, we have attained our greatness, I shall first point out, and then proceed to the celebration of these our departed worthies. Such are, I conceive, topics whose discussion is neither unsuitable to the present solemnity, nor unprofitable to be heard by the numerous assemblage of bystanders, both citizens and strangers.[9]

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[6] *Independent.*] Literally, *self-sufficient.* The passage is imitated by Agathias, 77. s. f. τοῖς πᾶσι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην. And it is illustrated by Aristoph. Γεωγρ. frag. 8. ὦ πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος, αὐτοφυὴς Ἀττική.

[7] *Invasion.*] Literally, war coming upon us. The phrase πόλεμον ἐπιόντα ἠμυνάμεθα is one of almost lyric boldness, and the peculiarity of the expression is increased by the Βάρβαρον and Ἕλληνα occurring as *adjectives.* Some critics, therefore, conjecture πολέμιον. And, indeed, the words πόλεμος and πολέμιος are not unfrequently confounded. But thus the phrase would become flat and spiritless. Other conjectures are also put forth by German critics, but are too harsh to deserve any attention. Goeller, indeed, prudently retains the common reading, referring to the expressions ἐπιόντα πόλεμον ε. ὄλεθρον, ἐπίον κακὸν, cited by Abresch from Appian and Pausanias. And I have myself collected many other examples of those phrases. But all such are little to the purpose, since the term in which alone the difficulty centers (namely, ἀμύνεσθαι) is omitted. The following passages will, however, be found apposite : Liban. Or. 724. Dionys. Hal. 510, 44. πόλεμον ἥξοντα προσδέχεσθαι; and 497, 9. ἐπίοντα φόβον ἀποστρέψαι; Plutarch Camill. 23. πόλεμον ἀλλόφυλον ἀπώσασθαι. Hence may be emended Cinnamus, 264. C. ἐπίον ὑποστήσεσθαι τὸν πολεμιον, where read ἐπιονθ' and πόλεμον. Other critical matter I must reserve for my edition; from all which it will appear that the only harshness here consists in what is usually ascribed to a *person*, being applied to a *thing;* though indeed the thing is put for the person.

[8] *Unnecessary, &c.*] Literally, " not wishing to enlarge on such matters among you who are acquainted with them." For ὑμῖν is to be understood. Μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν is, as Goeller remarks, a noted formula of those who would pass any thing in silence. The ὑμῖν is *supplied* in Herodian, 5, 1, 3. ἐν εἰδόσι μὲν ὑμῖν — πέριττον νομίζω μακρηγορεῖν. See also Æschyl. P. V. 450. Procop. 306, 33. and Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Ag. 1375.

[9] *Citizens and strangers.*] On the meaning of ξένων (*strangers*) the commentators are divided in opinion. Heilman and Kistemm. think that in

XXXVII. " We enjoy, then, a form of government not framed on an imitation of the institutions of neighbouring states, but are ourselves rather a model to, than imitative of, others [1]; and which, from the government being administered, not for *the few*, but for *the many* [2], is denominated a demo-

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the ἀστοὶ are comprehended the μέτοικοι. Others, as Gottleb., maintain that by the ξένοις are denoted the μέτοικοι. Yet they surely cannot mean to exclude foreigners sojourning at Athens. Of these two opinions the *former* seems preferable; and it is strongly supported by a kindred passage of Acts, 17, 21. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι., where all the best commentators, from Kypke downwards, take Αθην. to be used in an extended sense, so as to include the μέτοικοι, who must have had certain civil rights, though not the jus civitatis; otherwise, they would not have been called upon to bear arms with the citizens. Though even there the older commentators took the οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι to denote the μέτοικοι. (See my note on that passage.) And it is *possible* that St. Luke, who cannot be supposed to have been acquainted with the nicer proprieties of Attic Greek, might use ξένος in that extended sense. Of ξένοι for μέτοικοι I know no example in any antient writer.

[1] *But are ourselves, &c.*] So Aristid. 2, 76. C. μηδὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων ἑτέρωθεν ὑμῖν προσήκει λαμβάνειν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον εἶναι παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις. Lycurg. 158, 17.

[2] *From the government, &c.*] There are few passages that have more divided the opinions of critics than the present, which is rendered still more perplexed by the variety of reading and interpretation. The reading of the old editions, and the far greater part of the MSS., is ἐς πλέονας οἰκεῖν. The rest have ἥκειν, which was introduced into the text by Gottleb., but has since been thrown out by Hack, Bekker, and Goeller. Now, as to MS. testimony, this is one of those questions which cannot be decided by it; for the two words are perpetually confounded, both from similarity of form, and almost identity of pronunciation. But we will *grant* that, cæteris paribus, οἰκεῖν may be preferred; let us see whether such a sense can be assigned to οἰκεῖν, as is inherent in the word, and agreeable to the context. The above commentators unite in explaining οἰκεῖν by διοικεῖσθαι, *administrari;* and they assign to the ἐς following the sense " for the benefit of." But, as to the sense, *administrari*, it is destitute of proof; for the passage of Demosth., adduced by Hack, is not decisive; since οἰκεῖν may there have an active sense. And of the above signification of ἐς no example is brought forward; for as to the passage of Thucyd. 8, 53., cited by Hack, there it signifies *accommodate ad*, with a view to. Hack, indeed, adds, that οἰκεῖν *may* be taken in an active sense, i. e. administrare, with the subaudition of δημοκρατίαν. But the subaudition he proposes, is inadmissible. The best would be πολιτείαν. Then we must take οἰκεῖν for τὸ οἰκεῖν, and also understand εἶναι, to which the διὰ τὸ will refer. Perhaps, however, οἰκεῖν may be taken for τὸ οἰκεῖν, in an absolute sense, and without any subaudition. And this seems preferable. Whichever, indeed, of these modes be adopted, the passage at 8, 53. will favour it.

With respect to ἥκειν, it *seems* to offer an easier sense, and is supported by δημοκρατίαν. The construction will thus be, διὰ τὸ (τὴν πολιτείαν) μὴ

cracy.[3] According to its laws, all participate in an equality of rights [4] as to the determination of private suits [5], and every one is preferred to public offices with a regard to the reputation he holds [6], and according as each is in estimation [7] for any thing; not so much for being of a particular class [8], as for his personal merit. Nor is any person who can, in what-

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ἐς — ἥκειν. And the sense: "since the constitution or form of government is not confined to the few, but is extended to the multitude."

[3] *Is denominated a democracy.*] This might be a good definition of the Athenian form of government, as far as it was *supposed* to be; for Thucyd. 2, 65. plainly says, that it was, during the administration of Pericles, a democracy only *in name;* but, in reality, an aristocracy under a principal person. In fact, that modification of aristocracy called *elective monarchy.* And, according to the definition of democracy given by Alcibiades, at c. 89., πᾶν τὸ ἐναντιούμενον τῷ δυναστεύοντι δῆμος ὠνόμασται, it was any thing but a democracy.

[4] *According to its laws all, &c.*] i. e. each has an equal share in the rights belonging to all. Μέτεστιν, from the force of the μετὰ, *implies* participation. On this idiom see Matth. Gr. Gr. § 359. Yet, as he adduces no other example but the present, the following may be acceptable. Aristoph. Conc. 173. Ἐμοίγ' ἴσον μὲν τῆς χώρας μετὰ Ὅσον περ ὑμῖν. In either passage we must subaud μέρος.

An example of the *complete* phrase is given by Brunck on Aristoph. Conc. 582.

[5] *Determination of private suits.*] i. e. as the Scholiast explains, suits respecting private persons, between man and man. So Portus explains it *controversies.* Here may be compared Dio Cass. 311, 31. τὰ διαφορὰ διακρίνων.

[6] *The reputation he holds.*] Literally, "his reputation;" for the article is here put for the pronoun possessive.

[7] *In estimation for, &c.*] Such is the literal sense of the words ἐν τῷ εὐδοκιμεῖ. In fact, the clause ὡς ἕκαστος — εὐδοκιμεῖ is exegetical of the preceding.

[8] *Particular class.*] i. e. a privileged class. This, like most of the passages in which the orator adverts to the political advantages of Athens, is (as the Scholiast observes) introduced by way of contrast with the state of things at Lacedæmon, where, in the succession to the kingdom, the privileges of a part, in the Heraclides, gave a title to sovereignty, and not personal merit; the monarchy being hereditary, not elective. Yet there seems also a reference to those orders in Lacedæmon, who were held inferior to the *Spartans,* and seldom or never preferred to any office. I mean the Lacedæmonians at large, or the provincial ones, as distinguished from those of Sparta and its district. On which subject, and the various orders of society in Sparta, I shall treat in the preliminary matter to this work.

As to the ratio significationis in the phrase, ἀπὸ μέρους, it may, I think, be regarded as put for some adverb correspondent to our *partially.* The ἀπὸ seems to have been employed for better adaptation to the antithetical ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς; and μόνον is to be understood. Here I would compare Dionys. Hal. t. 1, 148, 7. (of Rome) ἄρχει παρ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ὁ πολλὰ χρήματα κεκτημένος, — ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν ᾖ τούτων τῶν τιμῶν ἄξιος.

ever way, render service to the state, kept back on account of poverty or obscurity of station.[9]

"Thus liberally are our public affairs administered; thus liberally, too, do we conduct ourselves as to mutual suspicions[10] in our private and every-day intercourse; not bearing animosity[11] towards our neighbour for following his own

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9 *Nor is any person, &c.*] The passage may also be rendered thus:—"Nor is any one who, though he be poor, can render service to the state, kept back on account of the obscurity of his station. Thus, Goeller remarks, that for *κατὰ πενίαν* it should have been *πένης μέν ὤν*. But the only irregularity is in the *δέ*. Upon the whole, there is an anacoluthia. On the *sentiment* the commentators refer to Eurip. Suppl. 407. Plato Menex. p. 283. I add Æschin. C. Tim. § 27. p. 4. *ὁ νομοθέτης διαῤῥήδην ἀπέδειξεν οὓς χρὴ δημηγορεῖν, καὶ οὓς οὐ δεῖ λέγειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ—καὶ οὐκ ἀπελαύνει ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εἴ τις μὴ προγόνων ἐστὶ τῶν ἐστρατηγηκότων υἱός, οὐδε γε εἰ τέχνην τίνα ἐργάζεται, ἐπικουρῶν τῇ ἀναγκαίᾳ τροφῇ. ἀλλὰ τούτους καὶ μάλιστα ἀσπάζεται.* See also Alcæi Frag. 4. ap. Mus. Crit. 1, 142.

10 *Mutual suspicions, &c.*] Here again, as the Scholiast remarks, there is a censure aimed at the opposite vice of the Lacedæmonians, a habit of judging for the worst, or carping censoriousness, which makes no allowance for the frailties of human nature, but wishes to sit in self-erected judgment over others; in fact, a spirit which was to be found elsewhere as well as Sparta, and against which the commissioned teachers of the wisdom that came from on high every where directed their severest censures.

11 *Not bearing animosity, &c.*] These, and the words following, are in some measure exegetical of the preceding. The Scholiast has here a curious illustration of that *morosity* of the Spartans which is here touched on. His words are these: "On once seeing Alcamenes swinging in the outskirts of the city, they beat him severely. For the Lacedæmonians are sour-faced, always affect gravity, and punish the effeminate; for they account gaiety of life a hinderance to necessary business." Such is, I conceive, the sense of that passage, which has been thought obscure. Abresch, indeed, takes *μετεωρίζοντα* to denote *leaping*. But the Spartans would hardly have been so severe on such an action.

As to the sense of our author, it is, I conceive, such as is above assigned. And that is supported by the laborious philological discussions of Abresch. Yet there have not been wanting those who take the passage differently. Gramm, Heilman, Kistemmacher, and Goeller, join *ὄψει* with *λυπηράς*. But that is truly pronounced by Gottleb. *nimis argutum*. The *ὄψει* will thus have a very frigid sense, and the force of the whole sentence will be lowered. As to there being (what those critics fancy) any allusion to the *whipping of boys* at Lacedæmon, it is so absurd that a boy would deserve, at least, to suffer the verbera *linguæ*, who should bring forward such a notion. Finally, to take *προστίθεσθαι* in a *forensic* sense, is very farfetched; since the subject of these words is *not* the *τὰ κοινὰ*, but the *τὰ ἴδια*. The method I have adopted, is far more agreeable to the true construction of the passage, and is strongly supported by *αχθ.* being in the *plural*, of which there is scarcely another example, and which seems to have a reference to the eyes and looks. As to *λυπηρῶς* being taken in an absolute sense *irksome, troublesome* (not to mention that it is according to Sturz. Lex. Xen, a stronger term than *χαλεπὸς*) that cannot be thought irregular; as will appear from the following examples. Aristoph. Ach. 456.

humour, nor darkening our countenance with the scowl of censure, which pains, though it cannot punish. While, too, we thus mix together in private intercourse without irascibility or moroseness[12], we are, in our public and political capacity, cautiously studious not to offend[13]; yielding a prompt obedience to the authorities for the time being[14], and to the established laws; especially those which are enacted for the benefit[15] of the injured, and such as, though unwritten[16], reflect a confessed disgrace on the transgressors.[17]

λυπηρὸς ἴσθ' ὤν, κἀποχώρησον δόμων, "know that you are a troublesome fellow, and get you gone from the house!" Plutarch Symp. l. 7. t. 2. 704. D. ἐβούλετο μὲν ὁ Λ. εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τοὺς νέους ὀρρωδοῦντι δ' ὁμῶς μὴ λίαν ἀηδὴς γένηται καὶ λυπηρός. Eurip. Suppl. 893. λυπηρός οὐκ ἦν, οὐδ' ἐπίφθονος πόλει. whence may be illustrated an obscure expression of Horace Carm. 3. 19, 22. audiat *invidus* (ἐπίφθονος) Dementem Strepitum Lycus, et vicina seni *non habilis* Lyco. Æschyl. Eum. 174. κἀμοί τε λυπρός. Hence also may be confirmed the reading of Schutz and Butler on Æschyl. Choeph. 820. προπράσσων χάριτας ὀργᾶς λυπρᾶς.

[12] *Mix together, &c.*] Προσομιλοῦντες, which Hobbes and Smith render *conversing* together, must extend to the demeanour in general, and the whole of what Gail here calls *la commerce de la vie*. The passage is imitated by Joseph. 815, 21. δεξιότητι τοῦ ὁμιλεῖν ἀνεπαχθὴς ὤν. On the *sentiment* I would adduce a kindred passage of Æschyl. Eum. 910. Schutz. Στέργω τὸ τῶν δικαίων τῶνδ' ἀπένθητον γένος (of the Athenians). For ἀπένθητος has there the same sense as ἀνεπαχθὲς, and must be taken in an active sense. The words may be rendered: "I like these good and light-hearted race of people."

[13] *Cautiously, &c.*] Literally, "we especially stand in awe of offending." For such seems to be the sense of διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, where παρανομέω is to be taken in its primitive sense, to denote a transgression of the *law*. From the prominent manner in which this *fear* is introduced, we see that the high influence of the law was acknowledged at Athens as well as Lacedæmon. See l. 1, 84. We may compare that fine passage of the Psalmist 4, 4. "Stand in awe, and sin not."

[14] *Authorities for, &c.*] Literally, "those in office, and who bear rank." This I should hardly have thought it necessary to notice, had not the Latin translator joined the ἀεὶ with ἀκρόασει. Ἀεὶ here denotes what happens in a regular series, one thing succeeding another. Ἀκρόασις in the sense *obedience*, is rare.

[15] *Benefit.*] i. e. aid and protection.

[16] *Such as, though unwritten.*] The Scholiast rightly explains these *unwritten laws* by ἔθη, *customs*. As the commentators make no remark on this interesting expression, the following illustration may be acceptable. Demosth. de Cor. φανήσεται τοίνυν ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νομίμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. On the force of these ἔθη, see Spanheim on Julian p. 35. Pithy and true is the dict of Eurip. Pirith. frag. 7. τρόπος ἐστ' χρηστὸς ἀσφάλεστερος νόμου.

[17] *Reflect a, &c.*] Or, as Gail paraphrases, "hurl on the head of transgressors the vengeance of public opinion."

XXXVIII. "We, moreover, provide the greatest variety of recreation[1] for the public mind, by the exhibition of games and sacrifices throughout the whole year[2], and by the use of those private and handsomely-furnished entertainments and [3] spec-

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[1] *Recreation.*] Namely, from labour. It is rare that the word *ἀνάπαυλα* (on which I shall treat at large in my edition) has any adjunct. The following are the only examples I have noted. Artemid. 1, 33. *ἀναπ. τῶν κακῶν.* et alibi. Soph. Trach. 1157. *παῦλα κακῶν.* Aristid. 1, 407. *ἀναπαύσεις τῶν πόνων.* A similar expression occurs in Eurip. Ion. 1604. *ἀναψυχῆς πόνων.* Suppl. *κακῶν ἀναψυχάς.*

With respect to the *sentiment*, we may appositely adduce the dict of Pindar fragm. Epinic. 3. *μηδ' ἀμαυροῦ τέρψιν ἐν βίῳ. πολύ τοι φέρτιστον ἀνδρὶ τερπνὸς αἰών.* which may bring to mind the words of one of Mozart's finest melodies. That we may not misunderstand the intent of the bard, we have only to revert to the beautiful commencement to his fourth Nemean: *Ἀριστὸς εὐφροσύνα Πόνων κεκριμένων ἰατρός,* &c. See also a lively comparison of the life of men in the earlier ages, with that of after-times, in a fragment of Theophrastus de voluptate, preserved by Athen. p. 511. D.

[2] *Throughout the whole year.*] This was almost literally true; for we find by the Scholiast (who doubtless derived his information from some antient writer), that there were sacrifices at Athens every day of the year, except one. And so Herodian 2, 7, 15. describes the inhabitants of Antioch as *σχεδὸν παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἑορτάζοντες.* A striking illustration of the present passage may be derived from the following graphic sketch of Dicæarch. Stat. Græc. p. 9. *ἑορταὶ παντοδαπαί, ψυχῆς ἀπάντα καὶ ἀναπαύσεις. φιλοσόφων παντοδαπῶν σχολαὶ πολλαὶ· θεαί συνεχεῖς.* So, also, in a kindred passage of Aristoph. Nub. 299—310. (which the orator may even have had in mind), *Ἑλθωμεν λιπαρὰν χθόνα Παλλάδος, εὐανδρον γᾶν Κέκροπος ὀφόμεναι πολυήρατον, Οὗ σέβας ἀῤῥήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα Μυστοδόκος δόμος Ἐν τελεταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναδείκνυται, Οὐρανίοις τε θεοῖς δωρήματα, Ναοί θ' ὑψηρεφεῖς, καὶ ἀγάλματα, Καὶ πρόσοδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται, Εὐστέφανοί τε θεῶν θυσίαι, θαλίαι τε, Παντοδαπαῖς ἐν ὥραις.* where the Scholiast remarks: *διηνεκῶς, παντὶ καιρῷ διὰ τὸ θρησκεύειν πάντας θεους, καὶ πανηγυρίζειν ἀεί. θύουσι διαπαντὸς καὶ διηνεκῶς.* See also another passage much to the present purpose in Aristoph. Horæ ap. Athen. 372. C.

This Plutarch Peric. c. 11. ascribes to the profound policy of Pericles. His words are these: *τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἀνεὶς ὁ Περικλῆς, ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, ἀεὶ μὲν τινα θέαν πανηγυρικὴν, ἢ ἑστίασιν, ἢ πομπὴν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ἄστει, καὶ διαπαιδαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσους ἡδοναῖς τὴν πόλιν.* Yet the same writer in his Cimon 15. ascribes the introduction of these *ἐλευθέριοι καὶ γλαφυραὶ διατριβαὶ* (as he there calls them) to Cimon. Though from a fragment of Theopompus ap. Athen. 532. I find they may be traced to Pisistratus, Hippolitus, and Hippias. Neither Cimon nor Pericles were thought to govern *πρὸς χάριν*; yet they both, like Napoleon Buonaparte, though sufficiently tenacious of rule, at the same time studiously indulged the people in whatever might amuse and employ the public mind.

[3] *Private and, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the somewhat perplexing words, *ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς.* The difficulty centers in the *κατασκευαῖς*, which, from the great extent of its meaning, is not easy to be fixed. Smith prudently omits it. Hobbes takes the *εὐπρέπεσιν* to refer to *ἄγωσι καὶ θυσίαις* in the preceding clause, thus assigning the sense "handsomely furnished forth at the public expense." And the same view of the passage I myself formerly adopted; but I abandoned it, partly because I

tacles, the daily delight[4] of which dispels[5] all weariness. Such, too, is the greatness of our city, that to it are wafted the various productions of every region[6]; whence it is our

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saw that this mode of taking the words does violence to the construction; the particles μὲν and δὲ showing that the two clauses are respectively antithetical, and therefore that the latter cannot qualify the former; and partly because it is contrary to *fact;* for all the *sacrifices*, at least, were at the *public* expense, and that exceedingly heavy; insomuch that Theopompus ap. Athen. 532. D. says, more was expended on these κοιναὶ ἑστιάσεις καὶ κρεανομίαι than upon the public administration of government. This, therefore, cannot be the sense. Gottleb. and Gail understand the words of the *edifices* and the other decorations of the city; so 1, 10. τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη. And I must confess that this opinion is not a little confirmed by a passage of Aristid. 1, 406. B. in which that writer seems to have a view to this of Thucydides; as also in the whole of that oration on Smyrna he decks out his favourite residence in the colours of the city of Minerva. His words are these: ἀεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς πομπὴν ἐνιαύσιον κεκοσμημένη, ταῖς τε ἰδίαις καὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις κατασκευαῖς ὡραΐζεται. Such, then, seems to have been the mode in which Aristides took the words. But thus there is no aptness or force in the antithesis. Besides, we cannot suppose the view of buildings would long amuse weariness. I am inclined to think that our best mode of ascertaining the sense is to seek it by close attention to the antithetical words; and thus understand, *private entertainment* and spectacles. And so (I find) Gail renders " fêtes particulières et décorations pompeuses." But the εὐπρέπεσιν, it must be observed, signifies not *pompous*, but *decent, handsome*.

[4] *Delight.*] The Scholiast explains τέρψις by ἡ ζωγραφία, a term which has been thought not a little perplexing; insomuch that the critics are inclined to read ἡ ψυχαγωγία. But that is surely too bold. Unless under ζωγραφία there had been some more suitable word, I should rather seek the error in ἡ, and for that read ᾗ, *ut*. The Scholiast, it seems, means to say that these perpetual scenes of pomp and gaiety amused the public mind like a *moving picture*.

[5] *Dispels.*] Or *expels*. Ἐκπλησσ. is a very forcible term. This passage, it may be observed, has been a frequent object of imitation, as I shall show in my edition.

[6] *To it are wafted, &c.*] To this effect it is said by Isocr. p. 63. fin. τὴν χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη κεκτημένων ἑκάστων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐλλείπουσαν, τὰ δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν φέρουσαν, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὔσης, τὰ μὲν ὅπου χρὴ διαθέσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὁπόθεν εἰσαγαγέσθαι· καὶ ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπήμυνεν. Ἐμπόριον γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πειραῖα κατεστήσατο, τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἔχον, ὥστε ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἓν παρ' ἑκάστων χαλεπόν ἐστι λαβεῖν, ταῦτ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πορίσασθαι. Upon this whole chapter the following passage of Aristid. 1, 168. C. will be found very apposite: τὸν μὲν ἀεὶ κατάπλουν τῶν ἐμπόρων, καὶ καθ' ἱστορίαν, ἢ χρείαν εἰσαφικνουμένων, μεθ' ὅσης τῆς ῥαστώνης καὶ ψυχαγωγίας γίνεται, καὶ τροφῆς, οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν, πλὴν εἰς ὅσον αὐτούς τις ἐπιμαρτύραιτο.

I have here adopted the term *wafted*, because the productions in question were almost all brought by sea. Attention is due to the use of ἐπεισέρχεσθαι in the place of a passive verb; of which another example occurs in Procop. p. 85. And so Plutarch Lycurg. 1, 44. E. οὐδὲ εἰσέπλει φόρτος ἐμποροικὸς εἰς τοὺς λιμένας. See note, supra, 1, 137. There is somewhat of hyperbole in the πάσης γῆς, of which there is another example in

happy lot to have a no less familiar enjoyment of the luxuries of other countries than the commodities of our own.

XXXIX. [1] "In our exercise, too, of military affairs, we differ from our adversaries in these respects; that we throw open our city as a common resort, and do not, by the expulsion of strangers[2], exclude any from seeing or learning that which, as it is never *concealed*[3], any one, even an enemy, may behold and be benefited. Nor do we rely so much on

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a kindred passage of Joseph. 1205, 8. And Galen de Antid. l. 1. has a similar passage (of Rome): *εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὰ πανταχόθεν ἥκοι καλὰ διὰ πάντας ἔτους*. See also Procop. p. 85, 17. Theocr. Idyll. 17, 96. How strikingly applicable this is to our own metropolis I need not say.

[1] Having contrasted the state of things in political affairs, the orator turns to *military* ones.

[2] *Expulsion of strangers.*] That was a peculiarity of the Lacedæmonian government which formed one of its most distinguishing features. Wasse and Gottleb. refer to Plutarch Lycurg. c. 27. Aristot. Polit. 2, 9. Xen. de Rep. Lacon. c. 14. Plutarch says that this *ξενηλασία* was not to prevent foreigners from learning any of their military practices, but rather that they might not introduce foreign habits and customs. On the present subject there is an interesting passage in Plutarch Ag. c. 10. where for *συναναχρωνυμένοι* Du Soul conjectured *συναναχων*. I prefer *συνανακεραννυμένοι*, a term used by Lucian ap. Steph. Thes. See also some important remarks in Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 6, 20. Ælian, too, in his Var. Hist. l. 13, 16. touches on this subject; where Perizon. has the following remarks: "De more illo eleganter Theophilus Græcus Instit. Juris Interpres, de Jure Nat. G. et Civ. pag. 11. *ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις ἐκέχρητο ξενηλασίᾳ, Λυκούργου τοῦτο νομοθετήσαντος, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἐπιμιξίας διαφθείροιτο καὶ χεῖρον γένοιτο τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἦθος*. Vide quos ibi notavit Fabrotus. Vide Thucydidem, l. 1. init. et Aristotelem in Politicis passim, et maxime, 5, 3. Dionys. Halic. 2, 2. Tac. Ann. 11, 24." The two causes for the custom above mentioned may very well be united; and the best view of the reasons for its introduction is found in Aristotle. It seems, however, to have been not so much borrowed from the Cretans (according to Aristotle's opinion), as rather derived from their oriental colonists; for in the East it has ever been practised, and is prevalent to the present day, especially in China, Japan, India beyond the Ganges, &c. The most remarkable example of it in antient times is found in the Jews, from whom, indeed, the Spartans affirmed that they were descended. And Joseph. p. 1123 and 1124. treats at large on this very subject, with reference both to the Jews and the Lacedæmonians. It would appear from Aristoph. Av. 1013. that such foreigners as were found within the limits of Lacedæmonia were beaten thence with stripes. See the words of that passage, or the Schol. in loco.

[3] *Concealed.*] On this concealment and mystery, which were ever practised by the Lacedæmonians, see Aristid. Pan. 1, 289. c. 2, 287. D. Philostr. V. A. 3, 16.

preconcerted stratagems[4], as on what is our own and self-derived — courage in action. With respect to our modes of education; *they*, from their earliest youth, are trained up to the acquirement of manly courage by severe discipline and laborious exercises[5]; *we*, notwithstanding our unrestricted[6] and easy mode of life, are not the less ready to encounter equal perils.[7] For example, the Lacedæmonians invade our country, not by themselves only[8], but with a combination of force[9]; while we, when attacking by ourselves alone the territories of our neighbours, usually find little difficulty, though in an enemy's country, in defeating those who are fighting in defence of their own possessions. As to our united forces, no enemy hath ever encountered them[10]; part of us being occupied in naval service, and part engaged in distant expeditions. But if any where they engage with a detachment of our troops, and come off victorious, they boast of having defeated our

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[4] *Preconcerted stratagems.*] In ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ἀπαταῖς there is a sort of Hendiadys. Παρασκ. signifies the fraudes belli præparatas; as I. 8. 95., and Polyb. 4, 9, 2. ἤγγειλαν τῆς νυκτομαχίας τὴν παρασκευήν.

[5] *Trained up, &c.*] On this it may suffice to refer the reader to Xenoph. de Repub. Lacon. and Aristot. Pol. passim, and, of the modern writers, to Cragius or Potter, and the Travels of Anacharsis.

[6] *Unrestricted.*] i. e. not restricted, like that of the Lacedæmonians, by rigid institutions. The word ἀνειμένως implies *luxury*. And on the luxury of the Athenians see Heracl. Pont. ap. Athen. 512. C.

[7] *Encounter equal perils.*] Ἰσοπαλεῖς is explained by Hesych. (from this passage) ἴσους. But it is a stronger term, signifying *of equal match*. So Polyæn. 3, 11, 11. ἐὰν ἰσοπαλεῖς κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ὦσι; also Theocr. Idyll. 5, 30. Ὥριφος (hædus) ἰσοπαλής. From this passage of Thucydides may be emended one imitated from it in Cyrill. in Quat. Proph. p. 751. Ed. Ingold. where for ἰσοπόλεις κινδύνους read ἰσοπαλεῖς. Goeller thinks that this passage was had in view by Cicero ad Muræn. c. 35. "Neque tamen Lacedæmonii, auctores istius vitæ atque orationis, qui quotidianis epulis in robore accumbunt, neque vero Cretes, quorum nemo gustavit unquam cubans, melius quam Romani homines, qui tempora voluptatis laborisque dispertiunt, respublicas suas retinuerunt."

[8] *Not by themselves only.*] That such is the sense, is clear from the context. And yet Poppo and Goeller have shown that *that* would require, not καθ' ἑκάστους, but καθ' ἑαυτούς. See their notes. Either, therefore, we may suppose this a slip of the author, or an error of the scribes. The former, however, is the more probable, since it would be difficult to imagine how *such* an error could have crept into all the copies.

[9] *With a combination, &c.*] i. e. with the forces of the allies added to their own. I am surprised that no editor should have seen that in the original ought to be read, from at least four good MSS. ἁπάντας.

[10] *No enemy hath, &c.*] So Aristid. 1, 285. B. ἀθρόας δὲ τῆς δυναμέως ἢ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς ἐπειράθη.

whole force[11]; if they be *worsted*, they were vanquished (forsooth) by our combined strength. And what though[12], amidst relaxation[13] rather than exercise in labour, if with a courage, not so much of institution as of disposition and manners, we be ready to meet dangers, we have *this* point of *superiority*, that we groan not over future troubles by anticipation[14]; and when they overtake us, we approve ourselves not less courageous than those who are ever toiling.

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[11] *Boast of having, &c.*] It is not clear whether ἀπεῶσθαι should be taken in the active, or in the passive sense. Most modern interpreters take it in the *latter*; but the Scholiast in the former. And this seems confirmed by Hesych. ἀπέωσται. ἀπωθεῖτο. ἀπηνήνατο. παρητήσατο. So Voss. there read; but in the common text the two first words form a separate gloss. It is, however, improbable that a verb in the preterite should be explained by other verbs in two different tenses. And yet it is difficult to see why ἀπέωσται should be explained by ἀπωθεῖτο. I therefore suspect that ἀπέωσται has lost its explanation, as many glosses in Hesych. have. Of ἀπωθεῖσθαι in the *present* and *imperfect*, there are many examples; but I cannot find one in the preterite. And therefore I prefer the passive sense. That, indeed, is rare, but is found in Aristoph. Ach. 450.

[12] *And what though, &c.*] The sense of this passage has been but imperfectly understood, chiefly from inattention to its scope and purport. The Scholiast truly observes that it is *recapitulatory*. But that is not all. The purpose is first to admit a sort of superiority on the part of the Lacedæmonians; and then, as a set-off, to claim some ground of advantage over them. The former part of this purpose is attained in the sentence καίτοι — κινδυνεύειν; and the latter in the remaining words of the sentence, where the difficulty centers in περιγίγνεται, which has been quite misunderstood by the commentators. There is an ellipsis in τοῦτο for κατὰ τοῦτο; and περιγ. has an *impersonal* sense. The sense "to be superior to," is one frequently found in Thucyd. and the best writers.

[13] *Relaxation.*] The ῥᾳθυμίᾳ here, and the ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι a little before, are to be taken, by a common figure, for what the Lacedæmonians *called* such, rather than what really existed.

[14] *Groan not, &c.*] Our language is too ill provided with compound verbs to admit of its expressing the close brevity of προκάμνειν, though the *point* of the sentence, which depends upon it, is thereby injured. There is great address and taste shown in the use of the term ἀλγεινοῖς; for toils and perils are thus *admitted* to be grievous by the *Athenians*, though the stoical pride of the Spartans would not allow them to be accounted such.

It is strange that the commentators should not have noticed any one of the many imitations of this passage, to be found in the classical writers. The following are only part of what have occurred to me in my own reading. Heliodor. 2, 70, 12. ὡς ἂν τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκαμνοῖτε. Liban. Orat. 16. D. τῶν μελλόντων ἀλγεινῶν μαντεία. Dio. Cass. 521, 46. τῷ μέλλοντι προκαμνόντες. Arrian, 5, 26. προκάμνειν ταῖς γνώμαις. Ælian, V. H. 14, 6. gives the following dict of Aristippus, μήτε τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν ἐπικάμνειν, μήτε τῶν ἐπιόντων προκάμνειν. Plutarch Mar. 37. m. δεόμενος μὴ προαποκάμνειν τῆς τελευταίας ἐλπίδος. Dexippus ap. Corp. Hist. Byz. p. 11. D. καὶ προκαμὸν ἐν τῷ ἀεὶ μοχθεῖν ἀτολμότερον ἔσται. Hence we may perceive the true nature and sense of a much controverted

XL. "In these respects, then, is our city worthy of admiration[1], and in *others* also. For we study elegance combined with frugality, and cultivate philosophy without effeminacy.[2]

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passage of Æschyl. Eum. 78. Ὅμως δὲ φεῦγε, μηδὲ μαλθακὸς γένῃ, καὶ μὴ πρόκαμνε τόνδε βουκολούμενος πόνον. where the sense of βουκολούμενος can alone be seen by using the gloss of Hesych. βουκολήσομεν. μερίμνησομεν. And, indeed, this whole passage may bring to mind the maxim of heavenly wisdom at St. Matth. 6, 34. μὴ μεριμνήσατε εἰς τὴν αὐρίον. It is possible that Pericles (or Thucyd.) had in mind a fine passage in Æschyl. Agam. 243. τὸ μέλλον δ' Επεὶ οὐ γένοιτ' ἂν λύσις (effugium) προχαιρέτω. ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν. Gail here cites from Racine:

> Tant de prudence entraine trop de soin:
> Je ne sais pas prévoir les malheurs de si loin.

[1] *Worthy of admiration.*] There is no city which has been the theme of such universal admiration, by the most distinguished writers of every age, as Athens. The passage of Cicero, in his Orat. de Flacco, is too well known to need being here adduced. I will only observe, that it seems to have been founded upon Lucretius: "Primæ frugiferos fœtos mortalibus ægris dediderunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ. Et recreaverunt vitam, legesque rogarunt. Et primæ dediderunt solatia dulcia vitæ." There are many passages to the same effect in the tragedians; but the one of most finished elegance is that of Sophocles, Œd. Col. 668—719.; though, perhaps, it yields in simple grandeur of expression to that of the seventh Pythian ode of Pindar, commencing with κάλλιστον αἱ μεγαλοπόλιες Ἀθᾶναι προοίμιον. How strong and general was this feeling of admiration, may be inferred from the witty turn of Lysippus ap. Dicæarch. p. 10. Εἰ μὴ τεθέασαι τὰς Ἀθήνας στέλεχος εἶ, Εἰ δὲ τεθέασαι, μὴ τεθήρευσαι δ', ὄνος· Εἰ δ' εὐαρεστῶν ἀποτρέχεις, κανθήλιον. Nor was this confined to *words*; for it appears from Isocr. Panegyr. 59 and 60. that very many cities used to send annually to Athens the first fruits of their harvest, in remembrance of the obligation which they were under to their ancestors, the introducers of agriculture.

[2] *We study elegance, &c.*] The orator here preoccupies and refutes a common opinion respecting the Athenians, that they were given up to luxury and sloth, dignified by the name of literary leisure. (For, as we find from the Scholiast, they used to object: τῇ φιλοκαλίᾳ τὸ ἄσωτον ἕπεται, τῇ δὲ φιλοσοφίᾳ τὸ μαλακὸν καὶ ἀνειμένον.) He grants that they are fond of the elegant, but it is when combined with frugality. And the same of philosophy.

By *philosophy* Ernesti, Morus, and Ruhnken., referred to by Gottleb., understand the *humaniores literæ*, what we call the *belles-lettres*. But, surely, philosophical studies, properly so called, cannot be *excluded*. Indeed, as φιλοκαλοῦμεν precedes, we may suppose that φιλοσοφοῦμεν has reference to the more substantial branches of human knowledge, as natural philosophy, ethics, mathematics, eloquence, &c. cultivated by Athenagoras, Socrates, and Pindar; in φιλοκαλοῦμεν, the lighter and more elegant, as poetry, painting, statuary, and music; though it may also extend to whatever constitutes elegance in general. As highly illustrative of this, Goeller refers to two passages of Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 35., and Isocr. p. 265. Lang. I would add, that hence may be understood Eurip. Med. 815. (of Athens) τῇ σοφίᾳ παρέδρους πέμπειν ἔρωτας, παντοΐας ἀρετῇς ξυνέργους. The present passage is also imitated by Aristid. Paneg. Smyrn. 1, 407. A., whose words

Riches we employ at opportunities for action[3], rather than as a subject of wordy boast.[4] To confess poverty with us brings

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I shall cite in order to emend: *μία δὴ πόλις αὕτη μετριωτάτη ὅσοι τὰ ἐπὶ ῥαστώνης τὸν βίον διανύσαι προείλοντο, καὶ ὅσοι φιλοσοφεῖν ἀδηλως ἀξιοῦσιν.* For *ἀδήλως* I would read *εὐδήλως*.

[3] *Riches we employ, &c.*] We are here encountered with some difficulty, arising out of variety of reading; and, as dependent thereon, diversity of interpretation. Without entering into the minutiæ of verbal criticism, it may be sufficient for me to observe, that the reading, edited by Bekker and Goeller, is the very same which I had myself, after long and laborious investigation, many years ago determined to be the true one. The reading, *πλούτῳ*, is supported alike by the weight of MS. testimony, and by the apodosis *τε — καί*; as also is *ἔργου καιρῷ*, by a kindred phrase infra, to which may be added, imitations of the passage in Liban. Epist. 165., and Philostr. Epist. 159. *σοφίαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ τῶν ἔργων ἔχουσα.* Liban. Orat. p. 75. *τοῦ καιροῦ τῶν ἔργων ἥκοντος.* This is sufficient to defend the construction both against Gottleb. and Bened., who join *πλούτῳ ἔργου*, and against Hack, who construes: *χρώμεθα πλούτῳ ἐν καιρῷ μᾶλλον ἔργου ἢ λόγου κομπῳ.* which does great violence to the sentence. With the *ἔργου καιρῷ* I would also compare Æschyl. Choeph. 813. Blomf. *σὺ δὲ θαρσῶν ὅταν ἥκῃ Μέρος ἔργων.* where, did the metre permit, one might conjecture *καιρός*. But, indeed, the present term is appropriate in another point of view. As to the construction adopted by some who, as Goeller remarks, join *πλούτῳ ἔργου*, comparing Plato Euth. 13. *σοφίας πλοῦτον.* to which Euseb. opposes *πενίαν* and *ἀπορίαν σοφίας*, and St. Paul *πλοῦτον τῆς χρηστότητος*: those are phrases of quite another nature (see my note on Rom. 2, 4.); and the connection in the above imitations sufficiently establishes the construction and explanation which I have adopted, in conformity to the opinion both of the Schol., and of the best recent commentators, among whom Bauer has the credit of being the first who took a right view of this passage, and saw that *κόμπῳ λόγου* is for *εἰς λόγου κόμπον*; though Hobbes was not far from perceiving the truth. It is justly observed, by Goeller, that with *πλούτῳ* a new subject is introduced.

With respect to the version of Smith, and others, "our riches," &c., *πλούτῳ* does not signify *our* riches, but riches *in general;* for the orator is not considering the use and abuse of riches; and, therefore, the idea of *beneficence* has no place here. Neither is it easy to see how riches can be used "in the vanity of discourse." The truth is, *χρώμεθα* is *emphatical;* q. d. we *use* them, as opportunity serves; we do not let them rust in our chests, nor do we make them the subject of boasting, namely, that we can *despise their use.*" So the Apostle, at 1 Cor. 7, 31., *καὶ οἱ χρώμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, ὡς μὴ καταχρώμενοι.* The orator and the Apostle equally permit, nay enjoin, the use of riches; and equally object to the abuse, though they differ in principle. In ethics the *καιρὸς ἔργου*, which forbids excess, circumscribes the use; but in Christian theology that abuse is extended to the excessive trusting in them, and giving up our hearts to them, as means for happiness independent on the great Giver of all good things.

[4] *Wordy boast.*] Or, *boast of words.* But the genitive of the substantive may here, as often, be taken for an adjective; an idiom which has been rashly numbered among Hebraisms. With the phrase of the original I would compare Plutarch Mar. 9. s. f. *λόγων κόμπῳ μετρῶν ἀεὶ φρονήματος μέγεθος.* Menand. ap. Corp. Hist. Byz. 173. *ῥημάτων κόμπῳ χρήσασθαι.* Herod. 7, 103, 15. *ὅρα μὴ μάτην κόμπος ὁ λόγος οὗτος.* So Eurip. Suppl.

no disgrace[5]; not to endeavour to escape it by exertion, were disgrace indeed.[6] There exists, moreover, in the same persons an attention both to their domestic concerns, and to public affairs[7]; and even among such others as are engaged

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126. *κόμπος μάτην.* Soph. Antig. *γλώσσης κόμπους.* Pind. Nem. 9, 16. *ἐπέων καυχὰς,* boasts of words, i. e. boastful words. Hence also may be emended a corrupt passage of Dio Cass. 838, 41., imitated from the present, and where the words need not the violent alterations proposed by Leunclave and Oddey. For *κόμπον —λόγων* read there *κόμπῳ λόγου.*

[5] *To confess poverty, &c.*] This is imitated by Lucian, 1, 53, 41. *ὅτι δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται πενίαν ὁμολογοῦντες.*

[6] *Disgrace, indeed.*] Such is the true sense of *αἴσχιον,* which has no *comparative* force, nor even a high degree of the positive, but is (as Hack observes) for *μᾶλλον αἰσχρόν.* The point here rests on the *ἔργῳ, by action,* i. e. by active exertion. Which will bring to mind the words of Horace Epist. 1, 1, 45. *Impiger* extremos curris mercator ad Indos, Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes.

[7] *There exists, &c.*] This is, I conceive, as before, said by way of contrast with the Lacedæmonians, who attended, indeed, a few of them to political as well as to military affairs, but to the neglect of private and ordinary business; for the most part letting their *glebes* to the lower orders of the commonwealth, or cultivating them by bailiffs and slaves. The attention equally to great and to small things, which characterised the Athenians, arose from their active genius and quick versatility. And here I cannot but cite the apposite words of Lysias: *οὐ μόνον τῶν ἰδίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐβούλετο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.*

One thing, however, is strange, that the Schol. explains the *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* (the same persons) as denoting "the artizans, agricultural labourers, huntsmen, and other handicraftsmen." But in what sense, however remote, *such* persons could be said to attend to public affairs, I cannot discern. The persons here meant seem not properly speaking *private* persons (and certainly not handicraftsmen or labourers), but *public* ones; i. e. those whose situation in life *enabled* them to take part in public affairs in the *ἐκκλησία,* if not to occupy a place in the senate, or an office in the state. I suspect that the words in question are meant to be opposed to the expression *ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις* just after. And thus we not only have a most correct explanation of those words, but are enabled to see the force of *ἑτέροις,* which has perplexed the interpreters more than they will confess. Hence it is generally omitted; and the learned Mr. E. H. Barker thinks it so inexplicable that he proposes *ἔτι τοῖς.* But the conjecture, however ingenious, is unauthorised and unnecessary, since the *ἑτέροις* is only intended to point out that the persons in question were of another class. Of *τετρ.* the sense is "*intent upon.*" With respect to the *ἔργα,* that term properly, indeed, and generally, denotes *agricultural labour;* yet Heins. in his Introduction to Hesiod, shows that it may also apply to *navigation.* And that it may be applied to *handicraft labour* is asserted by Hesych. in *ἔργα.*

It is worthy of notice that the orator ascribes to these last, not an *attention* to state affairs, but a *competent knowledge* of politics, and what concerns the good of their country; competent, of course he means, for their situations and their purposes. (So that Gail has utterly misrepresented the sense by rendering, C'est ici qu'on voit — le citoyen laborieux juger des intérêts publics, avec autant de sagacité qu'il exécute avec adresse les tra

in agricultural occupations or handicraft labour, there is found a tolerable portion of political knowledge. We are the only people who account him that takes no share[8] in politics, not as an *intermeddler in nothing*, but one who is *good for nothing*.[9]

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vaux nécessaires à sa subsistance.) Any thing *more* than that could not be expected. Though there is reason to think that those who misrepresented the Athenian democracy, made it out to be an *oclocrasy*, or mob government. So Eurip. Sup. 417—422. puts into the mouth of a Theban herald (and, of course, an aristocrat) some animadversions which are exceedingly illustrative of the present passage: Ἄλλως τε, πῶς ἂν μὴ διορθεύων λόγους, Ὀρθῶς δύναιτ' ἂν δῆμος εὐθύνειν πόλιν; Ὁ γὰρ χρόνος μάθησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ τάχους Κρείσσω δίδωσι· γηπόνος δ' ἀνὴρ πένης, Εἰ καὶ πένοιτο, κάμαθὴς ἔργων ὕπο, Οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο πρὸς τὰ κοίν' ἀποβλέπειν. where the words εἰ καὶ πένοιτο signify "should he chance to be poor." But the above passage plainly refers to taking part in the government, which such classes would, from the causes here suggested. Otherwise, as was before hinted at c. 38., *poverty alone* would not be sufficient ground of rejection, since in such respects all were treated upon an equality. So Eurip. Suppl. after adverting to the holding office annually and in turn, says, v. 407. οὐχὶ τῷ πλούτῳ διδοὺς Τὸ πλεῖστον, ἀλλὰ χὠ πένης ἔχων ἴσον. As to the speaking in the assembly of the people, that was permitted even to mechanics. So Plato Protag. p. 115. ὡς μὲν εἰκότως ἀποδέχονται οἱ σοὶ πολῖται καὶ χαλκέως καὶ σκυτοτόμου συμβουλεύοντος τὰ πολιτικά, — ἀποδέδεικταί σοι. Plato himself, however, seems not to have approved of this, since at T. 3, 190. he says that in *his* Republic there is no double employment; a shoemaker is a shoemaker, and not a patriot besides, &c. &c. Aristoph. takes great delight in ridiculing this occasional jumble of discordant characters; and also represents the agriculturists as totally absorbed in the lowest occupations of husbandry; ex. gr. Lysist. 1174. Eq. 295. Vesp. 263. where see the Schol. There is little doubt but that the ultra-aristocrats used to speak of the people at large in much the same contemptuous manner as that used by the Pharisees, John 7, 49. ἀλλ' ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος ὁ μὴ γινώσκων τὸν νόμον, ἐπικατάρατοί εἰσι. of which the sense is: "This mob — are a parcel of *low wretches!*"

[8] *Takes no share.*] i. e. a share or part, according to his condition in life; whether that part were the ἐπιμελεία, or attention to and management of state affairs, or the forming an opinion as to the interests of his country.

[9] *Not as an intermeddler, &c.*] I here endeavoured to represent the witty turn of the original; though in such cases all translation must be inadequate, not only because an *exact* correspondence of terms is necessary, but because it is essential to the point that the two antithetical words be expressed in two others.

The ἀπραγ. denotes a good easy man who, like the knife-grinder of the Antijacobin, "never loves to meddle with politics." The οὐχ — ἀλλὰ signify *non tam — quam*. There is a similar turn in Eurip. Med. 300. Pors. Σκαιοῖσι μὲν γὰρ κοινὰ προσφέρων σοφὰ, Δόξεις ἀχρεῖος κοὐ σοφὸς πεφυκέναι. also in Lycurg. C. Leoc. p. 148, 11. τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπεχθανόμενον οὐ φιλόπολιν, ἀλλὰ φιλοπράγμονα δοκεῖν εἶναι.

The ἀχρεῖον Gottleb. compares with the Germ. der Tangenichts. And so our *good-for-nothing*. It was absurd in Abresch to explain it *inhabilem militiæ*. Still less can I agree with some commentators in explaining it *perniciosus*. The Scotch have the similar expressions, *a neer da weel, a neer da good*. Ἀχρεῖος has the same sense here as at Hesiod. Opp. 295.

We are, too, persons who[10] examine aright, or, at least, fully revolve in mind our measures: not thinking that words are any hindrance to deeds, but that the hindrance rather consists in the not being informed by words previously to setting about *in deed*[11] what is to be done. For we possess this point of superiority over others, that we exercise a bold promptitude in the execution of what we undertake, and yet a cautious prudence in taking forethought[12]: whereas with others, it is ignorance[13] alone that makes them daring, while reflection

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[10] *We are persons who, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense intended; and this may be found in the reading of five good MSS. *οἱ αὐτοί*. We may compare the Latin *idem* in *Iidemque*, &c. An idiom which seems to have been resorted to, to avoid an unpleasant repetition of the pronoun. In this very sense *οἱ αὐτοὶ* occurs a little further on. The editors and commentators, however, seem agreed that the true reading is *αὐτοὶ*, and the sense *nos ipsi;* q. d. "we use our *own* judgment." And in this view the Schol. Cassel appeals to Hesiod. Opp. 293. And Goeller renders the whole sentence thus: "aut ipsi judicamus, aut post aliorum judicia rectam de rebus sententiam concipimus." But this is manifestly torturing the sentence; for it is impossible that *ἐνθυμούμεθα* can denote to entertain an opinion at the suggestion of others. *Κρίνομεν* and *ἐνθυμούμεθα* must have their usual sense. But if so, the signification ascribed to *αὐτοὶ* will most offensively overload the sentence. Upon the whole, I see nothing doubtful, nor indeed difficult, about the words. *Οἱ αὐτοὶ* has the sense *iidemque*, and is used by way of *modesty*. To the same cause I would refer the use of *ἐνθυμούμεθα* after *κρίνομεν*, which term is to be taken in its primitive sense to *sift, examine* (from *κρίω*, whence *κρίον, a sieve*). Thus it is a far stronger one than *ἐνθυμεῖσθαι*, which only signifies to pass through the mind, revolve in mind. Thus the sense is: "We sift, examine, and weigh well (or, at least, properly revolve in mind) what we undertake." On the *sentiment* the commentators refer to Sallust Cat. 1. and Herod. 7, 49. Other passages may be found in Gruter's Fax. Crit. t. 1. p. 419.

[11] *In deed.*] i. e. heartily, in good earnest.

[12] *We exercise, &c.*] Goeller compares Sallust Jug. 7. "Et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem adferre plerumque solet."

[13] *Ignorance.*] Namely, of their danger. The *ὅ* is well rendered by Hobbes *whereas;* by which all the difficulty raised by the commentators vanishes. Of this little known signification I subjoin the following examples. Thucyd. 3, 12. *ὅ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις*, &c. which is a kindred passage. Plutarch Sert. 11. Others I shall adduce in my edition. I will only here observe, that the passage is imitated by Procop. 256, 38. *ἐμπειρία γὰρ λογισμὸν φέρουσα, θρασύνεσθαι ἥκιστα εἴωθεν.* and 356, 29. *ἀνανδρία γὰρ καταφρονηθεῖσα, ἐπὶ παῤῥησίαν ἐξάγεται μείζω· ἐπεὶ τῷ προϊέναι τὸ θράσος, ἄοκνον*; Dionys. Hal. 275, 35. Dio Cass. p. 22, 31. *τῷ μὲν ὄκνον τῷ δὲ θάρσος ἐμποιεῖν*; Liban. Orat. p. 157. A. *σοί, Πολυφήμος, λογισμὸς ὄκνον οὐκ ἔχει*; Theoph. Sim. 48. C. Hence may be understood the pithy remark of Æschyl. Suppl. 514. *φύλαξαι, μὴ θράσος τεκῇ φόβον.* The passage of Procop., I find, has been preoccupied by Hemsterh. on Lucian, t. 1, 26. seqq. (where there is reference to Thucyd.) *ὅτι ἡ ἀμαθία μὲν θρασεῖς, ὀκνηροὺς δὲ τὸ λελογισμένον ἀπεργάζεται* Other imitations are collected by Goeller

makes them dastardly. Now surely those may justly be accounted the most high-minded who, being intimately conversant both with pleasures and dangers, are not, from love of the one, deterred from[14] facing the other. In acts of beneficence[15], too, we differ widely[16] from most other nations; for we gain our friends not by receiving benefits, but by conferring obligations.[17] Now he who *does* the favour, is the steadier and surer friend, and that in order that he may pre-

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from Synes. Epist. 79 and 153. Plin. Epist. 4, 7, 3. Gail here appositely cites the verse of Pope,

"Too rash for thought; for action too refined."

[14] *Deterred from.*] This exactly answers to the ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ of the original. The syntax is rare.

[15] *Beneficence.*] Notwithstanding what Steph. says, such is the true sense of ἀρετήν. No example is adduced by the commentators; therefore the following will be acceptable: — Thucyd. 251. and 4, 81. Eurip. Suppl. 1063. And 225. where the Schol. explains the term by φιλανθρωπία. Liban. Or. 827. χείρω γυναικὸς εἰς ἀρετήν. Max. Tyr. Diss. 39, 5. Joseph. 825, 12. Plato Menone, p. 345. χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον πορίζεσθαι ἀρετή ἐστιν, ὡς φῆσι Μένων.

[16] *Differ widely, ἠναντιώμεθα.*] Such, at least, is the reading of all the copies; though (as the commentators remark) Hesych. read ἠντιώμεθα, whose words are: Θουκυδίδης δὲ ἠντιώμεθα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐναντιώμεθα. whence Reisig thinks that Thucydides wrote ἂν ἠντιώμεθα, and even denies the correctness of ἠναντιώμεθα. But that seems an erroneous view of the subject. There is no just reason even to *question* the grammatical correctness of ἠναντιώμεθα (see Buttman and Matth. Gr. Gr.); and in the use of the perfect, in the above sense, there is nothing to stumble at. Yet it is possible that we have not the true *reading*. Hesych. plainly read ἠντιώμεθα. And I am inclined to think that so wrote Thucydides. The verb ἀντιοῦσθαι for ἐναντιοῦσθαι is very frequently used by Herodotus, many of whose words Thucyd. adopts; the Ionic and the *old* Attic being nearly allied. So ἠντιώθησαν, 8, 110., and ἀντιωθῆναι, 4, 126. Indeed, the use of ἀντιοῦσθαι is not confined to Ionic writers. Thus, it occurs in Æschyl. Suppl. 401. Schutz. τις ἂν τοῖσδ ἀντιωθῆναι θέλει. It is also used by Apoll. Rhod., Aratus, and others. Goeller, indeed, would read ἀντιώμεθα, which would thus be a present tense from ἀντιάομαι, a word used by Homer and Ap. Rhod., but never, I think, by any Attic writer. And as for this reading, there would be not even the authority of *Hesych*; it must surely be rejected.

[17] *Gain our friends, &c.*] Εὖ πάσχειν and εὖ ποιεῖν (or δρᾶν, as here, and often, in Eurip. and other *old* Attic writers) are frequently used, and sometimes antithetically, by the best authors. The present passage is had in view by Liban. Epist. 330. (though Wolf there declares that he could not find the passage.) As an apt illustration of what our orator says, that it was the practice of the Athenians τὰ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἀντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, I would observe, that Aristot. Eth. p. 406. says, εὖ πάσχειν οἱ πολλοὶ βούλονται, τὸ δὲ εὖ ποιεῖν φεύγουσι, ὡς ἀλυσιτελές. And he adds, that the latter is the distinguishing mark of *virtue*, τῆς ἀρετῆς. Aristid., too, Panath. 1, 252. says, of the Athenians: εὖ ποιεῖν οὐκ εὖ πάσχειν πεφυκότας.

serve the returns of obligation due from him on whom he bestowed the kindness.[18] Whereas he who owes the obligation, is more sluggish[19] in his feelings of friendship; knowing that whatever kindness he returns will not be esteemed a

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With the *κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους* I would compare Soph. Antig. 190. *τοὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα*. In either passage the article may be said to be equivalent to the pronoun possessive; or, we may render, "the friends whom we gain, we gain," &c.

[18] *Now he who does the favour, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of the passage, which has been strangely misunderstood by some commentators. Wakefield, Bekker, and Hack, take the *βεβαιότερος* to signify, "more sure of good-will." But that sense is at variance both with the words and the context. Smith totally wanders from the sense by rendering, "has the advantage over." The signification I have assigned, is that in which the word is constantly used. And its force has been seen by Gottleb. and Goeller, who have aptly adverted to Aristot. Eth. 9, 7. It is more than fifteen years ago since I first discerned the true sense of our author, and made use of the passage of Aristotle, cited by Gottleb., or rather the whole chapter, out of which Gottleb. has not adduced the most apposite illustrations. The philosopher is there enquiring how it comes to pass that the *εὖ ποιήσαντες* are better inclined (i. e. *steadier friends*) towards the *τοὺς εὖ παθόντας* than *they* are to them. And he proposes the following as the reason commonly assigned: *ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὀφείλουσι, τοῖς δὲ ὀφείλεται. Καθάπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν δανείων, οἱ μὲν ὀφείλοντες βούλονται μὴ εἶναι οἷς ὀφείλουσιν, οἱ δὲ δανείσαντες καὶ ἐπιμέλονται τῆς τῶν ὀφειλόντων σωτηρίας·* * *οὕτω καὶ τοὺς εὐεργετήσαντας βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοὺς παθόντας, ὡς κομιουμένους τὰς χάριτας, τοῖς δ' οὐκ εἶναι ἐπιμελὲς τὸ ἀνταποδοῦναι.* Hence is illustrated Plutarch T. Flam. c. 1. s. f. *τοῖς εὐεργητηθεῖσι διαπαντὸς, ὥσπερ εὐεργέταις εὔνους, καὶ πρόθυμος, ὡς κάλλιστα τῶν κτημάτων τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιέπειν καὶ σώζειν.* Very profound, as well as apposite to the present purpose, is the following observation of Herodian, 2, 3, 15. *μεγάλων γὰρ εὐεργεσιῶν προϋπαρχουσῶν, τὸ ἰσότιμον δυσέφικτον. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς καὶ μικρὰ μὲν λαβοῦσιν ἀντιδοῦναι μεῖζον οὐχ οὕτως εὐμαρὲς, ὡς εὐχάριστον δοκεῖ. ὁπηνίκα δ' ἂν ὁ πρῶτος τι δράσας ἀγαθὸν, ἀνυπέρβλητον κατάθηται χάριν, τὸ μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντιδοθὲν οὐχ οὕτω δυσπόριστον, ὡς ἀναίσθητον ἅμα καὶ ἀχάριστον ὀνομάζεται.*

To advert to one or two points of phraseology, at *ὀφειλομένην* we must repeat *χάριν*, but in the sense *ἀντίχαριν* (the return of obligation.) So Thucyd. 1, 32. *χάριν ἔξουσι βέβαιον*. Soph. Aj. 522. *χάρις χάριν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τίκτουσ' ἀεί*. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 332. Athen. p. 240. A. The complete phrase occurs in Isocr. Nicocl., and Schol. on Pind. Ol. 7, 1. *Ἀποδώσων* is for *ὡς ἀποδώσει*.

[19] *Sluggish.*] Or, dull, languid, flat. Not *insipid*, as Smith renders. The Schol. explains *ἀσθενέστερος*. But I prefer *ὀκνηρότερος*, with Hesych. This figurative sense of *ἀμελὴς* is somewhat rare; but I have found it in Plutarch Cat. Min. c. 54. *τῆς προθυμίας α.* and C. Gracch. 8. *ἀμελὴν εὐνοίᾳ*. Liban. Epist. 706. *ἐραστὴς ἀμέ*.

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* This may be exemplified by a curious anecdote found in Plutarch Eum., who tells us that the lives of two persons, in danger of being put to death by Eumenes, were saved by the contrivance of their friends, who made them debtors to Eumenes. Thus he spared them for his own sake.

favour, but regarded as a debt.[20] We, I repeat, alone fearlessly venture[21] to benefit others, not from the narrow calculations of interest, but in the confidence of liberality.[22]

XLI. "In short[1], I may affirm, that the city at large is the instructress[2] of Greece, and that individually, each same person among us seems to possess the most ready versatility[3]

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20 *Will not be, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Herodian, l. 2, 11, 14. χάριν οὐκ ἤδεσαν. ὄφλημα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀποτίνειν, ἀλλ' οὐ δώρεαν διανέμειν, ἐλογίζοντο.

21 *Fearlessly venture, &c.*] There is a similar elegance in the Virgilian "*Aude*, hospes, contemnere opes."

22 *Not from the, &c.*] So Appian, t. 2. 312, 48. καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ πρέπον ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἔθεσι μᾶλλον ἢ μεγαλοψύχοις λογισμοῖς ὁρίσαι. See a fine passage, much to the present purpose, in Eurip. Erecth. frag. 1. init.

Τῷ πιστῷ does not signify *the credit*, as Smith renders; but must be taken in the same sense as πίστις at 1, 68.

1 *In short.*] Or, in a word. Such is the force of ξυνελῶν, which is spun out by Smith into, "I shall sum up what remains by only adding." M. Gail endeavours to improve on the original by the following truly Gallic turn: — "Achevons par un dernier coup de pinceau."

2 *Instructress.*] Some, as Hobbes, Smith, and Gail, render, *school*. So also Goeller, *bildungs-schul*. And, indeed, Diod. Sic. calls Athens πάντων ἀνθρώπων κοινὸν παιδευτήριον. And Menedemus ap. Plut. t. 2, 81. D. says, that the bulk of the world go to school to Athens. But, as the abstract is here for the concrete (on which see Matth. Gr. 429.), and παίδευμα is often so used in the tragedians (as also Θεῶν γένεσιν for Θεῶν γεννήτορα at Hom. Il. ξ. 201.), so I prefer the former rendering.

Eustath. on Hom. Il. β. p. 284. (cited by Gottleb.) says, one writer calls Athens the Ἑλλάδος μουσεῖον; Pindar, the Ἑλλάδος ὀφθαλμὸς; and Thucydides, the Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάδα. But no such expression as Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάδα occurs in Thucyd., nay, it is not in his style. I am surprised Gottleb. did not see that Eustath. must have written, not Θουκυδίδης, but Φωκυλίδης, a writer (i. e. the Pseudo-Phocylides) in whom such *argutiæ* are not unfrequent. Other similar ones occur chiefly in writers of a later age, and less pure taste. So Theopompus ap. Athen. 254. B. calls Athens the Προτανεῖον Ἑλλάδος. Demosth., in a somewhat better taste, calls it the *sun*, *mind*, and *soul* of Greece; an expression plundered by Philo Jud. p. 886. B., who compares it to the *mind's eye*, the *reason*. It is also, he says, to it as the apple of an eye; for which thought he was, perhaps, indebted to a fine expression of the Old Testament (Ps. 17, 8., &c., but where it is introduced with perfect propriety and exquisite beauty); or, also to Æschyl. Eumen. 1024. ὄμμα γὰρ πάσης χθονὸς Θησεῖδος. Other such like expressions may be seen in Aristid. 1, 343. Dicæarch. p. 10. Isocr. de Big. § 10. Athen. 20. B., where Rome is called an "epitome of the world."

3 *And that individually, each, &c.*] Such seems to be the complete and real sense of this doubtful and difficult passage. The εἴδη is a very general term, signifying sorts or kinds of things; and, therefore, its sense must be determined from the context. There is some difficulty in ἐπὶ, which we may remove by supposing some *verb of motion* is left to be understood after αὐτ. παρ.

in adapting himself, and that not ungracefully[4], to the greatest variety of circumstances and situations that diversify human life. That all this is not a mere boast of words, for a present purpose, but rather the actual truth[5], this very power of the state, unto which, by these habits and dispositions, we have attained, clearly attests; for ours is the only one of the states now existing which, on trial, approves itself[6] greater than report[7]; it alone occasions neither to an invading enemy ground for chagrin at being worsted by such[8], nor to a subject state

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The εὐτραπέλως (which the commentators pass over), is a most expressive term. But it does not signify *venustate*, as Portus renders. It is well explained by the Scholiast εὐκινήτως. And so Liban. Orat. 717. Aristot., too, Eth. l. 4, 8. explains εὐτραπέλους by εὐτρόπους (I conjecture εὐστρόφους. So Suid. εὐτράπελον. εὔστροφον.) and εὐκινήτους. It may be Englished "*versatile*, easy to be turned," *supple;* which implies, as Gail explains, "aptitude à se revêtir de toutes les formes," a graceful suppleness of character. So Lex Reg. ὁ εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως τρεπόμενος κατὰ τὸν βίον, καὶ πάσης συμφορὰς ἐπομένων. Ælian. H. A. 5, 26. οὕτως ἄρα ἡ φύσις ποικίλον τε καὶ εὐτράπελον ἔστι. Aristoph. Vesp. 469. οὔτε τιν' ἔχον πρόφασιν, Οὔτε λόγον εὐτράπελον. Etym. Mag. 682, 42. who explains it by ἐπὶ πολλὰ τρέποντα τὴν διανοίαν. It is strange that Gail has not noticed the strong points of resemblance between the Athenians, as here described by Pericles, and the modern French. Even Diodorus saw the similarity between the Greeks and Gauls; Juvenal, too, in his sketch, (not indeed *en beau*) of the *Greeks*, at Sat. 3, 75. seqq. places foremost the ingenium *velox*, which is prepared for any and every character: "Quemvis hominem, secum adtulit ad nos: Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, Augur, schœnobates, medicus, magus: omnia novit. Græculus esuriens in cœlum, jusseris, ibit." These various traits of the Greeks, Johnson, dexterously and complacently, (for he bore no good will to them) transfers to the French. *

4 *Not ungracefully.*] Gottleb. well illustrates this from the Horatian "Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status et res." Perhaps Horace had this very passage in mind.

5 *Actual truth.*] Literally, a truth of facts. The genitive substantive is for an adjective.

6 *On trial, approves itself, &c.*] Turns out on trial. Literally, comes to the proof. So 7. 21. ἴέναι ἐς πεῖραν. See Abresch.

7 *Greater than report.*] i. e. than report had represented it; or, in the words of Gail, "supérieure à sa renommé."

8 *Being worsted by such, &c.*] i. e. by persons unworthy of victory; or, when he reflects by *whom*, &c. Οἷος signifies *qualis, quantus;* and this

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* It is strange the critics have not noticed the miserable failure in the verses:

> "All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows;
> And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes!"

To *go to hell* can here have no meaning; whereas the original, "in cœlum, jusseris, ibit," has much; cœlum ire being, I apprehend, like the "cœlum petere" of Hor. Carm. 1, 3, 38., a proverbial phrase to express attempting an impossibility. There was nothing, it seems, the Greeks would not undertake. It might be rendered, "And bid him mount the clouds, the clouds he tries."

aught of self-reproach, as being under the dominion of those unworthy of empire. A power do we display not unwitnessed[9], but attested by signs illustrious, which will make us the theme of admiration both to the present and to future ages; nor need we either a Homer, or any such panegyrist, who might, indeed, for the present delight by his verses, but any idea of our *actions* thence formed, the actual truth of them might destroy[10]: nay, every sea and every land have we compelled

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emphatic sense may imply both *praise* (as in Xenophon and Thucyd. 5, 9.), and sometimes (as here), *censure* or disparagement. See Viger. p. 124. and Matth. Gr. § 480. 3. Ἔχει is for παρέχει, as 1, 6. See the learned note of Goeller, Dr. Blomfield in Argum. ad Æschyl. Agam. There is much beauty in this use of κακοπαθεῖν, by which it is taken for *granted* that an invading enemy will be worsted. Nor must I omit to observe that here may be recognised a feeling deeply seated in the breast of every one. The chagrin of defeat, and, indeed, injury of every kind, is much enhanced by the inflictor being unworthy. So Herod. 5, 3, 18. ὑπ' ἀξιοχρέῳ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἡμίσεα συμφορή. Soph. Phil. 336. ἀλλ' εὐγενῆς μὲν ὁ κτανών τε χῳ θανών. And so our Johnson:

> "Fate never wounds more deep the generous heart,
> Than when a *blockhead*'s insult points the dart."

9 *Not unwitnessed.*] There is an elegance in the meiosis οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον, on which Gail remarks that in Hebrew a thing is often expressed in two ways, first by an affirmation, then by a negative of the contrary. Of the meiosis in question, there are examples in Philostr. V. A. 7, 14. and Icon. p. 870. Plutarch 2, 975. A. This whole passage is imitated by Dexippus ap. Corp. Byz. 1. p. 10. D. μετὰ σαφεστάτων τεκμηρίων, καὶ οὐκ ἀμάρτυρα λεξομενων.

10 *Any idea of our actions, &c.*] On the construction, and, as depending thereon, the sense of these words, the commentators are not agreed. Τῶν ἔργων is by the older interpreters construed with τὴν ὑπονοίαν; but by most recent ones with ἡ ἀληθεία. They explain ὑπονοία "a false opinion, founded on poetic imagery;" regarding it as synonymous with κόμπω a little before. And they appeal to Timæus' Lex. οὐκ ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ. οὐκ ἐν αἰνιγμῷ, οὐκ ἐν ἀλληγορίᾳ. and cite a similar use in Dionys. Hal. But that sense, I conceive, has place only in adverbial phrases, as ἐν ὑπονοιᾳ or καθ' ὑπονοίαν, not in the general use of the word. Besides, nothing can be more uncritical than thus to ascribe to a word an extent of signification which requires the addition of *two* separate and not synonymous terms; without mentioning that thus a *synchysis* will be unnecessarily introduced. I therefore do not hesitate to prefer the construction adopted by the older commentators. In fact, however, the words τῶν ἔργων *may*, and I think must be, taken both with τὴν ὑπονοίαν and with ἡ ἀλήθεια. There is no need to refine on the sense of ὑπονοία, which signifies an idea, opinion, conception. It literally denotes those *rough outlines* (ὑπὸ) which the mind strikes out for itself in forming its ideas. Thus it is often opposed to *complete information* or *knowledge*, and denotes what is mere *fancy*, or, it may be, *illusion*, as here. In ἀληθείᾳ τῶν ἔργων it is *implied* that the facts are brought to light, and narrated as they really happened.

to become accessible to our adventurous courage[11]; and every where have we planted eternal monuments both of good and of evil.[12] For *such* a state, then, these our departed heroes (unwilling to be deprived of it) magnanimously fought and fell; and in such a cause, it is right that every one of us, the survivors, should readily encounter toils and dangers.

XLII. "It is for *this* reason that I have enlarged on the circumstances of our country; namely, that I might teach you that the contest is not for equal stakes between us and those persons who enjoy not, in a similar degree, such advantages[1]; and withal, that I might establish by clear evidence the praises of those on whom I am delivering this address, the

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Here I long since had adduced in illustration the apt words of Pindar Nem. 7, 30. which I find also cited by Goeller: ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι λόγον Ὀδυσσέος, ἢ πάθεν, διὰ τὸν ἀδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὁμηρον Ἐπεὶ ψευδέεσσίν οἱ, ποτανᾷ μηχανᾷ, σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία δὲ κλέπτει παράγουσα μύθοις. τυφλὸν δ' ἔχει ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος.

[11] *Every sea and, &c.*] This is closely imitated by Liban. Orat. p. 478. A. πᾶσαν μὲν γῆν πᾶσαν δὲ θάλασσαν ἐμβάτην τῇ τόλμῃ γένεσθαι κατανάγκασας.

[12] *Monuments both of, &c.*] i. e. for weal and for woe, memorials of the evils we have brought on our enemies, and the good we have done our friends. By the *memorials of evil* are meant trophies erected, cities destroyed, and states subjugated; by those of *good* are meant (as is suggested by κατοικίσαντες) the *colonies* which were planted in most parts of what the Greeks called *the world*, and by which the blessings of religion, laws, civilization, and acquaintance with the arts and sciences, were carried into barbarous regions.

This passage was frequently imitated by succeeding writers; though not one of the imitations has been brought forward by the commentators. I select the following out of many more which I have noted. Philo. Jud. 529. A. μνημεῖα καλοκἀγαθίας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπέλιπον. and 876. E. κατὰ πόλεις μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀσεβίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας ἀπέλιπον. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 403, 6. μνημόσυνον αἰωνίου καταλίποντες ἔχθρας. See also p. 655, 12. Xen. Agis. 6, 2. ἀθάνατα τῆς ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλίπων. Livy, l. 37, 6. in omnibus (gentibus) se majore clementiæ benignitatisque quam virtutis bellicæ monumenta reliquisse.

[1] *Enjoy not in a similar degree, &c.*] Ὁμοίως is an important term, though omitted by most translators. Here must be understood not *wealth* and *power* only (as Gottleb. supposes), for of *power* the Lacedæmonians had full as much as the Athenians; but especially the advantage of free institutions favourable to the welfare both of the community and of individuals.

With the μὴ περὶ ἴσου εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα I would compare a kindred phrase of Xenophon, Hist. 7, 1, 2. οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ὁ κίνδυνος. There is, in either case, an ellipsis of πρᾶγμα. The Athenians, it is meant, had more at stake; they were contending for existence.

greater part of their panegyric has already been pronounced[2]; for what but the virtues of these, and such as these, is it that has adorned the city with all that makes it the theme of my encomiums[3]? Few, indeed, are there of the Grecians, whose fame[4] (as in the case of these) would be balanced[5] by their *deeds*. The present catastrophe of our departed worthies plainly evinces their manly courage, whether first displaying, or finally confirming it.[6] For even as to those who may, in other respects, be less deserving of praise, it is surely just to

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[2] *The greater part of, &c.*] i. e. the greater part of what has been said having tended to that end.

[3] *Makes it the theme, &c.*] The ἃ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα may literally be rendered, "the things for which I have celebrated the city." There must be understood κατὰ and πράγματα. The term ὑμνεῖν is chiefly used of poetic celebration; but is also applied to exalted panegyric, and especially when delivered in the oratorical style; as Herod. 1, 13, 17. Philo Jud. 726. D. 739. C. Isocr. p. 153. So that the editors of Julian Cæs. 67. had no reason to change ὑμνηθέντων into μνησθέντων. The same may be said of Musgrave on Eurip. Iph. T. 185, who changes ὑμνεῖ into αἰνεῖ.

[4] *Whose fame.*] Ὁ λόγος literally signifies "what is said of them." So in a similar antithesis at 1, 69. ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει.

[5] *Balanced.*] i. e. on a balance with. On the ratio metaphoræ see Leisner on Herodian, t. 3. p. 480., and on the term see Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 352. The construction with the genitive is rare. The only example known to me is Herod. 5, 91. ἰσόῤῥοπον τῷ ἑωυτῶν γένος. Of the present passage Smith has totally mistaken the sense.

[6] *The present catastrophe, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this difficult passage, which is very inefficiently treated by the interpreters. Ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν is not well rendered by Portus and others, even Goeller, "the valour of each individual." That would require τινος; and then the sentiment would be objectionable; for the death of the whole would not prove the courage of each. It signifies "the valour of a man;" i. e. manly valour. The very same phrase occurs in Isocr. Areop. § 4. and Evagor. § 2., also in Max. Tyr. Diss. 28, 7. and especially in an imitation of the present passage in Procop. p. 183, 2. ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἀρχόμεναι δηλοῦσιν αἱ πράξεις, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶσαι μηνύουσι.

The words πρώτη τε μηνύουσα, καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα are rendered by Smith "an evidence begun in their lives, and completed in their deaths." But such cannot be the true sense, since the *subject* of the assertion is the καταστροφὴ of the persons in question. Goeller has, I think, well seized the sense by rendering καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα, "confirming it with the last seal," with which I would compare 2 Cor. 1, 21. where the two terms *confirm* and *seal* are conjoined as synonymous: ὁ δὲ βεβαιῶν ἡμᾶς σὺν ὑμῖν — ὁ καὶ σφραγισάμενος ἡμᾶς. See also Joh. 3, 33. 6, 27. Rom. 15, 28. Eph. 1, 13. 7, 30. and my notes there. I must observe that καταστροφὴ here denotes not so much death properly speaking, as *vitæ exitus*, that crisis of the human frame which tends to a speedy dissolution. So Procop. 209, 23. τοῦ βίου καταστροφή. And so Steph. Thes. remarks that καταστροφὴ, "est quum res ad exitum *vergit*;" which will, I think, throw some light on the sense here.

place in a prominent view[7] their bravery exerted for the defence of their country; since by *good* they have effaced *evil*[8]; the benefit which they have rendered towards the public more than compensating for any injury they may have done in their private capacity. Yet of *these* there was not one who, either by preference for the longer enjoyment of wealth[9], was softened into pusillanimity; or by the hope of even yet exchanging poverty for riches[10] was induced to decline the danger. But esteeming vengeance on the foe more desirable than those

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[7] *For as to those who, &c.*] It is not easy to determine the sense of this passage, since προτίθεσθαι, on which the difficulty turns, is susceptible of more than one suitable sense. The Scholiast and most of the old commentators, as also Hack, explain it by προτιμᾶσθαι. And so Hobbes renders, "preferred before the rest." But the orator could hardly intend to assert this; besides, προτίθεσθαι has rarely a passive sense. Another interpretation is proposed by Steph. Thes. p. 9437. which is, however, inconsistent with the words following, and with the use of the *article*. Far more probable is the interpretation of Bauer and Gail, who take προτίθεσθαι in an *active* sense, and explain it *prætendere*. So Galen in his Lex. Hippocr. says that Hippocrates used προτίθεσθαι for προτείνειν. And this yields a good sense; yet it is liable to an objection on the score of *construction;* for προτίθεσθαι in the sense of προτείνειν must take the *syntax* of προτείνειν, which is an accusative and genitive, and not a dative only. Neither is it necessary to resort to so precarious an interpretation, since another, and a well founded one, will answer the purpose equally as well, namely, *publicè proponere*. So in a physical sense the word occurs in Thucyd. 2, 34. τὰ ὀστᾶ προτιθέναι. Other examples may be seen in Steph. Thes. The sense, then, is "to place in a prominent point of view;" and indeed this may, in some measure, include the preceding one.

[8] *By good they have, &c.*] Namely, the good or benefit of laying down their lives for their country. The passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 291, 35. ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀρετῆς, κἂν φαῦλος γένηται τις, ἐξετάζειν οἰόμενοι δεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθούς. So also Eunapius: ἕνι τουτῳ̃ γε ἔργῳ θάψας τὰ προγεγενήμενα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. See also Diod. Sic. 1, 232. At ἰδίων subaud μέρων or πραγμάτων.

[9] *By a preference for, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense; for the πλούτῳ (for πλούτου) is required by the antithetical πενίας ἐλπίδι. The words ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας are exegetical of πλούτῳ, and αὐτοῦ is to be supplied. So also at πενίας ἐλπίδι (which signifies a hope respecting his poverty, with the subaudition of περὶ) the words following are exegetical. The former clause is well illustrated by the following passage of the Schol. on Eurip. Phœn. 600. οἱ πλούσιοι δειλοί εἰσι πρὸς θάνατον, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν στερούμενοι· οἱ δὲ πένητες ῥιψοκίνδυνοί εἰσιν, ἀπολογιζόμενοι ὡς λυσιτελεῖ κινδυνεύσαντας κτήσασθαι καὶ (I conjecture ἢ καὶ) ἀποθανεῖν, μᾶλλον ἢ πτωχοὺς ὄντας ζῆν. where the latter case will bring to mind the story in Horace of the soldier. With the δειλοί πρὸς θάνατον in that passage, we may compare a similar expression of the Apostle to the Hebrews, 2, 15. ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἔνοχοι ἦσαν δουλείας. With the οὔτε προτιμήσας of the present passage I would compare the οὐ προτιμῶν of Æschyl. Agam. 1388. where see Dr. Blomfield on the term.

[10] *Exchanging poverty for riches.*] Literally, that he might escape poverty, and become rich.

objects[11], and withal accounting this the most glorious of dangers, they were willing by it[12] to be avenged on the former, and to aim at acquiring the latter. Committing, indeed, the uncertainty of success to hope[13], but as to what was present to their view, they nobly confided in themselves, and their own exertions in action; preferring resistance, though accompanied with death, to safety purchased by submission.[14] Thus fleeing any disgraceful imputation, with their bodies they bore the brunt of battle[15], and after a short and quickly

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[11] *Those objects.*] Namely, the longer enjoyment of wealth, and the chance of becoming rich; not wealth simply, as Poppo and Hack think.

[12] *By it.*] Namely, the danger; for *μετ' αὐτοῦ* refers to the preceding *τοῦ δεινοῦ*; which I am surprised the commentators should not have seen; for want of which Poppo causelessly hazards conjectures. Indeed, the Scholiast supplies *τοῦ κινδύνου*. But that is an anomalous ellipsis.

[13] *Committing, indeed, the, &c.*] A formula of expressing reliance on any person or thing, thereby trusting our good fortune, and hoping for the best. With such, in the darkness of heathen ignorance, men were fain to be content; not blessed, like us Christians, with the encouraging invitation to commit our ways, and our works, nay, and our spirit, to that gracious Being who careth for us, and will make all things work together for good in the end to those who serve him.

The passage has been thus imitated by Joseph. p. 272. *ἀλλ' ἀδήλῳ τῷ μελλόντι παραδόντας αὐτοὺς, κ. τ. λ.*

[14] *Preferring resistance, though, &c.*] Literally, chusing to resist, and suffer the consequences, rather than to give way, and be saved. Such seems to be the sense of this difficult passage, on which I agree with the Scholiast and those commentators who take *ἔργῳ* in the sense *pugnâ*, which is required by the context; and though there be no article, yet none is here required, since no *particular* battle is had in view, but only *battle* or *action* generally. Besides, at *ἐν αὐτῷ* we must supply *ἐργῷ*, and that in the sense *pugna*. *Παθεῖν* signifies to suffer what might happen. *Ἐνδόντες* is for *ἐνδοῦναι*. Here I read, with the best MSS., *τὸ παθεῖν* and *τὸ ἐνδόντες*.

On the *sentiment* the commentators compare Hor. Carm. 3, 5, 37. Heliodor. p. 49. *τοῦτό τοι καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ παρὸν ἐπινοίας ὑπερεθέμην, ταῦτα.* I add an imitation of Dio Cass. p. 571, 74–77. *τὴν φυγὴν τῆς μάχης μᾶλλον φοβηθέντες, καὶ ἐν μὲν ταύτῃ καὶ* (even) *κρατήσειν ἀντελπίσαντες, ἐν δὲ ἐκείνῃ πασσυδὶ ἀπολέσθαι προσδοκήσαντες, ἀντεξόρμησαν, καὶ συμμίξαντες ἐναυμάχησαν.* A similar use of *παθεῖν* is found in Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 347. (a passage imitated from the present) *οἷς ἔξεστιν εὐτυχήσασι μὲν ἀμφότερα, σῶσαι, καὶ νικᾷν ασφαλῶς· εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ δρᾶσαί τι, καὶ παθεῖν γενναῖον*, where for *σῶσαι* I read *σώζεσθαι*. Also Herodian, 4, 4, 5. *ὑπὸ—ἐπιθυμίας ἐλαυνόμενος διέγνω, δρᾶσαι τι, ἢ παθεῖν, γενναῖον.* So I point. The plena locutio in *παθεῖν* occurs in Eurip. Phœn. 490. *κακὸν τι δρᾶσαι, καὶ παθεῖν ἃ γίγνεται.*

[15] *Thus fleeing any disgraceful, &c.*] It is seldom possible, in a version, to represent the points of antithesis in *τοῦ λόγου* and *τὸ ἔργον*. Here, however, it is so frigid as to degenerate into a puerile play upon words.

There is infinite spirit in the words, "with their bodies they bore the brunt of the battle." Yet a passage, for dignity as well as vigour, superior

decided crisis of their fate[16], at the height of glory, not of fear, they yielded up their lives!

XLIII. "Such, then, Athenians, were these persons, and thus worthily have they approved themselves to their country. As for you who survive them, a safer career[1] you may pray for, but a less courageous spirit in encountering your foes you need not desire. Yours it will be to keep in view the beneficial tendency of such a spirit[2]; not so far only as *words* extend (for any one might enlarge thereon, telling you, what you would know as well as he, the benefits which are contained in resisting our foes), but rather approving it in deeds, by keeping in your daily contemplation[3] the increase of its power, and becoming attached to, and, as it were, *enamoured* of it.[4] When, too, its

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to this, occurs in Daniel, 3, 28. "and yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any God, except their own God."

[16] *And after a short, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of the words of the original, which have not been well understood. The καιροῦ denotes not *tempus*, but *tempus opportunum*, crisis, *articulus temporis*. So Soph. καιρὸν χρόνου. The τύχης signifies (as often in Thucydides) the *fortune of battle*. The ἐλαχίστου long ago suggested to me (as I see it has done to Goeller) the words of Horace: "horæ momento cita mors venit aut victoria læta."

With ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης I could compare many passages, which I shall reserve for my edition; only citing Appian, 7, 16, 12. ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης — ἀπηλλάχθαι. This expression, I would observe, seems formed on Herod. 6, 3. ἐν ἀκμῇ δόξης καὶ κλέους. There may seem somewhat of harshness, arising from the antithesis, in the ἀκμῇ τοῦ δέους. Yet the expression occurs in Dio Cass. p. 246, 57. ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ δέους ὤν, in summo metu constitutus. So Ælian V. H. 12, 1. πένθους ἀκμῇ.

At ἀπαλλάγησαν subaud βίου, (which is *supplied* in Eurip. Hippol. 326.) or τοῦ ζῆν, as in Polyb. 11, 30, 3. With the whole passage may be compared a similar one in Lycurg. C. L. p. 154, 14.

[1] *A safer career.*] Or, literally, a safer temper of mind and disposition. So Philipp. 1, 5. "let the same *mind* be in you that was in Christ Jesus." With the whole sentence we may compare Soph. Aj. 550. ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος, τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὅμοιος.

[2] *The utility of, &c.*] This sense of τὴν ὠφέλειαν (indicated by the article) has not been discerned by the commentators.

[3] *Keeping in your daily contemplation.*] i. e. keeping in your daily view, making it the object of your continual thought.

[4] *Enamoured of it.*] i. e. as much attached to it as lovers to their mistresses. This may seem somewhat hyperbolical; but so Dionys. Hal. ἐραστ. τῆς πολιτείας, lovers of the state. Our queen Elizabeth was very sensible how much the public service gained by this sort of high-minded devotion; and on this very principle, probably, permitted that sort of half amorous intercourse with her ministers and courtiers, for which she has been much censured.

greatness strikes you, consider that it has been acquired by adventurous [5] men, who both knew what ought to be done [6], and, in action, were keenly alive to shame [7]; who, when even failing in their attempts, were yet unwilling that their country should thereby lose the advantage of their valour, but contributed to it the noblest offering [8] — for they bestowed [9] their persons and their lives upon the public; and therefore, as their private recompense, they receive a deathless renown and the noblest of sepulchres [10], — not so much that wherein their

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[5] *Adventurous.*] The orator seems to have chiefly in view Miltiades and Themistocles; though, indeed, the Athenian spirit was universally such. Thus, they are said at 1, 70. to be παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταί.

[6] *Knew what ought to be done.*] The translators and commentators explain it, "knew their duty." But the sense which I have assigned (and which is a not uncommon one, see Lex. Xen.) is far more suitable.

[7] *Were keenly alive to shame.*] i. e. had a delicate sense of honour. The best commentary on this will be found in the words of Archidamus, at 1, 84., where see note.

[8] *Contributed to it the noblest offering.*] Namely, as it is added, their *lives.* Ἔρανον is explained by the Scholiast συνεισφοράν, and is equivalent to our *picnic*, the antiquity of which is apparent from Hom. Od. α. 226. εἰλαπιν' ἦε γάμος; ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔρανος τάδ' ἐστίν. The metaphor is extremely elegant, and was often imitated by the best writers. Gottleb. cites Dionys. Hal. in τεκνῦ, p. 236. I add, Aristid. Panath. 1, 232. τοσαύτην εἰσφορὰν εἰσενέγκοντες τῇ κοινῇ χρείᾳ. To omit numerous other passages, I must content myself with observing, that the same figure, and even further evolved, is found in some writers who cannot be supposed to have imitated this passage. Thus Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 12., where Cyrus addresses his soldiers as follows: Ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰς τίνα ποτ' ἂν καλλίονα ἔρανον ἀλλήλους παρακαλέσαιμεν, ἢ εἰς τόνδε; Νῦν γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γενομένοις πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ ἀλλήλοις εἰσενεγκεῖν. Eurip. Suppl. 363. κάλλιστον ἔρανον δούς. So also in a very beautiful passage of the Phœn. 1029. εἰ γὰρ λαβὼν ἕκαστος ὅ, τι δύναιτό τις Χρηστὸν, διέλθοι τοῦτο, κεἰς κοινὸν φέρει Πατρίδι, κακῶν ἂν αἱ πόλεις ἐλασσόνων Πειρώμεναι, τὸ λοιπὸν εὐτυχοῖεν ἄν. where the Scholiast explains φέρει by εἰσφέρε, and where for μετὰ should be read κατά.

[9] *Bestowed.*] Literally, laid down, i. e. *profuderunt*, as in Cicero: "vitam profundere pro patria." And Virg. Æn. 6, 436. projecêre animas. Xenoph. Anab. 1, 9, 7. τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προεμένοι. In the sense to which there is here an allusion (namely, of laying down *great sums*, by pouring the coins from a vessel), the word occurs in Herod. 1, 24. χρήματα προίεντα σφι. Polyb. 5, 91. 6, 32. 14, 11. πρ. τάλαντα. Liban. Or. p. 362. See also my note on Luke, 22, 19. The present passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 348, 26. οἱ τὰ σώματα χαρισάμενοι τῇ πατρίδι. Aristid. 3, 261. τὰ σώματα εἰσηνεγκεν. Liban. Or. 866. τὰ σώματα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος εἰσφέρων. The whole passage is closely imitated by Isocrat. p. 571.

[10] *Noblest of sepulchres.*] Such as was the Ceramicus. So Xenophon Hist. 2, 4, 17. says, that no one was so rich as to be able to procure such a sepulchre.

bones are entombed, as in which their glory is preserved, to be had in everlasting remembrance on all occasions, whether of speech or action.[11] For to the illustrious, the whole earth is a sepulchre[12]; nor do monumental inscriptions[13] in their own country alone point it out, but an unwritten and mental memorial even in foreign lands, which, more durable than any *monument*, is deeply seated[14] in the breast of every one. Imitating, then, these illustrious models — accounting that happiness is liberty, and that liberty is valour[15] — be not backward to encounter the perils of war; for the unfortunate and hopeless are not those who have most reason to be lavish of

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[11] *On all occasions, whether, &c.*] So Aristid. 1, 476. τῆς παραμυθίας ἅμα ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ γιγνομένης.

[12] *To the illustrious the, &c.*] This sentiment, Bauer remarks, is illustrated by Bentley on Hor. Epod. 9, 25. Neque Africanum, cui super Carthaginem Virtus sepulchrum condidit. I add, that the present passage is imitated by Dio Cass. p. 688, 16. ὥστε σοι τε (I conjecture γε) ἀγαθῷ ὄντι πᾶσα μὲν γὰρ τεμένισμα ἔσται. Philo Jud. 530. πρὸς ζῶντας αἱ πατρίδες, ἀποθανόντων δὲ πᾶσα γῆ τάφος. It is almost transcribed by Philostr. V. Soph. 23, 5. Very similar is the expression in an epigram on Eurip. in the Anthologia, p. 236., and ascribed to Thucydides: Μνῆμα μὲν Ἑλλας ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου. The whole passage is had in view by Simonid. frag. 16. p. 364.

[13] *Monumental inscriptions.*] On these were engraven together the names of those that fell on any occasion. See Suid. t. 2. p. 804. A. One of these inscriptions may be seen in Montfaucon's Palæographia, p. 135., and another in Mazzochi's Monumenta Peloponnesiaca.

[14] *Seated.*] Perhaps Hesych. has a view to this passage, when he explains ἐνδιαιτᾶται by σύνεστι, διατρίβει. Of this elegance Gail cites examples from Lucan Pharsalia, 8, 795. seqq, and the lines of Gay's epitaph —

> " But that the worthy and the good shall say,
> Striking their pensive bosoms — here lies Gay." *

On the " *unwritten memorial*" I would compare Æschin. p. 80, 43. οὐ γὰρ ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τιμᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐν πεπονθότων, ἥ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀθάνατος οὖσα διαμένει.

[15] *Happiness is liberty, and, &c.*] i. e. as the Scholiast explains, that liberty is the result of valour, and that happiness is the result of freedom.

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* Where he remarks: — " Même des Anglois, se trompant sur le sens de ces derniers mots, l'expliquent de cette autre manière: c'est ici (en jettant les yeux sur la tombe) c'est ici (c'est-à-dire dans cette tombe) que gît Gay. Traduisons avec M*.

> " S'érigeant dans son cœur un monument plus vrai,
> L'homme honnête dira: c'est ici que gît Gay."

Few, I believe, of the readers of this work will be inclined to agree with the Greek Professor, in preferring *that* sense by which the simple pathos of these lines is converted into a far-fetched and unnatural *concetto*.

their lives[16], but rather such as, while they live, have to hazard a change to the opposite[17], and who have most at stake; since great would be the reverse should they fall into adversity. For to the high-minded, at least, more grievous is misfortune overwhelming them amidst the blandishments of prosperity[18], than the stroke of death overtaking them in the

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[16] *For the most unfortunate, &c.*] The Scholiast pronounces this to be a paradox; and appeals to the dict of Theognis: *χρὴ πενίην φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγακήτεα πόντον ῥιπτεῖν, καὶ πετρῶν, κύρνε, κατ' ἠλιβάτων.* But, in fact, this is one of those things which admit of *two handles;* and, if I mistake not, most of the commentators have seized the *wrong* one. See Smith and Gail. I agree with the Scholiast, that in the *δικαιότερον*, which (as he says) implies comparison, there is an allusion to some common dict, whether that of Theognis, or some other similar to it. It should seem the orator here means to pre-occupy an argument on the part of the rich; namely, that *they*, having the means for enjoyment, ought not to hazard themselves in war, but leave it to the *poor*, who have not such. To which the answer is, that they are not *certain* of their possessions, but have to fear a reverse, which they ought to provide against. See also Gail.

[17] *Have to hazard a change to the opposite.*] Such is the sense of *ἐναντίας μεταβολή*. On this passage see Steph. Thes. t. 2. p. 212. C. It is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 381, 7. *τῇ πόλει δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἤδη που κινδυνεύεται, ἢ μεταβολὴ κ. τ. λ.* Plutarch Cat. Min. 59. s. f. *ἀλλ' ἔχειν διδάσκαλον τὸν πολέμιον, ἀφειδοῦντα τῆς ψυχῆς.* Procop. p. 146, 3. *μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπαξιούτω ζηήσκειν, ἧς ἀνδρίᾳ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ τετυχήκατε· οὐ γὰρ οὕτω δεινόν, τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς συγγηράσκοντα τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, ὡς μετὰ τὴν δυσκόλων ἐλευθερίαν, αὖθις ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανήκειν.*

[18] *More grievous is misfortune, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage, on which Duker remarks: "Non mihi liquet quæ sit sententia. Sed totus locus est *δυσνοήτος*." We may compare the words of Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1202. *κεκλημένῳ φωτὶ μακαρίῳ ποτὶ αἱ μεταβολαὶ λυπηρόν.* or of Young, "more beggar'd by the riches once possessed." But to advert to the difficulty of the passage, complained of by Duker, not a little of that has been occasioned by variety of reading, and, perhaps, corruption of the text. The common reading, *ἡ ἐν τῷ μετὰ τοῦ μαλ.*, admits of no defence. It is not merely pleonastic, but, evidently, a jumble of two readings, *ἐν τῷ*, and *μετὰ τοῦ*; insomuch that translators have taken, some one, and some the other; but none both. Goeller and Bekker (from Abresch) edit *τῳ*, at which Goeller subauds *ἔργῳ* or *πράγματι*, or *πτείσματι*. But this ellipsis is too anomalous to be admitted, and would give a very forced and yet feeble sense. It is surely better to cancel one or the other; and the variation of situation in several MSS. will permit it. Tusan, Schneider, and Hack would expunge *μετὰ τοῦ*. But I prefer, with Goeller, to omit *ἐν τῷ*, since that has, at least, the authority of Stobæus; and possesses this ground of preference, that the other might be, and no doubt is, a gloss of it, but not vice versa. The sense, however, of *μετὰ* is not, I conceive (as most render it), *after*, but *amidst*, examples of which signification are abundant. Besides, *μετὰ τοῦ* better corresponds to the antithetical *ηετὰ ῥώμης*.

Here Goeller compares Sallust Cat. 20. Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quam vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ suberbia ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? I must not omit to observe, that

full pulse of vigour and common hope[19], and, moreover, almost unfelt.[20]

XLIV. " Wherefore, I will not so much condole with the parents of the departed, as offer them comfort. Well they know that they were[1] born and trained to diversified calamities[2], and scarcely need be told that fortunate are those who, like our lamented heroes, are fated to the noblest death (or, like *them*, to the noblest sorrow[3]), and to whom life has been

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the words, *ἀλγεινοτέρα ἄνδρι γε φρόνημα*, are imitated by Joseph. p. 845, 5. *τι γὰρ δὴ καὶ γένοιτο ἀνδρι φρόνημα ἔχοντι.* Liban. Epist. 1046. *μεῖζον — ἀνδρι γε νοῦν ἔχοντι.*

19 *Common hope.*] Portus and Smith render " *public* hope." But how that sense can be suitable I see not. There appears no reason to deviate from the usual signification *common*, which may be well illustrated by what was said by Pericles in his former oration, 1, 441. *τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων περιγένεσθαι.* Each man fancies he shall escape; and this, therefore, is a common hope.

20 *Almost unfelt.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this bold expression, *καὶ ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος*, which, it must be observed, ought to be taken parenthetically. Hobbes, influenced, it should seem, by his sceptical notions, renders, *ἀναισθ.* " which is without sense." But that version is at variance with the *ἅμα καὶ*. The signification I have assigned is confirmed by two passages of Dio Cass. formed upon the present, which admirably illustrate the phraseology and subject matter. They are p. 400, 22. *ἐν τε ἀγωνι ἰσοπαλεῖ, καὶ ἐν ἐλπιδι τοῦ καν περιγένεσθαι καὶ κρατῆσαι, ἔπαιον ἀναισθήτως.* and 522, 4. *καὶ οὔτε τῶν τραυμάτων αἴσθησιν εἶχον (τὸ γὰρ ἀλγῆσον ὁ θάνατος προελαμβανεν), οὔτε τοῦ ὀλέθρου σφῶν ὀλοφυρμὸν ἐποιουντο. τὸ γὰρ λυπῆσον οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο. ἄλλος τις ἀποκτείναις τινὰ, οὐδ' ἀποθάνεσθαι τινα ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτικα περιχαρείας ἠλπιζε, καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ πίπτων ἐς τὸ ἀναίσθητον καθίστατο.* See also Appian 2, 693, 76.

1 *Well they know, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this passage, which will not bear the interpretation of Hobbes and Smith, " for you know that while they lived, they were obnoxious to calamities." The ratio of the idiom compels us to render, " for they know that *they* were," &c. The question, however, is, what is the subject? the *parents*, or the *children?* Assuredly the *parents;* as appears from the *τοὺς τοκεὰς* just before. And such, I find, is the mode of interpretation adopted by Goeller.

2 *Born and bred to, &c.*] Of the numerous classical passages I have noted, as illustrative of the present, the following may suffice. Joseph. p. 2, 18. *ἐν τύχαις πολυτρόποις.* and p. 1315. 8. *ἐν πολυτρόποις αἰκίαις ἀποθανόντες.* Timocl. ap. Athen. p. 223. B. *Ἄνθρωπος ἐστι ζῶον ἐπίπονον φύσει, Καὶ πολλὰ λυπήρ' ὁ βίος ἐν ἑαυτῷ φέρει,* which reminds one of the yet more tersely expressed saying of our burial service, " Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery;" which seems formed from Genes. 47, 9. Job 5, 7. See also Eccles. 8, 7.

Goeller thinks that the whole amounts to the saying of Solon, that no one can be pronounced happy before his death.

3 *Fortunate are those who, &c.*] This is a passage of no little difficulty, and which, therefore, bears very hard on translators. Hobbes' version, " whereas while you are in grief, they only are happy," is any thing but

measured out both to be *fortunate in*, and to *die in!* Yet difficult, I know, it is to impart to you motives of comfort respecting those of whom you will often have memorials in that good fortune of others in which you also yourselves once rejoiced.[4] For sorrow rises not so much for the loss of a good of which we are bereft untried, as for what may be snatched from us after experiencing its value.[5] Those of you, however, whose time of life affords hope of further issue, may sustain your sorrows[6] by the prospect of other offspring.[7] For thus, in a private view, the children subsequently born will to some prove the means of oblivion as respects the departed; and, in a public view, the thing will benefit the state, and that doubly, by preventing its depopulation, and contributing to its security.[8] Nay[9], it is not possible that any

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the sense. It is, indeed, only another attempt to palm a philosophical sentiment upon us. Goeller observes, that the difficulty has been occasioned by a mixture of two forms of speech; for we may say τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς, ἐὰν τις λάχῃ, or εὐτυχεῖς δὲ εἰσιν οἳ ἂν λάχωσιν. And he refers to 4, 18. 6, 14. 7, 68. 2, 62. Perhaps, however, it may be more simple to suppose an ellipsis of ἐκείνοις ἐστι. Be that as it may, I shall adduce numerous examples of similar constructions in my edition.

With respect to the rest of the passage, ἐντελευτῆσαι is quite correct; nor do we need Reisk's ἐνευτελ., even supposing that that were not destitute of authority, and contrary to analogy. Of the classical passages I have collected, as bearing upon this clause, I offer the following. Soph. Œd. Col. 790. χθονὸς λαχεῖν τοσοῦτον, ἐνθανεῖν μόνον. Eurip. Hip. 1099. ὦ πέδον Τροιζήνιον, Ὡς ἐγκαθηξᾶν πόλλ' ἔχεις εὐδαίμονα.

Ξυνεμετρήθη cannot have the sense *passed, spent*, assigned by Goeller. Ξυμμετρεῖν signifies to measure or deal out *in just proportion*; for such is the force of the συν, as in ξύμμετρος. It is strange the commentators should not have seen that ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι cannot be supposed to refer to the whole life of the departed, but to the closing scene, in which alone *all* could be said εὐδαιμονῆσαι.

[4] *Yet difficult, I know, it is, &c.*] There is a similar elegance and pathos in Isocr. Plat. § 19. p. 530. ἐν τοῖς τῶν πέλας ἀγαθοῖς τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν συμφορὰς καθορῶντες. ἐφ' αἷς ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀδακρυτὶ διάγομεν, κ. τ. λ. A similar use of ὑπόμνημα occurs in Liban. Orat. p. 375. A.

[5] *For sorrow rises, &c.*] See Xen. Cyr. cited by Abresch. I add Isidor. Ep. 5, 144. καὶ οὐχ οὕτω λυπεῖ τὸ μὴ κτηθὲν, ὡς ἡ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων στέρησις. Liban. Orat. 829. C. λυπεῖ γὰρ οὐ τὸ μὴ γεύσασθαι τῶν χρηστῶν ὡς ἡ μετὰ τὴν πεῖραν στέρησις.

[6] *Sustain your sorrows.*] Literally, "bear up under." Here must be understood ἐπὶ, which is *supplied* in Isocr. Arch. καρτερεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι.

[7] *Prospect of other offspring.*] So Soph. Antiq. 900. πόσις μὲν ἂν μοι, κατθανόντος, ἄλλος ἦν, καὶ παῖς ἀπ' ἄλλου, φωτὸς, εἰ τοῦδε ἤμπλακ.

[8] *For thus, in a private view, &c.*] There is no little difficulty in the words of the original, partly arising from harshness of construction, and partly from variation of reading. The editions up to Hack's had ξυνοίσειν.

should offer just or impartial counsel, who hold not, by hazarding children, an equal stake in the common welfare.[10] As for such of you as are past the vigour of life[11], account the greater and the happier part of your existence as so much clear gain[12]; and supposing that the remainder of it will be but brief, lighten your sorrow with the glory of *these*[13]; for the

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And this I long thought might be retained; but it involves a greater, and perhaps inextricable, difficulty. Therefore as almost all the MSS. have ξυνοίσει, and as ξυνοίσειν might very well arise from ἐρημοῦσθαι, but not vice versa, I do not hesitate to adopt, with Hack, Bekker, and Goeller, ξυνοίσει. Though even thus some harshness will remain in this ill-constructed sentence; namely, that at ξυνοίσει we have to supply, not the nearer nominative, οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοι, but the more remote one, τὸ τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι; and that there is a harsh change of construction in ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ, where we must supply ἐν or ἐπὶ, *by*.

In the ἐκ τοῦ ἐρημοῦσθαι there seems an especial reference to the male, and in ἀσφαλείᾳ to the female offspring.

The above passage is imitated by Joseph. p. 769, 16., and had in view by Liban. Orat. 307. D. εἰ παῖς ἦν μοι τεθνεὼς, ἦν ἂν ἐκ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ πεπονθότων ἡ παραμυθία καὶ ταῖς ἐπιγιγνομέναις τέρψεσιν ὑπεχώρουν ἂν αἱ λύπαι. where for ἐπιγιγνομέναις ought, I think, to be read ἐπιγιγνομένων.

9 *Nay.*] The γὰρ has here only a faint causal force, and may be rendered by *enim, scilicet*. Thus, in our own language, a subordinate reason, introduced last, is expressed by *nay*.

10 *It is not possible, &c.*] Much to the present purpose are the words of Onosander, p. 16., where Schwebel adduces a law mentioned by Dinarchus C. Demosth., that all public orators and military commanders should procreate lawful children, and hold the property of lands within the borders; evidently that they might thus have a sufficient stake in the country; and not, as Schwebel fancies, that those might be as hostages for their fidelity. This passage was had in view by Dio Cass. 804. μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ μετὰ παιδῶν — πάντα τε ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι.

With respect to the terms ἴσον and δικαιὸν, Wetstein on Coloss. 4, 1. cites this among other passages where ἴσος and δικαιὸς are conjoined. But in all those the ἴσος has a different sense to what it here bears. See my note in loco.

11 *Past the vigour of life.*] Not, as Hobbes renders, " past having children." This sense of παραβαίνω occurs in Æschyl. Ag. 957. where Dr. Blomfield cites Herod. 3, 53.

12 *Account the greater, &c.*] Such appears to be the sense; for I read, from several MSS., with Gottleb., Bekker, and Goeller, ὄν. A reading, I would add, which is confirmed by the following imitation of the present passage in Liban. Epist. 1401. κέρδος, ὃν ἀπελαύσας, χρόνον, ἡγοῦ. The phrase κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι is equivalent to the Latin *lucro apponere* (to think clear gain, and therefore to be content with), on which I shall copiously treat in my edition. With the *sentiment* I would compare one in Philostr. Epist. 93. οὐ θρηνητέον οἷων φίλων ἐστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιωτευσαμεν. As far as regards the τὸν πλείονα, and the τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, I would adduce Aristot. Rhet. p. 129. ζῶσι τῇ μνήμῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἐλπίδι. τοῦ γὰρ εἴου τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν ὀλίγον· τὸ δὲ παρελληλυθὸς πολύ.

13 *Lighten your sorrow, &c.*] Or, console yourselves. So Aristoph.

love of honour never grows old[14]; and in the imbecile inutility of advanced years, it is not so much (as some say) gain[15] that gladdens, as honour and respect.

XLV. "To you (let me add), the sons and brothers of the deceased, I foresee a wide field laid open for contest[1] and emulation; since to *departed* merit no one refuses the tribute of admiration; but *you*, even with deserts *surpassing* theirs, will with difficulty be thought, not equal, but somewhat inferior to them.[2] For the envy of competition ceases only with the death of its object[3]; whereas the merit which obstructs no one is honoured with a zeal unmixed with jealous rivalry.[4] If, too, with reference to the *widowed* among

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κουφίζονται γὰρ οἱ λυπούμενοι συναλγοῦντων τῶν φίλων. Here I would refer to Eurip. Meleag. frag. 13.

[14] *The love of honour, &c.*] Smith ill renders *greatness of soul.* On the *sentiment* I would compare Philostr. Soph. 1, 3. τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως τὸ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων ἡγουμένης. Diog. Laert. 1, 97. s.f. αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ φθαρταί· αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἀθάνατοι.

[15] *Gain.*] Not *wealth,* as Smith renders; for the old are often gratified with amassing gain, though the gains be petty, and wealth never attained. This is well expressed by the τὸ κερδαίνειν, for τὸ κέρδος, as in the pithy dict of Soph. frag. Æth. 1. δίκαι' ἐπαίνει, τοῦ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἔχου (*stick to*). So also the τὸ τιμᾶσθαι following, for τίμη, which occurs in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 388, 462, 631. Plato unites both, 734. E. ὅτε χρηματιστικὸς πρὸς τὸ κερδαίνειν τὴν τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἡδόνην οὐδενὸς ἀξίαν φήσει εἶναι.

In the words "*as some say*" there is perhaps a tacit reference to Simonides, of whom Plutarch, 2, 781. thus writes: Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπεστερήμενος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἡδονῶν, ὑπὸ μᾶς ἔτι γηροβοσκεῖται, τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν. Aristotle, too, says of the old, πρὸς τὸ σύμφορον ζῶσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς καλόν.

[1] *I foresee a wide field, &c.*] Ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα. As the commentators have adduced no examples of this pithy phrase, the following may be acceptable: Aristoph. Pac. 273. Eurip. Hel. 1090. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1003 and 1244. Eurip. Phœn. 874. Eurip. Hipp. 498. Soph. Œd. Col. 587. Plato, 757. C. to omit many others.

[2] *You, even with deserts, &c.*] This whole passage was plainly had in view in the Pseudo Phal. Epist. 103. οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸς ὑμῖν ἀγων, μὴ πολὺ καταδεεστέρους ἐκείνου ὑμᾶς γένεσθαι. I know not whether Bentley brought forward the above passage in his immortal Dissertation. It might of *itself* decide the question as to the genuineness of the Epistles; though I have myself adduced several others in the course of this work.

[3] *For the envy of competition, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Liban. Declam. ap. Villois Anecd. Græc. 2, 13. πᾶσι, τοῖς σοφοῖς, ζῶσι μὲν ὁ παρὰ τῶν πλησίον φθόνος προσφέρεται· ἀποθανόντων δὲ καθαρῶς ἐξ ἁλύπου τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἡ σοφία κρίνεται. See also a poet ap. Schol. in Æschyl. Suppl. 498. πρὸς τὸν εὖ ἔχοντα ὁ φθόνος ἕρπει. Philostr. V. Ap. 1, 35. Pind. Olymp. 6, 124. Pyth. 7, 118. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 470, 10.

[4] *Whereas the merit which, &c.*] I would compare Plutarch Num. c. 22. πᾶσι μὲν οὖν ἕπεται τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι μείζων ὁ μετὰ τελεύτην

you, I may be expected to advert to the subject of *female virtue*, I would express the whole in one brief admonition — It will be *your* greatest glory not to be found deficient in *the virtue of your sex*[5], and to let your behaviour be as little as possible the theme of conversation among the other sex, whether for good or for evil.[6]

XLVI. "And now I have, conformably to legal prescription, *spoken* what I judged most suitable to the occasion; and by *deeds* also have the interred been thus honoured. For the rest, their children will henceforward be maintained, and educated to manhood by the state[1]; thereby holding out a reward for eminent valour, neither unprofitable, nor without its effect, both on them and their posterity; for where the rewards[2] of virtue are the most liberal, *there* will ever be found

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ἔπαινος, τοῦ φθόνου πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπιζῶντος, ἐνίων καὶ προαποθνήσκοντος. Horat. Virtutem incolumem odimus, Sublatum ex oculis quærimus, invidi. Vell. Pater. Præsentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione prosequimur: et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus. Sallust, 170. Nam vivos interdum fortuna, sæpe invidia fatigat; ubi anima naturæ cessit, demptis obtrectationibus, ipsa se virtus magis magisque extollit.

I must not omit to observe, that the τὸ μὴ ἐμποδὼν (which is very wrongly rendered by Hobbes "to stand out of the way") is an expression of great elegance, found in Pausan. 2, 9, 1. Theoph. Sim. p. 25. Plutarch Comp. Sert. & Eum. c. 2. Antiph. ap. Etym. Mag. p. 355, 38. Menander ap. Corp. Byz. 1, 117. B. The passage is imitated by Cinnamus, p. 138. A. Pericles seems to have had in view the dict of Mimnermus: Δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμὲν εὐκλεεῖ Ζῶντι φθονῆσαι, κατθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι.

[5] *The virtue of your sex.*] This is plainly the same with the γυναικείας ἀρετῆς, neither of which, however, denotes *magnanimity*, as commentators explain. Thus Bauer and Hack: ut ne sint abjecto prorsus, sed æquo et patienti animo; nam lamentari huic sexui imbecilliori conceditur. The Scholiast, Smith, and Gottleber alone saw the true sense. Φύσις in the sense *sex* is of perpetual occurrence. See my note on 1 Cor. 11, 14. The above interpretation, I must observe, is confirmed by Plutarch, t. 2, 220. ὅλως περὶ γυναικείας φυσέως παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω λόγον εἶναι οὐδένα δεῖ.

[6] *As little as possible, &c.*] So Plutarch Cat. 25. ἀμνηστία — μήτε ψόγου μητε ἐπαίνῳ. Soph. Acris. 4. αἷς κόσμος ἡ σιγή τε καὶ τὰ παῦρ' ἔπη.

[1] *Their children the state will, &c.*] On this Gottleb. refers to Plato Menex. c. 22. τοὺς δὲ παῖδας συνεκτρέφει αὐτὴ προθυμουμένη. To which I add the following apposite passages: Lesbonax Protrept. p. 173. Æschin. p. 75, 28. Diog. Laert. Sol. 1, 55. from all which it appears the law was, that they should be supported and educated up to manhood, at the public expense, and then be presented with a suit of armour, and occupy the first seats at the theatre.

[2] *For where the rewards, &c.*] So Lesbonax Protrept. 173, 8. καὶ ἀρετὴν πλεῖστον ἂν εὕροις αὐτὴν ἐπιδιδοῦσαν ὅπου μεγίστην καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει καὶ ἆθλοις καὶ ἐπαίνοις. Liv. 1. 4, 35. Nihil non aggressuros homines, si magnis conatibus magna præmia proponuntur.

the best citizens. And now let each of you, having thus indulged his sorrow for his relatives, depart."[3]

XLVII. Such, then, was the funeral solemnity which took place this winter, with the expiration of which the first year of the war was brought to a close. Immediately on the commencement of the spring, the Peloponnesians and their allies, as before, with two-thirds of their forces, made an irruption into Attica, under the command of Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians; and after encamping, laid waste the country. And when they had not been many days in Attica, *the pestilence* which afterwards so much afflicted the Athenians, made its appearance, and which was said to have previously spread its ravages[1] in other parts; as at Lemnos and elsewhere. Be that as it may[2], so great a pestilence[3] and so sweeping a mortality of the human race had

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[3] *And now let each, &c*] I cannot approve of the version of Smith; for I apprehend that the mourning ceremonial had terminated with the oration. As to the ἄπιτε (of which ἀποχωρεῖτε is, perhaps, a gloss), it may be compared with the Roman formula "discedite, Quirites." So Joseph. 68, 18. χαίροντες οὖν — ἄπιτε: and 231, 8. Arrian E. A. 7, 10, 16. ταῦτα — ἄπιτε. See also Arrian, 1, 428. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 391, 45. Philostr. V. Ap. 5, 43. and Plato Menex. p. 526.

[1] *Spread its ravages.*] The original ἐγκατασκῆψαι is a very forcible term; but can scarcely be represented by any English word. It is properly used of what comes upon us with sudden and irresistible violence, as lightning, storms, and tempests. In this word and its compounds, with that signification, there is always implied the notion of a *dart*. Thus Apollo in Hom. Il. init. is described as sending the pestilence by launching forth his darts, βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιείς. And in Soph. Œd. Tyr. 27. that is represented as a *fiery dart*: ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς Σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἔχθιστος, πόλιν. Moreover in the metaphorical language of the Old Testament the judgments of the Almighty, as executed in lightning, tempest, pestilence, and famine, are represented under the same image.

Though the commentators adduce no example of ἐγκατ., but only of ἐνσκήπτεσθαι, it occurs in Æschyl. Pers. 520. ἄ (κακὰ) Πέρσαις ἐγκατέσκηψεν Θεός. Soph. Tr. 1089. ἐγκατέσκηψεν βέλος. Liban. Orat. p. 309. See also Soph. Œd. Tyr. init. and Hom. Il. 1. init. Both are used of pestilential disorders.

[2] *Be that as it may.*] Or, *however*. Such is here the sense of μέντοι.

[3] *Pestilence.*] Now follows that highly interesting portion of the history which treats of the pestilence at Athens, which has ever been recorded as a masterpiece; in which Gail observes our author shows himself at once a philosopher, physician*, historian, and poet. "He has (continues

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* There, however, I cannot agree with him. Thucydides makes no pretensions to that character; merely giving us the general *symptoms* of the disorders, as any one might do who was not a physician.

never elsewhere been known in the memory of man. For at first not even the physicians, through ignorance of the dis-

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Gail) divided his description into three parts. In the first (from c. 47. to τὸ μὲν ετος of c. 49.) he traces the origin and causes of the pestilence. In the second (from c. 50. to τὸ μὲν οὖν νοσημα at c. 51.) he describes the nature, symptoms, and ravages of the pestilence. In the *third*, he speaks like an historian and observer of the results, moral or physical, of the most dreadful of plagues." The remarks of Smith also may be consulted. Among other things he observes, "Whether Thucydides' account of this plague at Athens be duly succinct, not too minute, serious, affecting; and whether he hath well managed the opportunity it gave him to moralize like a man of virtue and good sense, every reader will judge for himself." On which I would remark, that no reader of judgment can think the account *too minute*. It is certainly *affecting* in the highest degree; and as to *seriousness*, even Smith mentions its "solemn air" as a prime distinction. As to "managing the opportunity to moralize like a man of virtue and good sense," we are to bear in mind the difference of sentiment and practice in this respect between the antients and moderns. *They* (and especially Thucydides) did not think a history the proper place for offering *moralizing reflections* on the events there recorded. These, it should seem, ought to be left to the reader, or they may be supplied in separate tracts by ethical or theological writers.

This description has been imitated, or had in view, by many of the antient writers, as Dio Cass. l. 53, 29. Dionys. Hal. Ant. l. 9, 42. 10, 53. Procop. B. P. 2, 20. Ælian V. H. 14, 20. Agathias, l. ii. Niceph. Hist. 41. Lucret. 6, 1136–1285. Virg. Georg. 3, 478. Ovid Metam. 8, 523–586. Plutarch Pericl., Statius, Sil. Ital., Manilius, Liv. 3, 6, and elsewhere, and Josephus, in his mention of a Jewish pestilence, p. 322.; also by some modern ones, especially Boccaccio Decam. procem.* and Fontaine Fab. 7, 1. Upon the whole may be consulted Hippocr. Ep. l. 3. Fabii Paulini Commentaria, Venet. 1603. 4to., Barthelemy's Travels of Anacharsis, Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. 6, 5, &c., Mitford in loco, Dr. Mead on the Plague at Athens, De Foe on the Plague at London, Pepys' Memoirs, and Russel on the plague in general.

The *causes* which led to the pestilence are stated by Diod. Sic. l. 1258. tom. 5, 120., of which the following is a version. "Heavy rains having fallen in the winter, the earth was overcharged with moisture, and many of the hollows receiving much water became lakes or pools of standing water like marshes. These, in the summer, heating and putrifying, sent forth thick and fœtid exhalations, which evaporating, corrupted the neighbouring air, as is the case with marshes of a noxious nature. Badness, too, of food contributed to breed the disorder; for the fruits of the earth were that season exceedingly watery and corrupted in their nature.† The *third*

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* On which it is well observed by Sismondi, in his Illustrations of Literature, vol. 2. p. 6 & 7. "The perfect truth of colouring, the exquisite choice of circumstances, calculated to produce the deepest impression, and which place before our eyes the most repulsive scenes, without exciting disgust, and the emotion of the writer, which insensibly pervades every part, give to this picture that true eloquence of history which in Thucydides animates the relation of the plague."

† This second cause, however, seems negatived by Thucyd. 2, 54., from which passage it is plain, at least, that there was no *want* of food; nor could that be supposed to exist while the Athenians had the command of the sea; and their own stores could not yet be exhausted.

order, were able to devise any effectual remedy[4] for it (nay, they themselves, from their nearer approach to the sick, died the fastest[5]); nor did any other human art aught avail.[6] And as to supplications at the temple, or consultations of oracles[7], and other religious rites, all were alike vain and useless; inso-

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cause was, that the Etesian winds, by which the summer heats are much tempered, did not blow. The heat therefore, being intense, and the air, as it were, on fire, the bodies of men, not being able to find any means of refrigeration, were sure to contract disorders, and all those disorders to be prevalent which arise from heat."

That the above causes contributed to the disorder, there is no doubt; but if it proceeded from infection introduced from the East, they could not be the primary causes. Among these secondary causes may also be reckoned the population (much of it rustic, and used to free space and pure air) being crowded up (as Thucydides afterwards says) in stifling huts in the heats of summer. So Livy, l. 3, 6. speaking of a similar pestilence which afflicted Rome, says: "Auxere vim morbi, terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea colluvio mixtorum omnis generis animantium et odore insolito urbanos, et agrestem, consertum in arta tecta, æstu ac vigiliis angebat." That it should have stopped at Athens (as the antients tell us) is, indeed, remarkable; since the plague has since visited almost every part of Europe.

[4] *Were able to, &c.*] ἤρκουν θεραπεύοντες, participle for infinitive. Ἀρκέω is a vox solennis de hac re. So in a similar passage of Eurip. Ion. 952. Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν ἤρκεσεν. and Herc. Fur. 500.

[5] *They themselves—died the fastest.*] This circumstance is introduced by Ovid Met. 7, 561. (cited by Goeller), Nec moderator adest: inque ipsos sæva medentes erumpit clades: obsuntque auctoribus artes.

[6] *Nor did any other, &c.*] This is imitated by Liv. 7, 2. (cited by Goeller), Quum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec spe divina levaretur.

By the *other* may be meant such means as persons not physicians could devise, from the use of herbs, or dietetic rules. The Scholiast explains it of the μαντικὴ and ἐπωδὴ just after.

[7] *Consultations of oracles.*] I read, with Bekker and Goeller, μαντείαις, from six MSS. The common reading, μαντείαις, appears to have arisen from a misapprehension of the construction, which is this: (καθ') ὅσα ἱκέτευσαν πρὸς ἱεροῖς, ἢ ἐχρήσαντο μαντείαις καὶ τ. τ. It is true that Ammonius says, Μαντικὴ ἡ τέχνη — Μαντεῖα δὲ χρησμός. by which he plainly disapproves of the signification *vaticinatio*. But the grammarian is not warranted in his censure; for that is found in Eurip. Hipp. 236. Hel. 760. Also in Plato, Arrian, Lucian, Philo Jud., and especially Isocr., who has this very phrase μαντείᾳ χρήσασθαι.

By the "such like" may be meant ἐπωδαὶ, incantations, or, perhaps, sacrifices; though it would seem not very reverential, to thus barely glance at what was thought the most effectual of these *divine means*. But, indeed, the manner in which all such are usually mentioned by our author, shows how little weight they had in his mind.

This passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. p. 667. ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τε θυσίας καὶ καθάρμους ἐτράποντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ, οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν (scil. Θεῶν) ἐπιστροφὴν ἔγνωσαν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου γενομένην, οὐδὲ ἔλεον, καὶ περὶ τὰ θεῖα λειτουργίας ἀπέστησαν.

much that, overcome by the violence of the calamity, the people at last wholly discontinued them.[8]

XLVIII. The contagion is said to have had its origin in that part of Æthiopia[1] which is situated beyond Egypt, and from thence to have passed into Egypt and Libya.[2] After spreading over a considerable part of the king of Persia's dominions, it at length broke out suddenly at Athens, and made its first attack[3] in the Piræus, where it was reported

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[8] *Discontinued them.*] And no wonder: for, as Mitford observes, "the persuasion that there was a future retribution for good and evil done in this world, was a doctrine which had very little weight; they looked up to the gods for the dispensation of temporal good and evil only."

When, therefore, the removal of temporal evil was sought in vain, it is no wonder that they should abandon religious observances in general. Compare Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 677., cited infra. Thus, Boccaccio relates, that though at first humble supplications, and religious processions, were frequent, yet afterwards they were wholly discontinued; nay, even that the funeral ceremonies were performed but perfunctorily, the priests not troubling themselves with a very long or solemn service.

[1] *Had its origin in that part of Æthiopia.*] By *Æthiopia* is meant that tract of country now known by the names of Nubia and Sennaar, and, perhaps, Abyssinia. That country is adverted to by Lucian, 2, 22. Max. Tyr. Diss. 13 and 19, and 41. Diod. Sic. 6, 175. Liban. Orat. p. 157. A. Ammian Marcell. l. 10, 4. Philostr. Heroic. c. 10. § 4. So Procop. says, that the pestilence which he records came from Egypt. Indeed, to use the words of Gibbon, "Æthiopia and Ægypt have been stigmatised, in all ages, as the original source and seminary of the plague. In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives." Hence it will appear that the state of things at Athens *might* have generated a pestilence; and if it *did not*, it must, however, have been a very fit place for the reception and nurture of the miasma. Though, however, all plagues seem to originate in the East, yet they are there somewhat milder than in the West and North, where they increase in virulence, so that the most devastating plagues have been in those regions.

[2] *Libya.*] Probably that part of its three divisions which adjoined to Egypt, and was called the Marmorica.

[3] *Made its first attack.*] Literally, "first attacked men." Though, however, *ανθρώπων* has the article, yet there is, I conceive, no stress to be laid upon it, as if by distinction from the *animals;* for we have nothing in Thucydides to lead us to suppose, that the disorder extended itself to *animals*, as dogs. And though Lucret. may seem to hint at this in the words, "fida canum vis strata viis," &c., yet those may be supposed to have died of eating the flesh of the unburied corpses. Heracl. Pont., indeed, on the allegories of Homer (with a reference to Il. *α*. 50. *Οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπῴχετο, καὶ κύνας ἀργούς· Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεὶς*., and Max. Tyr. Diss. 28. s. f. 2, 68. *οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ λοιμὸν παρακαλεῖς τὸν Θεὸν, οὐδὲ*

that the Peloponnesians had thrown poison[4] into the wells; for as yet there were no fountains there. Afterwards it extended itself to the upper city, and then the mortality rapidly increased.[5] And now I leave every one (whether physician or other[6]) to pass his own opinion concerning it, pointing out from whence it was likely to arise, and what causes he thinks sufficient to produce so entire a change of the constitution of

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ἐπὶ τοξείαν ὀϊστῶν θανατηφόρων, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ φθορὰν κυνῶν, καὶ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ὀρνέων.) mentions it as the opinion of the most skilful physicians and philosophers, that, in pestilential disorders, the malady first discovers itself in quadrupeds. And so, I find, Mr. Trollope, in his note on the passage of Homer, suggests, as a similar case, the plagues of Egypt, wherein the murrain among the cattle preceded the boils and blains. But there seems a want of judgment in comparing what happened in a supernatural and extraordinary manner, with the ordinary events of nature. Besides, the murrain, and the boils and blains, were manifestly two different plagues; though both out of the order or course of nature, and in which, according to the usual methods of Divine visitation, there may be recognised a progression from the smaller to the greater. As to the case adverted to by Homer, if founded on fact (as there is little reason to doubt), it should seem that the disorder which afflicted the cattle was of a different kind from those which, as it seems, afterwards attacked the human species; and there is no reason to suppose the latter to have been the *plague*, or any thing like the pestilence in question; but rather such disorders as men and cattle, congregated under such circumstances, are always liable to. Thus, Buonaparte, in his Russian expedition, lost an *immense* number of men and horses even on his way across the plains of Poland (a friendly country), to attack Russia. In such cases *dysentery* is, I believe, the disorder to which loss of this kind may be ascribed.

I must not, however, dissemble that I have noted a passage in Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 623., in which an epidemic is described as first attacking the horses, cattle, sheep, and other quadrupeds, and thence passing to the human race. But neither is there any proof that *that* was the *plague*, or any disorder bearing affinity to it. Besides, in the very numerous examples which I have collected of ἅπτεσθαι, in this sense (*attack*), I only find one in which the genitive is omitted, and that from an obscure and late author, Timocl. ap. Athen. p. 407.

[4] *Thrown poison.*] Aretæus adverts to this supposition; and injudiciously introduces it as a *circumstance*.

[5] *And then the mortality, &c.*] So from the account of the plague at London, by De Foe (which, though written under a feigned character, seems founded on facts), and that given by Pepys, we find, that as soon as the infection extended from the more open parts of Westminster and Southwark, to the closely-built parts, as the *city*, the mortality increased most rapidly.

[6] *Whether physician or other.*] Ἰδιώτης is often used to denote one who has not any office or profession, in contradistinction to one who *has* such. Abresch here compares Procop. p. 169, 6. λέγετο — καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἰδιώτης. He might more aptly have cited Plat. Polit. p. 433., where ἰατροὶ and ἰδιῶται are opposed.

the human body.[7] For my own part, I shall merely relate the *manner* of it; and, having been myself sick of it, and seen others afflicted, I shall point out those symptoms of the malady, from a consideration of which any one may have some previous knowledge of it, and not be altogether ignorant of its nature, should it ever again make its appearance.

XLIX. The season of the year I speak of is admitted to have been singularly[1] healthy, as far as regarded other disorders; nay, if any one previously laboured under any malady, it merged and terminated[2] in this. Others[3], without

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7 *What causes he thinks sufficient, &c.*] Literally, "what causes of such a change were sufficient to have had power to effect so total a revolution of the human constitution?" The words of the original have occasioned no little trouble to the critics. There is so much appearance of pleonasm in them, that Fab., Port., Gesner, Heilman, and Bauer, regard the words *δυνάμιν — σχεῖν*, as insititious and glossematical. But thus the sentence will savour of *brachylogia* rather than *perissologia;* and the words are too significant, and have too much the Thucydidean character, to be supposed glossematical. Besides *μεταξολή*, and *μεταστῆσαι* are not quite synonymous. Both denote a change, and usually for the *better;* but *μεταξολὴ* signifies a total change or revolution, and is a term used in the best writers. So Soph. Phil. 463. *καὶ σε δαιμόνες Νόσου μεταστήσειαν.* Liban. Orat. p. 185. *μεταστῆσαι τὸ κακόν.* Philostr. V. Ap. 6, 35. *ἐς τὸ λῷϊον μεταστήσει.* where, by the addition of *ἐς τὸ λῷϊον*, it is plain, that the term is of itself of *middle* signification. Besides, with this apparent pleonasm of *τοσαύτης μεταξολῆς* and *ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι*, I would compare one on a kindred subject, at 7, 87., where a change of season is said *μεταξολῇ ἐς ἀσθενείαν νεωτερίζειν* (scil. *τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.*) The *νεωτ.* of that passage exactly answers to the *μετασ.* here. Moreover, *μεταξολὴ* may refer to the *suddenness* and rapidity of the attack. (So Dionys. Hal. Ant. 677. *ταχείας ἔφερε σώμασι τὰς τροπὰς*) as *μεταστῆσαι* does to the total *prostration of strength*, and suspension, at least, of all the faculties of mind and body.

1 *Singularly.*] Literally, "above all," "compared with all;" a sense of *ἐκ* similar to the Hebrew מ. The expression, *ἄνοσον ἔτος*, occurs in Ælian Anim. 11, 2. And we may compare the *letifer annus* of Virg. Æn. 3, 138.

2 *Merged and terminated.*] So infra *ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελευτᾷ.* Schol. *ἐχωρίσθη*, secessit, transiit. For *ἀποκρίνεσθαι* is, as Foes. Œcon. Hippocr. observes, a medical term by which disorders are said *depositos secedere, et in alios expurgatos esse.* This, he says, often happens in pestilential affections of the body. And such, De Foe says, was the case in the plague of London.

This passage is imitated by Agath. l. 2. *ποικίλα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπεφέρετο πάθη, ἅπαντα δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἀπεκρίνετο.* Procop. 79. *τὸ τῆς νόσου κεφαλαῖον ἐν τοῖς βουβῶσι ἀποκέκρισθαι οἰόμενοι.* Hence may be illustrated an obscure passage of Plutarch Crass. 33. *ἀναδεξαμένης δὲ τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν, ὥστε συνεκκριθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐκκουφισθέντος.*

3 *Others.*] Or, *the rest;* namely, such of those attacked by the pestilence as had not been previously ill of any other disorder.

any apparent cause[4], on a sudden, and when in perfect health, were attacked first with violent heats[5] about the head, accompanied with redness and inflammation of the eyes. Then the internal parts, both the gullet and the tongue, immediately assumed a sanguineous hue, and emitted a noisome[6] and fetid odour. Sneezing and hoarseness[7] then supervened, and not

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[4] *Without any apparent cause, &c.*] The phrase, *ἀπὸ προφάσεως*, is found in Hippocrates more than once. Procopius uses *ἀπροφασίστως*.

This sudden seizure, when in apparent health, and without any external and manifest cause, is one of the circumstances which especially accompany the plague. See Russel and Cullen, and some affecting instances in De Foe. The following passage of Boccaccio, on this subject, has much pathos and beauty: — "Quanti valorosi huomini, quante belle donne, quanti leggiadri giovani, li quali non che altri, ma Galieno, Ippocrate, o Esculapio avrieno giudicati sanissimi, la mattina desinarono co' loro parenti, compagni, ed amici, che poi la sera vegnente appresso nell' altro mondo cenarono con li loro passati."

On this whole passage Goeller cites the following elegant one, from Lucret. 6. 1143.: — Principio caput incensum fervore gerebant, Et duplicis oculos suffusa luce rubentis. Sudabant etiam fauces intrinsecus atro Sanguine, et ulceribus vocis via septa coibat; Atque animi interpres manabat lingua cruore, Debilitata malis, motu gravis, aspera tactu. Inde ubi per faucis pectus complerat, et ipsum Morbida vis in cor mæstum confluxerat ægris; Omnia tum vero vitæ claustra lababant. Spiritus ore foras tetrum volvebat odorem, Rancida quo perolent projecta cadavera ritu. Atque animi prorsum vires totius et omne Languebat corpus, leti jam limine in ipso.

[5] *Violent heats.*] So Arrian, E. A. 2, 4. *θέρμαις ἰσχυραῖς*. Lucian, 3, 71. *ἀπηνεῖ θέρμῃ*. See also Dio Cass. p. 724, 66. Aristid. 1, 547. and 3, 404., where, for *ἔκειντο*, I conjecture *ἐνέκειντο*. *Θέρμη* signifies a feverish heat. See Castell. Lex. Med. This, too, is one of the symptoms of the plague. Of the same nature is the expression of Hippocrates, *τὰ ῥίγεα*. *Ἐρύθημα*, and *φλόγωσις*, are both medical terms; the former used by Hippocrates and Pollux, the latter by Joseph. p. 685 and 768.

[6] *Noisome.*] Steph. Thes. explains the *ἄτοπον*, *insolitum* (extraordinary). But the interpretation of Portus, *tetrum*, and Suid. *μοχθηρὸν*, *ἀπομόνητον*, *bad, intolerable*, seems the only true one. And in this sense Castell. says, the word occurs in Hippocrates. So also Pausan. 5, 5, 5. *τὸ ἄτοπον τῆς ὀσμῆς*. Dio Cass. 724. Dionys. Hal. 677. of feculent water. Appian, 1, 833. of noxious vapours. See my note on Acts, 28, 6. It is strange that Gail should render this, "respiration irrégulière."

[7] *Hoarseness.*] Such is the sense of *βράγχος*, which occurs in Dio Cass. 755, 62. This, Castellio says, is a sort of catarrh, affecting the guttur and the rough artery. See also Foesius. The Schol. Cassel explains it thus: *νόσημα τι ἐν τῷ σώματι, γιγνόμενον περὶ τὸν βρόγχον, ὁ τὰς ὖς μάλιστα διαφθειρει*. For so I read. And in nearly the same Bekker has emended. He has, however, done wrong in retaining the *συς*, for which my correction *ὖς* is confirmed by Suid. *βράγχη· πάθος περὶ τὰς ὖς γιγνόμενον*. He has, too, needlessly cancelled *γιγνομένων*. I will take this opportunity to emend two glosses of Hesych. which have perplexed the editors: *βραγχῶν· φλεγμῶν, πνευμόνων*. Read *βραγχῶν· φλεγμονῶν, πνευμονῶν*. the first from *βραγχιάω*. which is found in the Etym. Mag. 211. The other verbs are of good authority,

long after the malady[8] descended to the breast, bringing with it a violent cough; and when once it had fixed itself[9] on the stomach[10], it excited vomiting, inducing what physicians call *discharges of bile*[11], and those attended with excessive torment. This was, in most cases, succeeded by a dry empty hiccough[12], accompanied with strong colicky convulsions and spasms; in

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Βράγχοντος. βρόχοις ἄλοντος. Read βραγχῶντος. βράγχοις α. an emendation which is placed beyond doubt by Aristot. Problem. βράγχοις ἁλίσκονται.

The present symptom is not mentioned by Procop.; nor is it by modern writers on the plague. Yet it is noticed by Diodor. Sic.; for so I understand κατάῤῥους, after which, he says, supervened swellings of the neck, very frequent in disorders of the throat.

This passage of Thucydides is jocularly alluded to by Liban. Orat. 309. D. ἡ μιαρὰ φωνὴ παντάπασιν ἄνοσος. — οὐ βράγχος τῇ φάρυγγι προσέπεσεν· οὐχ ἑλκώσις τὴν γλῶτταν κατέλαβεν.

[8] *The malady.*] Not *pain*, as Hobbes renders. The word πόνος is often used in this sense by Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides.

[9] *Fixed itself*, στηρίξαι.] This term not unfrequently occurs in Dioscor., Hippocr., and Aretæus, but chiefly in the *passive*, with a middle sense. So Aretæus, p. 2. τοιοῖσδε μένους ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ κακὸν ἐστηρίχθη. When it is used in the *active*, ἑαυτὸν is to be understood. For examples and observations on the idiom in στηρίζω, ἐρείδω, &c. I refer the reader to my note on Acts, 27, 41.

[10] *Stomach.*] That καρδία must be so taken here, has been long ago proved by Gataker Adv. Misc. and Victor. V. L. 28, 17. with a reference to Nemes, and Foes. on Hippocr. So, indeed, it had been before them explained by the Scholiast. Καρδία for *stomach* also occurs in Liban. Orat. 764. cited by Foes. Hence is illustrated Æschyl. P. V. 906. καρδίᾳ δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει.

Lucret. has been censured by Gataker for rendering καρδία by *cor*. But, as his editor Lambin observes, he uses *cor* in the same latitude of sense as καρδιά. It is strange, however, that Lambin, who was also an editor and annotator on *Horace*, should not have remarked that that author employs *cor* in the same way at Satyr. 2, 3, 29. "in cor trajecto lateris miseri capitisve dolore," where indeed he seems to have had in mind this very passage of Thucydides.

[11] *Inducing what, &c.*] Literally, "and all those which are called by physicians discharges of bile supervened." The πᾶσαι is rendered by Mitford "in all ways;" by Hobbes, "all manner of bilious purgation that physicians ever named." I am only aware, however, of *two* ways by which bile can be removed, by vomit, and stool. And so Castellio understands it.

The ἀποκαθάρσεις is well explained by the Schol. ἀποκρίσεις. So Hippocr. p. 377. χωλῆς ἀπόκρισις. Onosand. p. 42. ἐκκρίσεις τῶν ἀναγκαίων, i. e. excrementa. And hence may be defended the common reading in Joseph. p. 125, 43. ἀπήλασε γυναῖκας, αἷς ἡ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἔκκρισις ἐπῖοι. where Hudson would read ἐκρύσεις. He might have remembered what occurs in the very next page, ὅς δ' ἂν ἀποκρίνοι γονήν.

The vomiting of bile is also mentioned by Nicophon ap. Athen. p. 80. and Diod. Sic. 7, 466. Here we have *another* symptom of the *plague*.

[12] *Empty hiccough.*] Goeller renders, "ein holler schlucken." This, the Schol. truly observes, is so called in contradistinction to the λύγξ πλήρης, *full* hiccough. The best explanation of the λύγξ κένη is given by

some cases immediately ceasing[13], in others of longer duration. The body did not[14] externally feel very hot to the touch, nor was the skin pallid, but reddish[15], livid[16], and bespeckled with minute pimples and running[17] sores. But so burnt

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Foes. as follows :—"Inanis singultus qui nihil vomitatione refunderet, nullumque humorem rejiceret." And he adds: "certe inanis singultus intelligitur, qui ex inanitione fieret, aut multa bilis per vomitatione rejectione, quæ ab ore ventriculi demorso, vehementum convulsionem excitaret, præsertim cum adscribatur σπασμὸν ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρόν."

With reference to the *spasms* accompanying this, Goeller aptly cites Hippocr. Aphor. 6, 39. where that writer says that spasms come on both from fulness and emptiness. It may be observed that spasms are among the other symptoms of the plague.

[13] *Ceasing.*] Or abating, growing better. So 6, 12. νεωστὶ ἀπὸ νόσου μεγάλης καὶ πολέμου βραχύ τι λελωφήκαμεν. and Plato de Legg. 9. λωφᾷ τὸ νόσημα. The term λωφάω properly signifies *to shift to the neck;* a metaphor taken from draught cattle, whose collars are, on leaving work, shifted from the shoulder to the neck. See more in the note on 6, 12.

[14] *The body did not, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Procop. B. P. 2, 22. p. 319. (cited by Goeller), τὸ μὲν σῶμα — οὔτε θερμὸν ἦν — ὥστε μηδὲ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ ἰατρῷ ἅπτομένῳ δόκησιν κινδύνου παρέχεσθαι. So Boccaccio testifies that, in most cases, there was little or no fever.

[15] *Reddish,* ὑπέρυθρον.] A somewhat rare word, of which Steph. Thes. gives no example; but it occurs in Hippocr., Pollux 4, 147. and 2, 234. Procop. p. 277, 25. Pausan. 1, 35. 3. τὸ ἄνθος — λευκὸν ἐστιν, ὑπέρυθρον, &c. where the common reading is defended by this passage of Thucydides, which Procopius probably had in view; also 10, 12, 2. ὑπ. γῆ. Hesych. ὑπέρυθρος. πυράκτης. read πυῤῥακής. Pollux 4, 194 (on disorders) ψώρα ἑλκώδης, ὑπέρυθρος, ἐξανθήσεις ἐχοῦσα ἐν αὐτῇ. and a little after, ὑπέρυθρον νεῦμα. where read ῥεῦμα. Aristoph. Plut. 702. ὑπερυθριᾶν.

This seems to correspond to the *erysipelatous redness* noticed among symptoms of the plague by Russel.

[16] *Livid.*] Or lead colour. So Virg. Æn. 7, 687. liventes plumbi. Here for πελιδνὸν I read πελιτνόν, on the authority of Ælius Dionys. ap. Eustath., Hesych., Mœris, and Photius. The word is, indeed, rare; but I have noted it in Lucian 3, 39. Procop. 240, 46. Philostr. V. Ap. 2, 13. Dio. Cass. more than once, Diod. Sic. 7, 146. Procop. 281, 42. Plutarch de fluv. c. 22. Athen. 107. D. where Porson rightly emended πελιτνόν. It is strange, however, that neither he nor other critics on that author should have seen that at p. 111. A. πελίχναις πέδαισι. ought to be read πελιτναῖς.

The present passage is imitated by Nicand. Ther. 272. αἱ δὲ πελιδναὶ — φλύκταιναι. The symptom here mentioned seems to answer to the "marbled appearance of the skin" spoken of by Russel.

[17] *Bespeckled with, &c.*] The term φλυκταίναι is of frequent occurrence in Hippocrates. On these pimples see Cels. de Med. 5, 15. Foes. explains them to be pustules breaking out on the surface of the body, composed of thin sanguineous matter acrid and pungent. In this sense the term occurs in Procop. 79, 27. (imitated from hence), Nicander Ther. 249. Lucian 1, 416. It rarely occurs in the *singular;* yet I find it in Aristoph. Conc. 1057. Aristid. 1, 621. But I shall treat at large of the word in my edition, and will here only observe, that such seems to answer to the Petechiæ and other ἐξανθήματα, which Russel mentions and compares to

up[18] were the internal parts, that the patients could not bear the lightest clothing or the finest sheets[19] to be thrown over

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flea-bites, and which affect all parts of the body. In Exod. 9, 9. φλυκτίδες ἀναζέουσαι are the words expressive of the *boils* breaking out on the Egyptians. Indeed, φλύκταινα and φλυκτὶς, both coming from φλύω cognate with φλέω, may very well denote such.

As to the ἕλκεσιν, by those seem to be denoted the *carbuncles*, of which Russel shows there are five varieties. These are the "black livid spots" mentioned by Boccaccio as appearing on every part of the body, *large* and *few in number*. Though others, he says, had them *small* and *thick set*. Now those were the φλυκταίναι, or Petechiæ, pustules. Both are said by Procopius and Boccaccio to have been almost always mortal. But it is somewhat extraordinary that we find nothing in Thucydides corresponding to the *buboes*, or boils of the size of an egg or apple, mentioned by Procopius, Boccaccio, and all the medical writers, and which are confined to the inguinal, axillary, parotid, maxillary, and cervical glands, and which, when they are hard and dry, produce speedy death; but when they come to a proper suppuration, serve as a natural discharge of the morbid humour, and often save the patient's life. Of these I find no vestige in Thucydides; and, therefore, we may suppose that there were none in the then *type* of the disorder, which doubtless changed in process of time. Nay, it sometimes changes its type even during the progress of *one* period; for Boccaccio says that in the plague at Florence the buboes first appeared, and then the nature of the disorder changed into the carbuncles and pustules: which two peculiarities of the disorder are finely alluded to by Cowper in his Task, Book 2.

> ——— "Bids a plague
> Kindle a fiery boil upon the skin,
> And putrefy the breath of blooming health."

Moreover, of the *streaks* of a reddish purple or livid colour, the *wheals*, blue or purple, and the *spots*, mentioned by Boccaccio and Russel, I find no trace in Thucydides. Those seem to present another type of the disorder.

[18] *So burnt up.*] This is beautifully expressed by Lucret. 6, 1166. thus: — "Intima pars homini vero flagravit ad ossa, Flagravit stomacho flamma, ut fornacibus, intus: Nil adeo posset cuiquam leve tenueque Membris vertere in utilitatem." Of the τὰ ἐντὸς the sense is well represented by Lucretius. And though the Scholiast at τὰ ἐντὸς supplies τοῦ στόματος, yet that word is corrupt (though Bekker retains it). It must not, however, be altered to θωρακὸς, with Portus, still less cancelled, with Gottleb., but altered to σώματος.

[19] *The lightest clothing, or, &c.*] This is better expressed by Ovid. Met. 7556. than by Lucret., "non ulla pati velamina possent." By the *velamina* there are meant the σινδόνων. Both ἱματίον and σίνδων occur in Herod. 2, 7, 8. ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐλιξάμενος ἢ σινδόνι. and 2, 86, and 95. The latter signifies a sheet, or light coverlid. The word is also used by Sophocles, Arrian, Polybius, and the Seventy. See more in my note on St. Matt. 27, 59. where of the three derivations Sidon, סָדִין, and an Egyptian word nearly the same, I have, I think with reason, preferred the *third*. But I now suspect that we must go further for its derivation than Egypt, namely, to *Hindostan*. It seems to have at first denoted (as in the Egyptian word) not so much a sheet, or coverlid, as the *web of cloth* of which that was made. And this appears to have been so called in the same manner as we use the word *nankeen*, as originally brought from Nanking, and *muslin*, from Masulipatam. It is scarcely ne-

them, nor endure to be otherwise than stark naked; nay, they would most gladly have plunged into cold water. Indeed, many of those who were not attended to, *did* so[20]; precipitating themselves into wells, urged by thirst insatiable; and whether they drank much or little, it was the same. A restlessness[21] and wakefulness likewise perpetually oppressed them; and so long as the disorder was at its height, the body did not fall away[22], but resisted the malady beyond all expectation[23]; so that either they died (most of them on the ninth or the seventh day[24] of the inward fever) while yet in

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cessary to observe how perpetually the H. and S. are interchanged. Indeed, the river from which the whole country derives its name has always been called by the natives the *Sinde;* and a large *province* in its lower part bears that name. Why this was esteemed an *Egyptian* article, may easily be accounted for; namely, as being brought from India by the way of Egypt.

[20] *Many of those who, &c.*] Diodor. says οἱ πλεῖστοι. But that must have been from carelessness, unless we suppose the οἱ to be not genuine. The ἠμελημένων Goeller (as I myself formerly did) takes to denote simply the *poorer sort.* And he appeals to Procop. p. 320., to which may be added Arrian E. A. 7, 21, 4. and Ind. 16, 6. ὅσοι οὐκ ἠμελημένων Ἰνδῶν. And so Appian and Josephus. But I know not whether we should seek that idiom here.

The whole passage is thus elegantly expressed by Lucret. 6, 1166.: — Ad ventum et frigora semper In fluvios partim gelidos ardentia morba Membra dabant, nudum jacientes corpus in undas. Multi præcipites lymphis putealibus alte Inciderunt, ipso venientes ore patente. Insedabiliter sitis arida corpora mersans Æquabat multum parvis humoribus imbrem.

[21] *A restlessness.*] Literally, the not being able to compose themselves. This symptom (which is a constant attendant on the plague) is mentioned by Procop. p. 79, 6. And he adds φαντασίαι, i. e. the imaginations of a distempered fancy. The unhappy sufferers fancied themselves attacked by spectres invisible to the bystanders, and from whom they sometimes seemed to hear the sentence of death pronounced on them.

[22] *Fall away,* ἐμαραίνετο.] Fab. Paul remarks on this term: — "Vocabulum ex medicis fontibus depromptum, unde deductus ὁ μαρασμὸς, id est marcor, febris illa hectica, qua solidas partes depascitur, ut corpus ipsum quodammodo tubefaciat ac extenuet." See also Foes. and Castellio. So Plutarch Num. 21. ἀπομαραίνομαι ὑπὸ νόσου, and τὸ αἰδοῖον ἀπεμαράνθη. Examples also from Æschyl. are given by Dr. Blomfield on the P. V. 619.

With respect to the thing itself, it is well observed by the Schol. on Eurip. Phœn. 537. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν κακῶν ἐπὶ ζ῾θορᾷ ἀπολλυμένων (I conjecture ἀπολελυμένων) ἀπαλλάσσεται, ὡς νόσος, καὶ πυρετοὶ σφοδροὶ καὶ διάφοροι.

[23] *Beyond all expectation.*] Not "to a miracle," as Smith renders. The sentence is transcribed by Procop. 131, 13. 240, 16. 243, 41. Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντείχοντο. where I would cancel the το, which arose doubtless from the τὸ following.

[24] *Ninth or seventh day.*] These were called the critical days, in which the fever usually spent its force; leaving, however, the patient to almost

possession of some strength, or, if they escaped [that crisis], then the disorder, descending into the bowels [25], affected them with violent ulceration [26] and excessive [27] diarrhœa, by which they afterwards were carried off through mere weakness.[28] For the malady commencing at the head, where it first took its post [29], and from thence descending, pervaded the whole body. And if any survived those greatest dangers [30], yet the disorder seized on the extremities, and there left its mark [31];

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certain death, from the effects of weakness. Procop. mentions the *fifth* day as the critical day; and Boccaccio the *third*. Lucret. expresses the sense thus: — "Nec nimio rigida post strati morte jacebant: Octavoque fere candenti lumine solis Aut etiam nona reddebant lampade vitam."

[25] *Bowels.*] Or *belly*. See the accurate description of Pollux, 2, 202. and Foes. Œcon. p. 210.

[26] *Ulceration.*] Four MSS. have ἐκκαύσεως, which is approved by some critics; but the textual reading is no doubt the true one, ulceration being a common attendant on dysentery, insomuch that Galen uses ἑλκώσεις τῶν ἐντέρων (which expression occurs in Joseph. 768, 10.), to denote *dysentery*.

[27] *Excessive*, ἀκράτου.] Fab. Paul. and Gail explain it *sincerum*, i. e. pure liquid, as opposed to that mixed with solid matter; taking the διαρρ. to stand for the flux itself. But the ἐπιπιπτούσης with which it is united is only applicable to a *disorder;* not to mention that the above sense would be too formal. Moreover, the flux in this disorder is, I believe, not a pure liquid, but *discoloured* by intermixture with solid matter, or with blood. So Lucret. 6, 1203. "Profluvium porroqui tetri sanguinis acre exierat," &c. It may be added, too, that the signification *vehement, excessive*, is frequent in Hippocrates and other medical writers. And the interpretation in question is supported by Polyæn. 6, 80. ὑπὸ διαῤῥοίας ἀκράτους ληφθέντες, and Pollux, 4, 187. φῦσα, διαῤῥοία ἀκρατὸς δυσεντερία. for so that passage (which has been causelessly suspected of being corrupt) is to be pointed.

It may be observed that the colliquative diarrhœa is an usual symptom of the plague.

[28] *Were carried off through, &c.*] Literally, "were destroyed by it (i. e. the diarrhœa) through mere weakness," which always attends a diarrhœa.

[29] *Took its post.*] Ἱδρυθέν. A vox signata de hac re; as Liban. Or. 712. C.

[30] *Greatest dangers.*] At μεγίστων must be understood κινδύνων.

[31] *Seized on the extremities, and, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the best representation of the sense of the original, which is somewhat obscure from two clauses being blended into one. Ἀντιλαμβάνειν in the sense *seize* is common. As to ἐπισημαίνω, it is rare in the sense above assigned, which has been rightly affixed to it by Wyttenb. Ecl. p. 367. Though, before him, Foesius had explained it of "the mark left by any disorder." So Hippocr. de morbo sacro says: ὅτι ἐπίληπτον γίνεται, ἢν ἅπαξ ἐπισημανθῇ. And those are said ἀσήμως περιγένεσθαι who escape without any evil left by a disorder.

Goeller, too, refers to Petav. on Synes. p. 12. To which it may be added, that Galen, speaking of a quotidian fever, says: ὁ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἐπισημαίνων. Hence is illustrated Pausan. 7, 24, 6. τοῦτο δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ

making its attacks[32], for instance, on the fingers[33], or the toes, or the pudenda; and many with the deprivation of these, and some even with that of their eyes, escaped with their lives. Nor were there wanting those who, on recovering, laboured under an utter forgetfulness of every thing[34], and knew neither their friends, nor indeed themselves.

L. For as this was a kind of disorder which baffled all description[1], nay, even exceeded human nature[2], in the viru-

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τε τοῦ σώματος ἐπισημαίνει, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπὸ ἑκάτερον μαλιστα τὸν καρπόν, juncturam manus. Also Eurip. Iph. Taur. 1372. δεινοῖς δὲ σημάντροισιν ἐσφραγισμένοι. Lycoph. Cass. 780. Οὐ γὰρ ξέναι μαστίγες, ἀλλὰ δαψίλης Σφραγὶς μενεῖ Θόαντος ἐν πλευραῖς, ἔτι Λύγοισι τετρανθεῖσα. Finally, hence is illustrated a most difficult construction in Pausan. 3, 12, 6.

32 *Making its attacks.*] Κατασκήπτω is a very strong term, which is properly used of sudden and irresistible attacks, as of lightning, fire, inundation, and sometimes pestilence, as here and in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 597 and 599. So also Galen, κατ. εἰς κύρσους.

33 *Fingers, &c.*] The whole passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 724, 65. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδένι τῶν ξυνήθων ὅμοιον ἐγίγνετο. It is thus elegantly rendered by Lucret. 6, 1203. "Tamen in nervos huic morbus et artus Ibat et in partis genitalis corporis ipsus. Et graviter partim metuentes limina leti Vivebant ferro privati parte virili: Et manibus sine nonnulli pedibusque manebant In vita tamen et perdebant lumina partim: Usque adeo mortis metus his incesserat acer." Lucretius seems to have thought that they suffered the loss of their genitals by *amputation;* which Victor. V. L. 35, 8. (referred to by Goeller) considers as a misconception of Thucydides' meaning; while Lambinus *defends* his author. I should rather fix the censure on his expressions, "*manibus* sine pedibusque;" for ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας can only signify the ends or lower joints of the fingers and toes. As to the use of amputation in all these three cases, it would only be resorted to when the loss of the parts was unavoidable; and though the στερισκομενοι a little after does not *express* this, yet it does not preclude it.

34 *Laboured under an utter forgetfulness, &c.*] The words παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας denote, I conceive, that this effect was only temporary; for the literal signification is, "on rising from their sick beds, and being convalescent." So Herod. 1, 22. ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀνέστη. Æsop. Fab. σοζ. ἀναστὰς ὁ νοσῶν προῆλθεν. Artemid. 1, 79. νοσοῦντα δὲ ἀνίστησι. Liv. 3, 14. assurexit e morte. Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. p. 195. μέλη πρὸς νόσους—ἐπᾷδων ἀνέστη τους κάμνοντας. which brings to mind the passage of Horat. Sat. 1, 1, 83. medicum rogat ut te *suscitet.*

I am not aware that these latter symptoms are found in the plague; but the last of them sometimes succeeds the typhus gravior.

1 *Baffled all description.*] So Appian, 2, 83, 89. γενίομενον γὰρ τὸ κάκον κρεῖσσον ἐπινοίας. Herod. 2, 35. ἔργα λόγου μείζω. Eurip. Suppl. 844. κρεῖσσον ἢ λεξαι λόγῳ.

2 *Exceeded human nature.*] Literally, greater than in proportion to its strength, ad instar. Of ἢ κατὰ there are examples at 6, 15. and 7, 45. Others may be seen in Dr. Blomf. on Æschyl., Theb. 421., and Agam. 342.

lence which it exercised on the sufferers, so in the *following* respect it plainly evinced itself[3] to be something wholly different from any of the ordinary distempers. For though there were many unburied corpses, those birds and beasts which prey on[4] human flesh, either approached them not, or, if they tasted[5], perished. A proof of which was seen in the total disappearance[6] of all birds of prey, which were found neither about the carcasses[7], nor elsewhere. But the *dogs*, from their domestic habits and familiar intercourse with men, afforded a more manifest evidence of the thing.[8]

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[3] *Evinced — ordinary.*] By συντρόφων is meant, *indigenous, homebred;* and, therefore, *customary.* As the commentators have omitted to treat of this term, the following remarks may be not unacceptable: — It is called by Foes. Œc. a *medical* term. But such, in fact, it is not. It signifies, in a general way, what is *usual.* So Aristoph. Av. 679., and Soph. Aj. 639. (on the insanity of Ajax) οὐκ ἔτι συντροφοῖς ὀργαῖς (disposition) ἔμπεδος, ἀλλ' ἐκτὸς ὁμιλεῖ. In the examples adduced by Foes. it denotes a disorder to which the constitution is subject; and such may partly be the sense here. This use has been imitated by Lucian, T. 3, 35. νόσημα τῶν συντρόφων ἦν. That Dio Cass. took it in the sense *usual,* is plain from his imitation of the passage at p. 724, 65. τὸ δὲ δὴ νόσημα οὐδένι τῶν ξυνήθων ὅμοιον ἐγίγνετο. The passage is referred to by Plutarch Sympos. l. 8, 9, 3.

How unusual and virulent was the disorder, Thucydides thinks, was evinced by the birds and beasts of prey not touching the carcasses, or, &c. Such has elsewhere occurred in cases of pestilence; of which an example is recorded by Livy, 41, 21., though he remarks that it was uncommon.

[4] *Prey on.*] So Pausan. 4, 18, 4. ἀλώπεκα εἶδεν ἀπτομένην τῶν νεκρῶν. and 10, 18, 4. ἤπτοντο τῶν σαρκῶν.

[5] *Tasted.*] Or, *eat of.* An Attic idiom. So Soph. Aj. 841. γεύεσθε, μὴ φείδεσθε πανδήμου στρατοῦ.

[6] *Disappearance.*] Or, failure. Ἐπίλειψις is a word peculiar to Thucydides. These birds, it seems, almost wholly perished.

[7] *About the carcasses.*] Literally, "nor about any thing of the kind;" namely, preying on the carcasses.

[8] *But the dogs, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense; but the clause, αἴσθησιν παρεῖχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος, is not a little obscure; though the commentators pass it over. It is plainly an idiomatical expression, though not very dissimilar to one in our own language; and it may be rendered, "gave men to understand what the matter was," i. e. the event or consequences of eating, and, therefore, the virulence of the disorder. The whole is thus expressed by Lucret.: "Multaque humi cum inhumata jacerent corpora supra Corporibus, tamen alituum genus atque ferarum Aut procul absiliebat, ut acrem exiret odorem: Aut, ubi gustarat, languebat morte propinqua. Nec tamen omnino temere illis solibus ulla Comparebat avis, nec noctibus secla ferarum Exibant silvis: languebant pleraque morbo Et moriebantur: cum primis fida canum vis Strata viis animam ponebat in omnibus ægram; Extorquebat enim vitam vis morbida membris."

One thing is plain, that, both in Thucydides and Lucret., the animals and birds are only supposed to have died of the effects of eating the morbid flesh. I cannot, therefore, account for the remark of Smith on Lu-

LI. Such, then, (to omit many other cases of peculiar virulence, each having some symptoms differing from those of others) was the general nature of the disorder.[1] And none of

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cretius, "that the distemper raged amongst those animals, even without eating the flesh of the dead, and was general to every living species." The poet, certainly, does not say it was general to every living species; and as certainly he does not *intimate* that the distemper raged amongst those animals, even without eating the flesh of the dead.* By *avis* and *secla ferarum*, Lucretius evidently means *birds and beasts of prey*. These, Thucydides says, totally disappeared, either destroyed by having eaten of the corpses, or (by that peculiar sagacity which distinguishes the brute creation) avoiding the place altogether. Many, no doubt, had sickened and died; and the poet says no more. I find nothing to object to but the "canum vis strata viis animam ponebat in omnibus ægram," which words represent the mortality among the dogs as greater than Thucydides gives us any reason to suppose. And yet the description may apply to the *earlier* periods of the pestilence, and before the dogs had learnt, by experience, to avoid the carcasses.

[1] *Such, then, &c.*] It is plain by this that Thucydides did not intend such a minute or scientific description of *all* the symptoms as might be expected from a *physician*, but only a general sketch, or what is called *prognosis*, of the disorder.

This may be the properest place for considering the controverted question, whether the pestilence here described was what we call *the plague*, or not. I have read little of what has been written on either side; and my medical knowledge is far too limited to enable me to speak with any confidence on such a point. All I can venture to do is, to lay before my readers a sketch of the prognosis, or symptoms, attendant on the plague; and then to consider the points of coincidence, or omission, in our author's description. The following sketch has been carefully formed from Mead, Russel, Cullen, &c.: — "Eruptions, such as buboes; carbuncles of five sorts; petechiæ, or large pimples; large wheals; spots or blotches of a blue or purple colour; fever, headaches, stupor, giddiness, excessive prostration of strength, delirium, coma, deafness, impediment or loss of speech, muddiness of the eyes, whiteness of tongue, irregular pulse, painful respiration, syncope, nausea, pain at the heart, palpitation, vomiting, especially of bile, convulsion, spasms, hæmorrhage, colliquative diarrhœa." All these symptoms indicate a total derangement of the main functions of life (and, therefore, illustrate the μεταστῆσαι above adverted

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* It is, however, possible that the eating of the flesh, or even coming into any very close contact with matter from plague-sores, might communicate the disorder to the animals, even to the birds. Indeed, of the possibility of this there can be no doubt, from the testimony of Boccaccio, who affirms that he was an eye-witness, with many others, to an example of this sort during the plague at Florence. So virulent, he says, was the contagion, that, from actual observation, not only did one human being communicate it to another, but, what is more, any thing belonging to a person who had been sick of, or had died of the disease, on being touched by an *animal*, not only communicated the disease to it, but in a very short time killed it. Thus, he adds, the rags of a poor man who had died of the disease, being thrown into the street, two hogs came up to them, and seizing them first with their snouts, and then with their teeth, in a short time, after turning round and round, as if they had taken poison, fell down dead on the rags.

the usual or endemick maladies made their attacks during its continuance[2]; or, if they did, soon terminated in this. The sufferers, moreover, died, some under neglect, others with all the care and attention possible; nor could any one remedy[3]

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to); for the stupor, giddiness, headache, and delirium, show the functions of the *brain* to be disordered; the palpitation, irregular pulse, &c. denote a considerable disturbance of the *heart*. The nausea and vomiting of bile, and consequent spasms, show much disorder in the *biliary ducts*. The buboes and carbuncles denote excessive acrimony in the *fluids;* and, finally, the pimples, hæmorrhage, and colliquative diarrhœa, indicate a tendency to putrefication in the whole mass of *blood*. Now, on comparing the symptoms (making allowance for the unscientific, but *popular*, manner in which Thucydides writes), there is a striking similarity between the two cases. The violent heats of the head, mentioned by our author, answer to the headaches of Russel's account. The inflamed redness of the eyes is not mentioned by writers on the plague; but it is very likely to take place. The sanguineous appearance of the gullet and tongue may, in some measure, answer to the hæmorrhage. As to the sneezing, hoarseness, and cough, I am not aware that those are symptomatic of the plague. Excessive thirst is a perpetual attendant on high fever, as are also restlessness and desire to throw off clothes. The plague, I believe, generally terminates in the stomach, and ends in diarrhœa; but whether it ever affects the extremities in the way here described, is more than I am able to say.

Upon the whole, if the correspondence between the disorder here described, and the plague in its present state, be such as to include all the important features, we must not be moved by a discrepancy in some minor points, to pronounce that it was *not* the plague. Nay, we may safely suppose it to have been the plague in its *then* state; though, from the circumstances on which it fell, exceedingly virulent, and, therefore, introducing symptoms never known before, and, perhaps, rarely since. That it *was* the plague is highly probable, from the circumstance of its having originated in Egypt and Æthiopia, in all ages the grand seat and seminary of that dreadful disorder. Besides, what other disease can be fixed upon that presents *half* the points of resemblance that the plague, even in its present state, presents?

[2] *And none of the, &c.*] This sentence has been thrown out by Levesque and Gail, as an interpretation of what occurs at c. 49. init. But the MSS. all have the sentence; and if we were to admit it to be an *interpretation*, there would still remain the difficulty to account for its introduction *here*. But, in fact, it is *not* a mere interpretation of that passage, but yields a different sense. The subject of c. 49. is *the time which preceded the pestilence;* that of the present, *the time during the pestilence*. The information, therefore, here contained is not unimportant, nor by any means out of place. In fact, Thucydides, after having stated the symptoms of the disorder, now proceeds to give some supplementary *general* remarks on the calamity, first medical, and then moral.

[3] *Any one remedy.*] I find by Herodian, 1, 12, 4. that aromatic medicaments were then much recommended for the plague; as they are to the present day, especially camphor. But it does not appear from De Foe that they produce any great good. He, however says, that smoking or chewing tobacco was thought a preservative; and the houses of the tobacconists mostly escaped the visitation.

This

be devised, whose application would be certain to do good; for what benefited one, was prejudicial to another. Moreover, no constitution, whether in respect of strength or weakness [4], was found able to cope with it; nay, it swept away [5] all alike, even those attended to with the most careful management.[6] But the most dreadful part of the calamity was the

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This whole passage is thus expressed by Lucret.: — "Nec ratio remedi communis certa dabatur; Nam quod aliis dederat vitales aëris auras Volvere in ore licere et cœli templa tueri: Hoc aliis erat exitio letumque parabat."

[4] *Whether in respect of strength, &c.*] i. e. whether strong or weak. For feebleness of frame is better able to resist some disorders than a robust habit. So Gail remarks, on the authority of Siamanowitz, that in the plague at Moscow drunkards and persons of feeble temperaments were less subject to attack. See Fab. Paul. p. 445. Here, however, it should seem by what follows that feebleness was no security; so that we may paraphrase, "Difference of constitution, in point of strength or weakness, seemed of no consequence as to any security from its attacks." Procop. says that *youth* was the most perilous season, and the females less susceptible than the males.

[5] *Swept away.*] Ξυνήρει signifies, not *corripiebat*, as Portus renders, but *absumsit*. So 8, 24. τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τάχυ ξυναιρεθήσεται. This signification is rare; but it occurs in Herod. 5, 4, 24. Dio Cass. p. 119, 34. φάρμακον συνεῖλον αὐτόν. as also in 629, 69. 239, 1. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 499, 15.

[6] *Management.*] Or medical care. Such is here, I conceive, the sense of διαίτη.

Thucydides does not inform us how far any dietetic rules were thought to *preserve* persons from the attacks of the disease. Yet Aul. Gell. in his Noct. Att. says that Socrates was saved by his temperance. It should seem, however, from all the accounts of the *plague* that *seclusion* was more to be relied on than abstinence.

And here I cannot but briefly notice the three methods of preservation which Boccaccio tells us were adopted at Florence. All seemed agreed on the *cruel prudence* (as he happily expresses it) of avoiding the sick and all that belonged them. Some formed themselves into a society to live separate from all others, and retire and shut themselves up in those houses where there was no sick person. As to diet, they lived temperately, on nourishing but light food, with good wine in moderation; and avoiding all news from abroad of death or sickness, made themselves as happy as they could, in the amusements which their situation afforded. Others took the contrary course of wallowing in luxury and debauchery, and excessive drunkenness; courting merriment of every kind as the best preservative against sickness. These did not shut themselves up, but wandered up and down in quest of pleasure. A third partly steered a middle course; not running into the excess of the latter, nor practising the moderation of the former; nor did they shut themselves up, but went about carrying in their hands flowers or odoriferous herbs and spices, holding them to the nose, in order to strengthen the brain. A fourth class sought safety alone in utter abandonment of their country, houses, and relations.

Of all these classes, Boccaccio adds, many fell sick, and having alike set the healthy an example of such neglect, then languished and died abandoned by all. Now on the above methods I would remark that the second

total dejection of mind which overwhelmed those who felt themselves attacked (for falling at once into despair, they the more readily gave themselves up, and sunk without a struggle), and that they dropped, filled, like diseased sheep, with infection communicated by their attendance on each other.[7] That circumstance, too, occasioned most of the mortality; for

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class would probably be less liable to infection, since Siamanowitz on the plague at Moscow says that drunkards were more secure from attack. They would, however, probably be less able to resist the malady when caught. The first and fourth class seem to have acted the most wisely; and if they secluded themselves or emigrated *with their families*, they would not fall under the charge of cruelty and selfishness ascribed by the above writer. Such, indeed, was the course pursued by many families during the plague of London, as appears from De Foe. When, however, a whole *country* suffers under infection, as in the case of most of the great plagues, the only course of safety is *total seclusion*, a careful but not anxious attention to dietetic rules, and cultivation of temperance in general, with proper exercise and the use of strong aromatics, especially tobacco.

[7] *But the most dreadful, &c.*] The sense of this passage is thus expressed by Lucret. v. 1228. "Illud in his rebus miserandum et magnopere unum Ærumnabile erat, quod, ubi se quisque videbat Implicitum morbo, morti damnatus ut esset, Deficiens animo mæsto cum corde jacebat Funera respectans, animum et mittebat ibidem."

On the construction of ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας I assent to the opinion of Steph. and Duker, who, at ἀναπιμπλάμενοι subaud *νόσου*, which, indeed, is found *supplied* in one MS. So, too, I think the Scholiast took the passage. His words, however, (which are these: Θεραπειας.] τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοσήματος ἰατρείας.) require to be emended. Read: ἀφ' ἕτερου θεραπείας.] ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ νοσήματος ἰατρείας. Duker ably compares this use of ἀναπλ. from Plutarch Pericl., and illustrates the sense from Livy, l. 3, 6. He might yet more appositely have cited Livy, l. 25, 26. morbi repletos; and l. 5, 48. quum æstu et angore vexata, vulgatis velut in pecua, morbis moreretur. Soph. Phil. 520. ὅρα σὺ μὴ — ὅταν δὲ πλησθῇς τῆς νόσου, ξυνουσία. and Dionys. Hal. p. 677, 29. οὐχ ἥκιστα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπόνησεν ὄχλος ἀναπιμπλάμενος καὶ προβάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τετραπόδων ἅμα διαιτωμένων τῆς νόσου. I cannot omit to advert to the pathetic and beautiful words of the Psalmist, 38, 6. "For my loins are filled with a loathsome disease, and there is no whole part in my body."

The comparison of *diseased sheep* is very apposite; for those animals are subject to some infectious disorders, especially what is called *the scab*. See Juvenal Sat. 2, 78. Hence, Paulinus observes, it is quite clear that the antients were aware of the contagious nature of the plague; though some now call it in question. On this point, by no one so well treated as by Boccaccio, there has ever existed much difference of opinion. The antient *physicians* and *philosophers* seem all to have thought it contagious; yet while (to use the words of Gibbon) philosophers "believe and tremble," the Constantinopolitans seem by Procopius to have persuaded themselves that it was not so, nor to be caught by even the closest conversation. So, too, thought the French physicians who visited Marseilles in 1720, as have many others since. This notion has, however, been of late most successfully refuted in an able treatise of Dr. Tully on the plague at Malta.

if[8] men forbore, through fear, to visit the sick, they died, forlorn and destitute for want of attendance, and thus whole families became utterly extinct[9]; and if they ventured to approach, they met their death; and this was especially the fate[10] of those who aimed at any thing like virtue[11]; since *they*, ashamed of selfish caution, were unsparing of their own lives in attending on their friends[12]; for at last even their servants[13], overcome by the excess of the calamity, were wearied out with the groaning and lamentation of the sick

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[8] *For if, &c.*] The γὰρ has reference to a clause omitted; q. d. "And this mortality was sure to be produced, let men do what they would; for if," &c.

[9] *Whole families, &c.*] Literally, "many houses were emptied of their inhabitants." Hobbes and Smith confound the two senses. This passage is closely imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 677. ὥστε πολλὰς οἰκίας ἐξερημωθῆναι δι' ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων. Gail appositely cites Manil. Astr. 1. Ac tanto quondam populo vix contigit hæres. An exact parallel with which is found in the following affecting passage of Boccacio procem.: "O quante memorabili schiatte, quante amplissime eredità, quante famose ricchezze si videro senza successor debito rimanere!" Josephus, too, among his affecting details of the siege of Jerusalem, mentions that very many houses were found, containing the corpses of *all* the inmates. And De Foe testifies that such sometimes happened in the plague of London.

[10] *And this was especially, &c.*] Such (though the commentators have failed to perceive it) is the true sense of the passage, in which διεφθείροντο is to be repeated.

[11] *Who aimed at any thing like virtue.*] Abresch remarks that this passage is imitated by Procop. 178, 13. To which may be added p. 193, 2. 231, 3. 304, 7. 346, 46. 375, 39. The phrase ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι is also found in Isocr. Panath. § 74. Appian, 1, 51. 92, 2. Joseph. 793, 36. 823, 23. Arrian E. A. 2, 27, 9. 3, 27, 1. In Arrian E. A. 3, 27, 10. we have μεταποιεῖσθαι τοῦ δικαίου. and in Dio Cass. p. 200, 16. & sæpe ἀνδραγαθίας μεταποιεῖσθαι.

On the sense of ἀρετῆς the commentators are not agreed. Some render it, with the Scholiast, *humanity*. Others, as Bauer and Hack, *firmness*. I should prefer the *former* signification, which is supported by Dio Cass.; but the more certain sense of the word, adopted by Portus and Hobbes, seems to be the most suitable and worthy of our author.

[12] *Since they, ashamed of, &c.*] Ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν is a very strong expression, of which the following is an example: Soph. Elect. 980. ψυχῆς ἀφειδήσαντε. See my note on Acts 20, 25. and Coloss. 2, 23. The sense of the whole passage is thus expressed by Lucret. 1241. Qui fuerant autem præsto, contagibus ibant Atque labore, pudor quem tum cogebat obire, Blandaque lassorum vox mista voce querelæ, et Optimus hoc leti genus ergo quisque subibat.

Of this many affecting instances are related by Josephus in his Bell. Jud.

[13] *Servants.*] Or *relations*; for that sense of the word οἰκ is frequent in all the best antient writers, and Thucydides among the number; whereas it has rarely the other sense in any but the later writers. Thus the words of Proverbs would be made good: "There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother." Boccaccio tells us that relations seldom or never visited

and dying.[14] Those, however, who had survived the disorder, were the more compassionate to the dying and the afflicted; both as knowing by experience what the disorder was[15], and being now themselves in safety.[16] For it never attacked the same person twice[17]; so, at least, as to be mortal. And such persons were felicitated on their escape by others; and they themselves, amidst their present joy, nourished a sort of

each other; even parents abandoning their children. Thus, he adds, the great number of persons of both sexes who were sick, had nothing to depend upon but the charity of friends (and those few) or the avarice of servants, who were induced by exorbitant wages to offer their attendance, though many of them were by no means qualified for this; consisting, in a great measure, of rude awkward kind of persons, most of them unaccustomed to such services, who were of little use but to reach things when the sick asked for them, or watch when they died."

[14] *Were wearied out, &c.*] Lucret. v. 1246. Lacrymis lassi luctuque redibant.

[15] *The disorder was.*] Here *νόσον* must be supplied from the context. Προ in *προειδέναι* signifies *aforetime*, by experience. The whole is a popular formula, for "they knew the sufferings attendant on it, and therefore could pity the sufferers;" according to the well known "Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco." On this principle was the law mentioned by Plato Theat. t. 2. p. 62. which forbade women who had never borne children to act as midwives. Here Gail adduces Lucret. 2, 1.

> "Suave mari in magno turbantibus æquora ventis,
> E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem,
> Non quia vexari quemquam 'st jucunda voluptas,
> Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave 'st."

[16] *In safety.*] So all the translators. Nay, Gail has "en parfaite sécurité." The expression rather signifies *bono animo esse*, to be of good courage. It is, indeed, a very rare term, and, I believe, unnoticed by all the lexicographers and philologists; but it occurs in Herodian 2, 14, 3. *τὸ ἅμα τῷ θαῤῥαλέῳ εὐελπι.* And *τὸ θαῤῥαλέον*, *good courage*, occurs in Herod. 6, 3, 9. and Zosim. 4, 40, 8. The sense, therefore, is, "being of good courage as to their safety."

[17] *Attacked, &c.*] Corripuit. Not *oppressit*, as Gottl. renders; for as to Herod. 8, 115. *ἐπιλαβὼν λοιμὸς τὸν στρατόν*, appealed to by him, the sense there is the same as in the present passage. Ἐπιλαμβάνω is a word used by medical writers to express the *access* of any disorder. See Hippocr. ap. Foes. *τὰ ῥιγεα κνότιν καὶ κοιλίαν ἐπιλαμβάνονται.*

In this, Mitford observes, "it differed from the modern plague, and was one of those disorders which, by some inscrutable management of Providence, the human frame is incapable of receiving more than once, or at least twice receiving the *full force* of the disorder." But I am not aware of any marked difference from the plague in this respect; for he who recovers of *that* disorder is, I believe, secure for a *short* time from any *mortal* attack. Of this De Foe's account furnishes numerous proofs and examples. Yet it is observed by Gibbon, on the authority of Evagrius, that some persons who had escaped the first, sunk under the second attack. And this repetition is confirmed by Fabius Paulinus. He adds that on this head the physicians are divided; and suggests that the nature and operation of the disease may not always be similar.

light hope for the future — that they should never hereafter be destroyed by any *disease*.[18]

LII. Besides the present calamity, the reception of the country people into the city had occasioned much annoyance, and especially to the new comers.[1] For as they had no

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[18] *Nourished a sort of, &c.*] This passage has not a little perplexed the commentators. There is something seemingly absurd in "hoping not to die of any other disease hereafter." To avoid this, Smith renders the κούφως *groundless*. But that expedient is ineffectual in removing the difficulty. Gottleb., Hack, and Goeller, pursue another course, and take διαφθαρῆναι in the sense "se afflictum iri." Nay, Gail renders, "ils avoient la douce espérance qu'à l'avenir aucune autre maladie ne les atteindroit." But this is only exchanging one difficulty for another as great; for how could they, even in the utmost levity of joy, expect never to be *attacked* by any other disorder, nor even to be *afflicted* by it. Besides, this signification of διαφθ. is precarious, and devised "for the nonce." There is, however, no *necessity* to resort to it; nor will there be any difficulty, if we regard the whole as expressed *populariter*, in which case the terms are not to be too much pressed upon; and especially if νοσήματος be taken *emphatically*. The meaning, then, is, that they fancied they should never die of any other *disease*, but that life (in the words of a well-known composition) would "wear away, without gout or stone, by a gentle decay."

I must not omit to observe that from the words καθ' ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον κούφης may, with certainty, be emended a passage of Appian imitated from thence, t. 2. 621, 49. καί τι που καὶ κούφως εἶχον ἐλπίδος. Read κούφης. Herodian, too, 2, 8, 6. says, οὐ φαῦλαι οὐδὲ κούφαι καλοῦσιν ἐλπίδες; and 9, 1. κούφαις καὶ ἀδήλοις ἐλπίσι. One may also compare the Horatian "leves spes et certamina divitiarum." The fons locutionis seems to be Pind. Olymp. 13, 116. πληροῖ δὲ Θεῶν δύναμις καὶ τὰν παρ' ὅρκον καὶ παρὰ ἐλπίδα κύφαν κτίσιν γ'. From all this it is plain that the Schol. and Bauer have *wrongly* explained the κουφ., which must have the sense expressed by Horace. And so it seems to have been taken by Dionys. Hal. p. 584, 21. καὶ δι' ἐλπίδος ἔχοντες (ἐν ᾗ πολὺ τὸ κούφον ἦν) ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς κρατήσειν.

[1] *Besides the present calamity, &c.*] Thucydides means to say that the evils of the pestilence were aggravated by the annoyance of an excessively crowded population. Very apposite to the present subject is a passage of Plutarch. Nic. c. 6. which I will cite in order to emend: τοῦ δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔλαβε Περικλῆς, διὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατακλείσας τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν τόπων καὶ διαίτης ἀήθους γενόμενον. So the passage is edited by Reiske and Hutten; but the γενόμενον, a mere conjecture of Reiske, cannot be tolerated. For the old reading γενόμενον, which is doubtless corrupt, I would propose simply the alteration γενομένου, (from Cod. V.) to be referred to νόσου; for the words διὰ τὸν πόλεμον — ὄχλον must be taken parenthetically.

The ξυγκομιδὴ of the present passage is to be understood of the people and their cattle, and moveables. Gail says that the passage is imitated by Livy 3. "pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem receptis." It had been far more to the purpose to have adduced the words following, l. 3, 6., which are a close imitation of, and the best commentary on, the present: "Auxere vim morbi, terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis."

houses, but were compelled to lodge, during the height of summer [2], in stifling *huts* [3], a horribly confused mortality occurred [4], insomuch that corpses lay stretched out one upon another, as they had died [5]; and half-dead corpses were seen tumbling over each other [6], both in the streets and about

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[2] *Height of summer.*] Not "in that time of year," as Hobbes renders. Duker rightly explains ὥρα ἔτους here "the summer." He has not, however, proved the point. And Goeller only refers to Herodian, p. 465. On this phrase I shall fully treat in my edition; in the meantime the following authorities may suffice to establish the sense which I have adopted. Galen de alim. facult. 2. p. 319. ὥραν ἔτους ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι, τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολὴν γίγνεσθαι συμβαίνει· χρόνος δὲ ἐστὶ οὗτος ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα. Arrian E. A. 5, 9, 6. ἦν γὰρ ὥρα ἔτους, ᾗ μετὰ τροπὰς μάλιστα ἐν θέρει τρέπεται ὁ ἥλιος.

[3] *Stifling huts.*] Such is the literal sense of καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς. Duker refers to an imitation of this phrase in Plutarch. I would add that it is borrowed by Arrian. E. A. 6, 23, 4. Ind. 24, 2. Procop. p. 74. and 130. It is also had in view by Dionys. Hal. 389, 4. ὑπὸ καλύβης ὥρα ἔτους. where I would read καλύβαις, as in Theocr. Idyll. 21, 7. ὑπὸ πλεκταῖς καλύβαισι. also by Lucian p. 837, 33. With this use of πνιγηρὸς I would compare Æschyl. Agam. Δίκα δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν δυσκάπνοις δώμασιν. Athens, indeed, was at all times a suffocating place. Thus it appears from Philostr. V. Soph. that Alexander used to call it πνιγηρὸν οἰκητήριον.

The καλύβαις is rendered by Hobbes and Smith, *booths*. Now the word *booth* properly denotes a hut of boughs (being derived from *bough*); and this sense of καλύβη is proved by Polyæn. 2, 1, 21. τὰς καλύβας ἐγείροντες, ἔτεμον τὰ δένδρα, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρείαν. and Procop. p. 112, 27. τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος τὴν καλύβην ἐν δένδραις ἐπήξατο. also Menand. ap. Hist. Byz. Paris 1, 131. and Pausan. 10, 5, 5. But it is not easy to conceive how boughs could be had in Athens; and booths, in any other sense, would be too slight. I therefore render it *huts* (which word is cognate with *hood*, and both come from the Dutch, *hud*, a shelter). These were, doubtless, made of such wood-work, and other materials, as the people had removed from their houses.

To the annoyance here complained of, the want of sewers must (I agree with Mitford) have not a little contributed.

[4] *A horribly confused, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this difficult clause, as appears from the words following, which are exegetical of the preceding. It is imitated by Liban. Orat. p. 505. A. ἀπέθνησκον οὐδὲν κόσμῳ διαπανώμενοι.

[5] *Corpses lay stretched out, &c.*] So Joseph. 1214. νεκροὺς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις σεσωρευμένους. and 1252, 15. πολλοὶ τοῖς θαπτομένοις ἐπαπέθνησκον. Æschyl. Pers. 513, ἔπιτνον ἐπ' ἀλληλοῖσιν. and Thucyd. 7, 89. See also Eurip. Phœn. 995. Hence in Joseph. p. 1136. ἐπάλληλοι δ' ἐκτύπουν οἱ νεκροί. I read ἀλλήλοισι, from at least one MS. See also Polyæn. p. 731.

[6] *Half-dead, &c.*] A most affecting circumstance, and made especially so by the term ἐκαλινδοῦντο, which I would take in its full force (as it was done by Aristid. t. 3, 404. πάντα δὲ ἦν κυλινδουμένων, καὶ πιπτόντων, ἀπορουμένων.) though, like αναστρεφεσθαι, it sometimes only signifies versari. Here may be compared Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 264, 12.

The whole passage is beautifully rendered by Lucretius thus, 1262. "multa siti prostrata viam per, proque voluta Corpora silanos ad aquarum strata

every fountain, whither their rage for water had hurried them. The very temples, too, in which they had hutted, were full of the corpses of those who had expired there. For as the violence of the calamity exceeded all bounds [7], and men knew not what to have recourse to [8], they fell into a neglect alike of [9] sacred and social duties.[10] All laws, too, and customs which had been in force respecting sepulture, were confounded and violated; men burying just where and how they could [11]; and many, for want of funeral necessaries (so many deaths having before occurred in their families), had recourse to very indecorous means for the interment of their friends.[12]

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jacebant — Multaque per populi passim loca prompta viasque Languida semianimo tum corpore membra videres." And so Ovid. Metam. 7, 549. " silvisque, agrisque viisque corpora fœda jacent: vitiantur odoribus auræ."

7 *Exceeded all bounds.*] So Joseph. p. 419, 26. ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ κακοῦ. Procop. 131, 33. ὑπερβιαζομένου αὐτὸν τοῦ λιμοῦ. Also, 146, 52. 240, 52.

8 *Knew not what to have recourse to.*] Such is the most exact version of this Attic idiom οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ, τιγένωνται. Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. P. V. 940. (οὐδ' ἔχω τις ἂν γένοιμαν) would read γένοιντο, from four MSS. But the common reading is defended by Procop. p. 212, 18. and several passages of Liban., Aristides, and Synesius, which I shall adduce in my edition. It is probable, however, that the text of Thucydides was corrupted in some MSS. *before* that time. See Elsner, Kypke, and Wetsten., on Acts 12, 18.

9 *Fell into a neglect alike of, &c.*] This is almost transcribed by Procop. p. 126, 34. Ἡ τῶν Θεῶν, or ἐς τὸ Θεῖον, ἀλιγωρία is an expression which occurs in the best writers.

10 *Sacred and social duties.*] Or *civil.* Such is the sense of ὁσίων, and not *holy*, as Smith renders. It is strange that he should not have been aware of the force of so frequent an idiom; especially as Portus and Hobbes have not ill rendered, " sacred and profane." The Schol., however, better explains, " divine and human," and so Boccaccio took it.

On the sense of the formula Duker refers to Casaub. on Capitol. But it is most completely treated on by Taylor on Æschin. p. 49 and 50. Reisk. From the numerous examples adduced by the editor, it plainly appears, to use his own words, " ut ἱερὰ ad Religionem, ὅσια ad Rempublicam spectent: quemadmodum inter res sacras et publicas (vel potius eas quæ sunt Universitatis) distinguit Jurisprudentia Romana." So also Timæi Lex., cited by Hack: "Οσια· τὰ ἰδιωτικὰ καὶ μὴ ἱερά.

11 *All laws, too, &c.*] Lucret. 1276. " nec mos ille sepulturæ remanebat in urbe, Ut prius hic populus semper consuerat humari. Perturbatus enim totus trepidabat et unus Quisque suam pro re consortem mœstus habebat." So Procopius says that the order of funerals and the rights of sepulchres were confounded. And Boccaccio says the same, withal bitterly lamenting the paucity of priests and candles in the funeral processions.

12 *Had recourse to very indecorous, &c.*] The words of the original ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο have something harsh and not unlike many of Pindar's " hard sayings." Hence the commentators are not agreed as to the ratio of the phrase. The Scholiast on Æschyl. and Abresch, as also

For some, resorting to funeral piles which were raising for others, would, before they were completed, lay their own corpses thereon, and set them on fire.[13] Others, when a corpse was burning, would toss upon the pyre another, which they had brought with them, and go their way.[14]

LIII. This pestilence, too, in other respects, gave rise to that unbridled licentiousness which then first began to be prevalent in the city[1]; for now every one was readier to venture

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Poppo and Goeller, take θήκας to signify *sepulchres*. It, however, seems better to take it for ταφὰς (which Reiske, indeed, would *read*), i. e. *sepultures, modes of sepulture*. Then ἀναισχύντους need not be taken in the harsh and unauthorised sense of ἀλλοτρίας, ξένας, to which all the commentators, from the Scholiast downwards, have been obliged to have recourse. As, however, the words are somewhat obscure, the author proceeds to add something by way of explanation. I must not omit to observe, that the words σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων are imitated by Dionys. Hal. ubi supra: οἱ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔχοντες. In either passage we must subaud πρὸς ταφὰς from the context. The *complete* phrase occurs in Herodian 8, 5, 18. οὐκ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν τὰ πρὸς ταφὰς ἐπιτήδεια, where I am surprised that Irmisch should subaud χώρια. No further subaudition is necessary, τὰ ἐπιτ. being a *substantive;* if *any* be admitted, it should be χρήματα.

The necessaries here meant plainly appear, from what follows, to have been the wood, and other materials for the pyre, as garments, accompanied with the fat of oxen, honey, precious ointments, and perfumes.

[13] *Resorting to funeral piles, &c.*] Some, it appears, preferred even *this* shameless mode to *burying* the corpses; for of room for graves there could be no want. But, in fact, burning was then greatly preferred to burial, for the reasons mentioned by Potter in his Antiq. vol. 2. The τοὺς νήσαντας signifies those who were raising the pile. Νέω is a vox solennis de hac re. So Appian 2, 68. πυρὴν νήσας. and 2, 319. Herod. 1, 50. νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην. Aristoph. Lys. 269. πυρὴν ν. The time for laying on the corpse was probably when those persons were gone to fetch more materials. This circumstance Procopius also mentions in his account of the plague at Constantinople; but he says that some laid on the corpses by force.

It is not improbable that the fumes from so many piles tended in no slight degree to corrupt the air. Boccaccio in his account of the plague at Florence, remarks: " l'aere tutto paresse del puzzo de' morti corpi, e delle infermità, e delle medecine compreso e puzzolente."

[14] *Others, when a corpse, &c.*] So Dionys. Hal. 677, 16—20. τελευτῶντες δὲ, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ ὀλιγωρίας τοῦ καλοῦ, οἱ δὲ, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔχοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις τῶν στενωπῶν φέροντες ἐῤῥίπτουν τῶν ἀπογινομένων, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλείους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον.

[1] *This pestilence, too, in other respects, &c.*] Having treated on the *physical*, Thucydides now proceeds to touch on the *moral* effects of the disorder. The latter is not attempted by Procop.; though he enters much at large into the former. Such, however, has been done by Boccaccio in his deeply interesting account of the plague at Florence.

The fidelity of this masterly picture is attested by its exact correspondence with others drawn under similar circumstances, particularly those by

openly upon those gratifications which he had before dissembled, or indulged in secret[2], when he saw such sudden changes[3] — the rich hurried away, and those who before were worth nothing, coming into immediate possession of their property; insomuch that men were willing to snatch the enjoyment of such fugitive delights as offered themselves, and to live solely for pleasure, regarding their lives and their possessions as only held by the tenure of a day.[4] As to bestowing labour or pains on any pursuit which seemed honourable or noble[5], no one cared about the matter, it being uncertain whether or not he might be snatched away previously to the attainment of his object. In short, whatever any person thought pleasurable, or such as might in any way contribute thereto[6], *that* became with him both the *honourable* and *use-*

Livy, Froissart, Boccaccio, and De Foe, or those from whom he borrowed. Boccac. has something parallel to the present remark in a passage, p. 9. where, after noticing the total destruction of delicacy in the female sex, from the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed by the disorder, he adds, "Il che in quelle, che ne guarirons, fu forse di minore onestà, nel tempo che succedette, cagione."

[2] *For now every one, &c.*] Ἀποκρύπτεσθαι is one of those verbs which take after them a pleonastic μή. It is, therefore, as if it were written: ῥᾳον ἐτόλμᾳ τις ποιεῖν τὰ καθ' ἡδόνην ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο. The τὰ καθ' ἡδόνην signifies *quæ grata sunt;* as Arrian 1, 14, 7. 5, 4, 5. 5, 27, 5 C.

[3] *Sudden changes.*] ἀγχίστροφον μεταβολήν. The phrase occurs in Ælian V. H. 5, 13. Liban. Or. Par. in Julian, 145. Gregor. ap. Steph. Thes. Ἀγχίστροφος properly has the sense of *turning at a corner*, and consequently *suddenness*. For ἀγχι, as has been shown by the learned Dr. Davies, Master of Caius College, Cambridge, comes from ἀγξ, a *corner, angle*.

[4] *Were willing to, &c.*] q. d. Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Of such was the *second* class of persons mentioned by Boccaccio.

[5] *As to bestowing, &c.*] i. e. in the words of Milton, "To scorn delights, and live laborious days." The word προσταλαιπωρεῖν is very rare. I have only met with it in Pollux, 6, 139. and Aristoph. Lys. 765. ἀλλ' ἀνάσχεσθ' — καὶ προσταλαιπωρήσατέ γ' ὀλίγον χρόνον.

[6] *Whatever any one thought, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the real sense of this passage, which seems to have been handled invitâ Minerva both by the early and the recent commentators; embarrassed as they have been by variety of reading, and uncertainty of interpretation. The reading of all the editions up to Hack's was, ὅ, τι δὲ ᾔδει τε ἡδὺ, καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν κερδαλέον. Hack edited αὐτὸ and ᾖδη. And he understands, "id, quod *per se*, non aliam ob rem, juvat, ergo statim fructum et oblectamentum præbet." But such a signification of ἐς αὐτὸ is unfounded; and here inapplicable, since the sense arising would be extremely frigid. Bekker and Goeller also adopt the same reading; but the latter, aware that Hack's interpretation is untenable, proposes the following: "Quod et statim jucundum esset, et ad voluptatem alicunde quæstuosum fore videretur." This sense, indeed, seems unobjectionable; yet it appears scarcely founded

ful.[7] No fear of the gods, or respect for human laws, operated as any check[8]: for as to the *former*, they accounted

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on the words, and involves a somewhat harsh ellipsis of ἦν. It would be difficult, I imagine, to find any example of ἤδη in the signification "for the present." That would require αὐτικα.

But, moreover, there is no good reason for rejecting ἤδει or ἥδη. The grammatical one adduced by Goeller is (like many others of the present Germanic school) too minute and formal. He will allow the reading ἥδη, because the third person of this form of the verb is in Thucydides always written with an ει. But as this termination is Ionic, (occurring in Homer, Il. α. 70. and Od. ε. 189., and Herodotus, 5, 92.) why should it not be *old* Attic? the Ionic and old Attic being so nearly alike. Besides, ἤδης occurs in Aristoph. Eccles. 551. And as the best MSS. unite in ἤδη, *that* (or ἥδη) seems to be the true reading. Granting, however, Goeller's objection to this form to be well founded, why should we not retain the *old* reading ἥδει?—"Because," says he, "men have by nature a sufficient perception of what is pleasant, and require no knowledge to teach them that."—Be it so; yet the verb need not be taken of *knowledge*, but of *opinion*, i. e. what they *thought* and *supposed*, a not unfrequent signification in the early Greek writers. Thus Herod. 3, 61. (for which passage I am indebted to Schæf. ap. Steph. Thes. in v. Col. 4896.) μαθὼν τε ὡς ὀλίγοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιεόντα μὲν εἰδείησαν. Now this makes an excellent sense. And the latter clause of the sentence may be literally rendered: "what he thought in any way the profitable, in regard to it," i. e. pleasure.

Πανταχόθεν properly signifies "in all ways," but that includes the sense "in any way."

[7] *Both the honourable, &c.*] This has reference to the long-agitated question concerning the τὸ καλὸν and the τὸ χρήσιμον, the *honestum* and the *utile*. See Aristot. cited supra, c. 44. No. 15.

[8] *No fear of the gods, &c.*] So Procop. p. 133, 3. οὔτε θείου φόβος, οὔτε ἀνθρώπων αἰδώς. Joseph. 1188, 30. κατεπατεῖτο πᾶς αὐτοῖς θεσμὸς ἀνθρώπων, ἐγελᾶτο δὲ τὰ θεῖα. On the phraseology, see my note on Luke, 18, 2.

It has been ever found that *overwhelming* national calamity rather tends to suppress religion. For Æschyl. Theb. 77. truly says: πόλις γὰρ εὖ πράσσουσα δαίμονας τίει. Thus the contrary, especially among those who looked to the gods only for temporal advantage, was sure to produce the reverse. To this, we see, Procopius and Josephus bear testimony. Nay, such has been found the case even in Christian communities. So Froissart (by Johnes, t. 2, 265.), speaking of the horrible plague at Paris in 1348 and 1349. says: "It broke every bond of attachment in sunder. Servants fled from their masters, wives from their husbands, and children from their parents. There were no laws in force, and the greatest excesses were committed." Thus of the plague at Florence it is said by Boccaccio: "Ed in tanta afflizione, e miseria della nostra città, era la reverenda autorità delle leggi, così divine, come umane, quasi caduta, e dissoluta tutta per li ministri et esecutori di quelle, li quali, siccome gli altri huomini, erano tutti o morti, o infermi, o sì di famigli rimasi stremi, che uficio alcuno non potean fare; per la qual cosa era aciascuno licito, quanto a grado gli era, d'operare." The same effects have been found to result from violent *earthquakes*, accompanied, as they invariably are in great cities, with devastating fires.

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it the same to worship or not to worship them, since they saw all alike perish; and as to the latter, no one expected that his existence would be prolonged till judgment should take effect, and he receive the punishment of his offences[9]; nay, they supposed that a far heavier judgment, already denounced against them, hung over their heads[10]; and before it fell

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Here may be applied, mutatis mutandis, the words of Dr. Paley, Serm. p. 501. "If sudden deaths became too frequent, human life might become too perilous; there would not be stability or dependence either on our own lives, or the lives of those with whom we were connected, sufficient to carry on the regular offices of human society."

9 *No one expected that, &c.*] Because it seemed against probability that the various persons necessary to his conviction and punishment should live. These words, indeed, suggest the real cause, why the laws became of no force, and the greatest excesses were committed; namely, since the fear of punishment being removed, the multitude were hurried into every vice to which their corrupt passions and depraved propensities excite them; and thus ensued murder, robbery, rape, &c. Of this the descriptions of the earthquake at Lisbon present numerous and horrible examples.

The awful uncertainty of life, here adverted to, may lead us to inquire what was the *amount* of the mortality. This our author has omitted to mention; and, indeed, it seems that that was impossible to be exactly ascertained; for, at 3, 87., telling us that there died of the pestilence not less than four thousand four hundred of the heavy-armed on the lists, and three hundred horse, he adds: "and of the rest of the multitude a number not to be ascertained." Now this, I imagine, includes the one thousand and fifty who died of the plague at Potidæa. Upon the whole, the mortality does not appear to have been so great as has been known at some other places. Thus Procopius relates, that, at Constantinople, there died each day [surely *week*], for three months, *five*, and, at length, *ten*, *thousand* persons; and that many cities of the east were left vacant. The mortality at Moscow was enormous. At Paris forty thousand were carried off. At Florence, Boccaccio says, one hundred thousand died from March to July. At Marseilles fifty thousand died out of seventy or eighty thousand. At London the total number is not known, but supposed to have been, at least, a hundred and fifty thousand; since, for several weeks, there died from seven to ten thousand. Most astonishing, too, is the long continuance of some plagues. Thus, of the one in the reign of Justinian, described by Procopius, Gibbon says: "Such was the universal corruption of the air, that it was not checked or alleviated by any difference of seasons." "In time (he adds) its first malignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calamitous period of fifty-two years, that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality."

10 *Nay, they supposed, &c.*] A passage, this, for true pathos and real sublimity, almost unparalleled. They considered themselves as criminals condemned to death, expecting every hour the execution of the sentence.

A similar metaphor is found in a fine passage of St. Paul, 2 Cor. 1, 9. "But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves," &c. by which (as I have explained in my note, after Chrysostom) the Apostle means to say, that he was like one who lies under condemnation to death, over whom the execution, or sword of the law, is continually

upon them, they thought it right to snatch *some* enjoyment of life.

LIV. Thus fearful was the calamity which had befallen the Athenians, and so grievously were they oppressed by it; within, their people swept away by disease; and without, their territory devastated. In this their misery they recalled to mind (as it was likely they would) the following [predictive] verse, which the older persons averred was uttered of yore:—

"A Doric war shall come, and with it *plague*.[1]"

There had been, indeed, a dispute raised on the point; some maintaining that it was not *loimos* that was pronounced by the antients, but *limos*.[2] At the present season, however,

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suspended. I have there also compared Philostr. Vit. ap. 7. 28. p. 305. fin. δοκεῖτε μοι προαποκτιννύτες αὐτοὺς τοῦ καταψηφισθέντος ἂν ὑμῶν, ὡς οἴεσθε, θανάτου, which passage is evidently imitated from this of Thucydides.

Even, however, *with* this judgment suspended over them, they were not brought to amendment of life, but eagerly snatched at a few fleeting pleasures; and this, plainly, from disbelief in a future existence, and the distribution of rewards and punishments. Indeed, the image of death, though promotive of the moral reformation of *individuals*, seldom affects *nations*; when general, it only drives to despair.

[1] *A Doric war shall come, &c.*] This verse, as the Scholiast observes, is formed on Hom. Il. *a.* 61. Εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς. And he rightly explains the ἔπους by Πυθοχρήστου, a Pythian oracle. Max. Tyr. Diss. 9. tom. 1, 166., with this passage in view, writes: ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἀσεβουμένου λοιμὸς ἦλθε καὶ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πόλεμος. attributing the war to the wrath of Jupiter at the murder of Socrates. But the eloquent rhetorician is here (as often) guilty of carelessness and gross anachronism; for Socrates *survived* the plague, and, as we have already seen, was supposed to have preserved his life by his temperance. The judgment, too, of calling in Jupiter, is of a similar kind with that of Boccaccio, who says: "pervenne la mortifera pestilenza per operazion' de corpori superiori, o per le nostre inique opere, da quista ira di Dio a nostra correzione mandata sopra i mortali." That writer ought to have reflected that the visitation was common to almost the whole world; and we are not warranted in supposing the Divine wrath to have been *so general*. Nor, indeed, are we compelled to suppose *wrath* at all; since the chastisements of God are, as we learn from holy writ, often in mercy and love. See Prov. 3, 11.

[2] *Not loimos, &c.*] The words were confounded, doubtless from the similarity of pronunciation arising from *itacism*. See Duker's note. And, indeed, the two words seem of cognate sense, and common origin; the notion of *wasting*, *pining*, being common to both. They are frequently found united; and no wonder, famine being usually succeeded by pestilence. Of this I have given many examples, and indicated the fons locutionis, in my note on Matt. 24, 7.

it was (and no wonder [3]) the prevalent opinion that *loimos* was the word; for men's recollections conformed to what they were suffering.[4] But, I suppose, if even another Doric war should hereafter befall, and a famine should happen to accompany it, they would recite the verse accordingly.[5] They bore, too, in mind, such as knew it, the oracle given to the Lacedæmonians, when, in answer to their inquiries of the god whether they should go to war, he returned for answer that if they carried it on with alacrity and spirit, victory would be theirs, and he would, he said, himself be on their side.[6] As far, then, as respected the oracle, they regarded the events that had happened suitably thereto. Now the pestilence had commenced immediately upon the irruption of the Peloponnesians; and into Peloponnesus it never spread in any degree worth mentioning [7], but its ravages [8] were principally confined to Athens, though it also extended to such other towns as were the most populous. And thus much of the disease in question.[9]

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[3] *And no wonder.*] Literally, as was likely enough, as was natural and to be expected. So in 3, 2., and οἷον εἰκὸς in 5, 86. 7, 65. It is wrongly rendered by Hobbes, *deservedly;* and by Smith, "with probability."

[4] *Men's recollections conformed, &c.*] Literally, they made their recollections conformable to, &c. Here may be compared 1, 143. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ γνώμας τρεπομένους.

[5] *Accordingly.*] i. e. "pronounce it *limos*," which, indeed, was probably the true word; for, at the early period, when the oracle was pronounced, Athens had little commerce, and few or no foreign dependencies; and, therefore, it would be no great hazard, on the part of the oracle-monger, to pronounce that a Doric war (i. e. a war with the Peloponnesians) should arise, which would necessarily produce ravage to the territory of Attica, and, consequently, scarcity and famine.

[6] *If they carried it on with, &c.*] On this oracle, and its true nature and import, see note on 1, 118., where it occurs somewhat more complete. From Thucydides' manner of adverting to this oracular dict, it is plain that he put no faith in it, nor any thing of the sort.

[7] *Worth mentioning.*] Such is the sense of the idiomatical phrase, ὅτι ἄξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν, from ignorance of which Smith renders, "a circumstance which ought to be mentioned." He seems to have been partly deceived by the version of Portus; though the Scholiast might have preserved him from such an error.

[8] *Ravages.*] Ἐπενείματο is a very expressive term, signifying, *eat up, laid waste.* It is chiefly used of *fire;* as Herod. 5, 101., Zosim. 3, 24, 11., and Herodian 1, 14, 6.; also Isaiah, 5, 24., Joel 2, 5. I know not of any other example of its being applied to *pestilence.* It occurs, in a metaphorical sense in Diod. Sic. t. 5, 33. τὴν φαυλότητα ἐπινέμεσθαι τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Pausan. 8, 2, 2. κακία—ἐπενέμετο γῆν πᾶσαν.

[9] *And thus much, &c.*] Diog. Laert. 1, 110. relates, that the plague was ayed by some religious ceremonies of the philosopher Epimenides, who

LV. The Peloponnesians, having devastated the champaign country, passed into what is called the territory of Paralus [1], as far as Laurium [2], where are the silver mines belonging to the Athenians. And first they ravaged this tract of land, which looks towards Peloponnesus, and after it, that which is opposite to Eubœa and Andros. But Pericles, who was then also their general, was still of the same opinion that he entertained in the former invasion, that the Athenians ought not to go out against them to battle.

LVI. Now as they were in the champaign country, and had not yet entered into the Paralian (or maritime) district, he fitted out a fleet of one hundred ships to cruise on Peloponnesus, and, when all things were ready, put to sea. He embarked on board the ships four thousand Athenian heavy-

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was, agreeably to a Pythian oracle, fetched by Nicias from Crete, in a trireme, for this very purpose. The mode in which this expiation was performed, is said to have been as follows: — He took some sheep, both white and black, and brought them to the hill of Areopagus, and from thence let them go whither they would; ordering those who followed, wherever each of these should lie down, there to sacrifice it to the god belonging to the place (for so I take the τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ). Pausanias, too, informs us that he purified both Athens and other cities.

This even philosophers could not but acknowledge to have been a well-judged expedient, to quiet the apprehensions of the people, and place affairs, public and private, on their ordinary footing.

From the information derived from Mr. Pepys's very curious journal, we find, that in *London*, the usual routine of business was resumed far sooner than could have been expected; though, unhappily, the penitence and vows of reformation, extorted by sickness and peril, were too easily forgotten when returning health, and the confidence of security, revived dormant passions, and renewed ill-subdued habits.

[1] *Paralus.*] This was a tract of land which comprehended the narrow part of that sort of triangle which Attica presents, and of which the apex is the promontory of Sunium. It was so called because, in a manner, all maritime.

[2] *Laurium.*] The silver mines at Laurium originally belonged to private persons, but were united to the public domain by Themistocles. A great number of slaves were employed in working them, and the produce paid amply for all the labour bestowed upon them. Whether the *state* was much enriched by them, is a question; the undertakers and proprietors of the slaves who wrought them, drew great wealth from them, as we are told by Xenophon, in his treatise of *revenue*. (Smith.) See more in Meurs. de Pop. Ath. and de Fort. Attic. c. 8. p. 560., 9. p. 613. Wheler, p. 448.; and, above all, a dissertation on the mines of Laurium, in Walpole's memoirs; and, finally (as referred to by Poppo), Boechk. in Comm. Acad. Berolin. 1815. and in his treatise on the Athenian revenue, t. 1. p. 331. seqq.

Laurium was properly the name of the *mountain* which contained the mine; ὄρος being understood. It was opposite the small island of Patro-

armed, and three hundred cavalry, in horse-transports, then first fabricated out of the old gallies.[1] The Chians also, and Lesbians, joined in the expedition, with fifty ships. When this armament[2] of the Athenians set forth, it left the Peloponnesians then in Paralia. Proceeding then to Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, they ravaged most of the territory, and making an attack on the town, were in hopes to have taken it, but the attempt proved unsuccessful.[3] Then weighing from Epidaurus, they ravaged the territories of Trœzene, Haliæ, and Hermione, all of them maritime places of Peloponnesus, and sacking them, they proceeded to Prasiæ[4], a maritime town[5] of the

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clus, and not far from Sunium. It is, however, not properly marked as a *town*, in D'Anville and Butler's maps.

The name, *Laurium*, was probably derived from the abundance of laurel-trees which grew, or had grown, on it.

[1] *Out of the old gallies.*] Hobbes wrongly renders, "vessels then purposely made."

[2] *This armament.*] Literally, the armament itself. This, however, is so obscure, that all the translators render the pronoun as a demonstrative. But the reading, ἡ στρατιὰ αὕτη, is found in all the MSS., and can only mean, "the armament itself;" which, indeed, may be very well understood, if taken of the Athenian fleet, as considered separately from that of the Chians and Lesbians, which, it should seem, joined the Athenian fleet on its way to Epidaurus. The word, στρατιὰ, or rather στρατεία (armament), is used, because there was not only a naval, but a strong military force. For it should seem that the number was far more than four thousand three hundred, the light-armed, as usual, not being reckoned.

[3] *The attempt proved unsuccessful.*] Smith renders, "but did not succeed." But this does not well represent the original, in which, at προεχώρησε is to be supplied from the context ἡ προσβολὴ, or ἡ πεῖρα, or τὸ πρᾶγμα, (as in Herod. 1, 8.) or τὸ ἑλεῖν from the preceding. So infra, c. 58. is *supplied* in a similar phrase ἡ αἵρεσις τῆς πόλεως.

[4] *Prasiæ.*] This is once or twice in the Classics written in the *singular;* but, as it seems, by an error of the scribes. Pausan., and Steph., sometimes write *Brasiæ*, which Wasse thinks a corruption. But it rather seems to represent the *popular* pronunciation.

The ratio appellationis may, I think, be discerned from Zonar. Lex., the Etym., Mag., and Etym. Gud. They inform us that Πρασιαὶ signifies square plots, or beds, in gardens, for the growth of *leeks*, from πράσον, *a leek*, Laconice, πράτον and πρατία, whence I would derive the Latin *pratum*, a meadow, from the regularity of its form, as being inclosed. So we have a *plat of ground* for a *vineyard*, in 2 Kings, 9, 26. Nor can I conceive a better derivation of the word *plat* (which has been much controverted by the etymologists) than the πρας, or πρατ, of the Greek.

Its site, Pouqueville, 4. p. 173. (referred to by Poppo) says, is now occupied by the sea-port of St. Rhecontas, or Eleonitium (vulgarly called *Lenidi*), which signifies *an olive ground*, and, necessarily, a *plat of ground* in the above sense. There was also a Prasiæ in *Attica*, in a similar situation.

[5] *Maritime town.*] Smith calls it a *fort*. But πόλισμα has never that

Lacedæmonian territory, and both ravaged part of its territory, and took and sacked the city. This done, they returned home, but found the Peloponnesians no longer in Attica, but already departed.

LVII. During such time as the Peloponnesians were in the Athenian territory, and the Athenians were occupied in their maritime expedition, the pestilence destroyed many both of those in the city and in the armament; insomuch that the Lacedæmonians had, through fear of the disorder (when they heard from the deserters that it was in the city, and, moreover, perceived them burying their dead), departed from the country sooner than they otherwise would. In that invasion, however, they continued the longest time they had ever yet done (for they were in Attica about forty days), and devastated the whole of the territory.

LVIII. This same summer, Agnon son of Nicias, and Cleopompus son of Clinias, who were joint commanders with Pericles, taking the army which he had employed, immediately undertook an expedition against the Chalcideans of Thrace, and Potidæa, which was yet being besieged. On their arrival, they brought forth their battering machines against Potidæa, and endeavoured by every means to take the place; but their efforts proved ineffectual, nor was their success in other respects worthy of so great an armament; for, indeed, the pestilence seizing them there also, grievously afflicted the Athenians, and wasted their strength; insomuch, that the troops first sent thither, and which had previously been in health, now began to be diseased from the infection brought by the army with Agnon.[1] As for Phormio and his

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sense. The error seems to have originated in a misapprehension of the sense of ἐπόρθησαν, which Hobbes and Smith wrongly render *razed*, a sense which that word never bears.

This unfortunate town was not only in the present instance, but twice afterwards in the Peloponnesian war, taken and sacked. See 6, 105. 7, 18. To which Aristoph. Pac. 241. seems to allude, when he exclaims: Ἰὼ Πρασιαὶ τρισάθλιαι.

[1] *Diseased from the infection, &c.*] This, in conjunction with what was said at c. 34 and 57., plainly proves the disorder (which there is little doubt was the plague) to have been infectious.

one thousand six hundred troops, they were no longer amongst the Chalcideans. So Agnon returned with the fleet to Athens, having, in about forty days, lost one thousand and fifty heavy-armed out of four thousand. But the soldiers who had been before stationed there, remained and continued the siege of Potidæa.[2]

LIX. After this second invasion of the Peloponnesians, when the Athenians saw their country was thus again ravaged, and pestilence and war lay heavy on them, a total change took place in their minds[3], and they laid blame on Pericles[4], as if by his persuasions they had been led into the war, and had thereby fallen into these calamities. They were inclined to concessions to the Lacedæmonians, and, indeed, sent some ambassadors to them, though they returned without effecting any thing. Being thus utterly perplexed in mind[5], they inveighed bitterly against Pericles. He, however, seeing them irritated at the present conjuncture of affairs, and acting in the very manner which he had himself expected, called an assembly (for he was yet general), intending to hearten and embolden them, and, by soothing the irritation of their feelings, reduce them to a calmer and less dispirited frame of mind; and coming forward, he addressed them thus: —

LX.[5] "Not unforeseen by me have been these ebullitions

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[2] *The soldiers who had, &c.*] It was a judicious measure to leave them, rather than station there any of the fresh troops; since they were seasoned to the country, and accustomed to the operations of a siege.

[3] *A total change took place in their minds.*] So Dio Cass. p. 344, 22. ἠλλοιώθη, sententiam mutavit.

[4] *Laid blame on Pericles.*] ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον. So 5, 60 and 82. Dionys. Hal. 1, 491. and 548, 4. ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον τοὺς δημάρχους. Herodian, 6, 7, 8. τὸν Ἀθηναῖον εἶχον ἐν αἰτίᾳ.

[5] *Utterly perplexed in mind.*] The phrase, πανταχόθεν ἄπορος καθιστ. signifies to be encircled and hemmed in with such difficulties on all sides (πανταχόθεν), as to be utterly at a loss to know which way to turn, or what course to take. Hence is illustrated an inimitably fine passage of St. Paul, 2 Cor. 2, 8. ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι· ἀπορούμενοι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξαπορούμενοι, where see my note.

[1] Dionys. Hal. p. 158., referred to by Wasse, regards the present oration as unworthy of the character of Pericles, and unsuitable to the occasion, which, he says, required a deprecatory, not a vehement and objurgatory speech. And Aristid. t. 3. p. 650 and 651. holds the very same language.

of your anger [2], the causes of which I clearly perceive — and for *this* purpose have I convened the present assembly, that I might admonish, nay, even reprove [3] you, if in any respect you either unjustly harbour resentment against me, or causelessly sink under your misfortunes. I am, for my part, persuaded that a state which enjoys [4] public prosperity is more promotive of the welfare of private persons than one in prosperity,

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Pericles ought, he thinks, to have counselled them ἰατήριον ϑεῖναι — that he ought παραιτεῖσϑαι — and to have spoken in some such way as the following : " Μήτοι νομίσατε ὅτι ἐγὼ λόγων δεινότητα, ἢ το εξαρχῆς τοῦϑ' ὑμᾶς ἔπεισα, ἢ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀξιῶ ϑαῤῥῶν, &c.; but, on the contrary, that he speaks in a most vapouring and boastful manner, affirming himself to be the best orator among them, and that at the beginning of his speech." But these rhetoricians forget that Pericles was no common character, or to be tried by the ordinary rules; that he was enabled to speak with authority, and always did so. The words of Thucyd. infra, c. 65. show this : κωτεῖχε τὸ πλῆϑος ἐλευϑέρως, καὶ οὐκ ἦγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν. And it is well observed by Gottleber : " Hæc oratio non justo majorem iracundiam spirat, sed Periclis personæ convenit; deinde in tali tempore vir magnus et fortis non deprecatur, sed conscius recti, consilia sua fortiter defendit, non sine indignatione et plebis reprehensione."

Not unforeseen, &c.] The orator here speaks " with authority;" and commences with abruptness, for the speech is, together with that of Alcibiades, l. 6., among the few that begin with a καὶ, which may, perhaps, be rendered *yes*, or *aye*, q. d. " aye, I expected," &c. and in that of Alcibiades, " Aye, and have a right," &c.

[2] *Ebullitions of your anger.*] I am, of course, aware of the idiom by which a substantive in the genitive is put with the article in the nominative, for the nominative of the substantive. So 7, 49. τὰ τῆς ἐμπείριας. Nay, Matth. Gr. Gr. adduces from Plutarch Brut. 21. τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς. But it here seems better not to resort to that principle. As to the passage of Plutarch, the words are : ὅταν παρακμάσῃ καὶ μαρανϑῇ τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, where, as they are plainly imitated from Thucydides, I would for τὸ read τὰ. *There*, however, the expression admits of the same interpretation as I have adopted in the present passage.

[3] *Reprove.*] This is an example of what Thucydides says at c. 65. of Pericles : ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει, καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν, τι ἀντειπεῖν. So Liban. Orat. p. 202. εἰπεῖν μετ' ἐξουσίας. Other similar phrases may be seen in my note on Matt. 7, 29.

[4] *A state which enjoys, &c.*] A most pithy and, when properly understood, most important political maxim, and worthy of a true patriot. The thought has been imitated by Livy, 26, 36. Respublica incolumis et privatas res facile salvas præstat, publica prodendo, tua nequidquam serves.

This, however, seems to have been uttered to deaf ears. At least that may be said to be a generally true assertion, which has been well expressed by Herodian thus, 2, 3, 21. ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν δημωφελοῦς καὶ κοινῇ διαφέροντος ὀλίγη τοῖς καϑ' ἕνα φροντίς. τὸ δὲ καϑ' αὐτὸν ἕκαστος, εἰ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην προχωροίη, οὐδὲν τι μέγα ὠφελεῖσϑαι νομίζει.

indeed, *individually*, but *collectively*[5] brought to ruin.[7] For a private person[8], however prosperous be his condition, yet if the *state* be brought to destruction, cannot but share in its ruin; whereas one who falls into misfortune[9] in a flourishing country, has far greater opportunities of retrieving his affairs. Since, then, the state is able to bear up under the misfortunes of private persons[10], while individuals cannot but sink under the calamities of the state — what then? should not every one exert himself to succour it[11], and not (as you are now doing), struck with consternation at private calamities[12], abandon the care of the public welfare, and throw blame both on me, who

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[6] *Collectively.*] i. e. publicly, as a state. This use of *ἀθρόος*, which is elegant, is found in 1, 141. *τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον.* Also Eurip. Androm. 481. *σοφῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἄθροον ἀσθενέστερον φαυλοτέρας φρένος αὐτοκρατοῦς.*

[7] *Brought to ruin.*] i. e. brought to the brink of ruin, into the road to ruin, by its public interests as a state being abandoned. With this limitation and definition of sense the word requires to be taken, in order to avoid a seeming incongruity, which Hobbes seems to have felt by rendering *σφαλλομένην* "in decay," and Smith *totters;* both which methods, however, are precarious and ineffectual.

Conscious of the difficulty of the sentiment, the orator subjoins some explanatory matter.

[8] *For a private person, &c.*] Here Goeller aptly compares Dio Cass. l. 38, 36. which I had myself noted down. I subjoin the following imitation of the passage by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 170, 13. *εἰ μίαν ἡγοίμεθα πατρίδα, ἧς εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον φερομένης, τὸ ἐπιβαλλόμενον μέρος ἕκαστος οἴσεται τῆς τύχης.* I would also observe Solon 15, 26. *οὕτω δημόσιον κακὸν ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἑκάστῳ Αὐλείοι δ' ἔτ' ἔχειν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι θύραι, ὑψηλὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ἕρκος ὑπέρθορεν, εὗρε δὲ πάντως, Εἰ κε τις ᾗ φεύγων, ἐν μυχῷ, ἢ θαλάμῳ* Democrit. ap. Stob. Serm. *ἀπορίη ξύνη τῆς ἑκάστου χαλεπωτέρη, οὐ γὰρ ὑπολείπεται ἐλπὶς ἐπικουρίης.* See also Plutarch Camill. c. 4. and Herod. 1, 30. Thucyd. 1, 124. Perhaps the orator had in view a very similar sentiment of Eurip. Philoct. frag. 12. the elegance of which is greatly deformed by an error that has escaped all the editors: *Πάτρις καλῶς πράσσουσα τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἀεὶ Μείζω τίθησι, δυστυχοῦντα δ' ἀσθένη.* Read for *δυστυχοῦντα, δυστυχοῦσα.*

Examples of *φέρεσθαι* (as here) for *πράσσειν*, with *καλῶς* or *κακῶς*, or *ἧσσον*, I shall adduce in my edition.

[9] *Falls into misfortune.*] This is imitated by Synes. p. 235. C. *εὐτύχεις ἐν ἀτυχοῦσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ τῇ πόλει συνατύχω.*

[10] *Misfortunes of private persons.*] *τὰς ἰδίας ξυμφοράς.* This is a very unusual sense of *ἴδιος*, which, however, is somewhat illustrated by the use of *ἰδίᾳ*, opposed to *δημοσίᾳ*. See also Æschyl. Agam. 623.

[11] *Exert himself to succour it.*] i. e. by making common cause with his country, regarding its welfare as indissolubly united with his own, and being ready to stand or fall with it, according to the old adage mentioned by Aristid. t. 2, 331. A. *ὡς ἄρα χρὴ κοινὰ πάντ' εἶναι* (be all in all) *τοῖς μέλλουσιν ὡς κάλλιστα πράξειν.*

[12] *Struck with consternation, &c.*] So Plutarch, *ἐκπεπληγμένος ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς.* Æschyl. Pers. 295. *ἐκπεπληγμένη κακοῖς.*

counselled, and on yourselves, who, jointly with me, decreed the war. Nay, what is more [13], your anger is directed against me, who conceive myself [14] inferior to none of you, whether in knowing what is expedient to be done, or in expressing my conceptions in words [15]; a lover, too, of my country, and su-

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[13] *Nay, what is more.*] Καίτοι has here the sense, not of *atque, and,* as Portus and Hobbes render; nor *what!* as Smith, who converts the dignified resentment of the original into a mere *bluster,* by putting into the orator's mouth the words: "What! I am then the man that must stand the storm of your anger!" Καίτοι simply signifies *quinetiam,* on which sense see Hoog. de Part. p. 317.

[14] *Me, who conceive myself, &c.*] The Aristarchus (or rather Zoilus) Anti-Thucydideus Dionys. Hal. here seizes the opportunity to launch the arrows of his censure at the great historian, for making Pericles *praise himself;* which, he says, is a thing most odious and disgusting to the hearers. So Choricius Orat. Fun. in Procop. ap. Fab. Bibl. t. 8, 848. says, that the orator arrogates to himself every virtue. With which Aristid. 3, 650. chimes in, observing that his words are equivalent to: εἰμι ὑμῶν πάντα ἄριστος — ὥσπερ Ζεύς τις Ὁμηρικὸς — τὸ (ὦ Ζευ καὶ Θεοὶ, ῥητόρημα καὶ στρατηγὸν ὄντα. Such, however, is mere misrepresentation. The orator only claims to himself the qualifications of an accomplished orator, and the virtue of a disinterested patriot. And *these* even his enemies did not deny him. And though, as a general rule, self-praise is to be avoided, as vain and offensive; yet this, like all general rules, admits of some exceptions; and of these our orator was, perchance, a better judge than those who took upon themselves to be his criticisers. There are, surely, occasions when self-commendation for really existing qualities is allowable; namely, when it is *necessary* in the way of solemn testimony, or to promote the public good, or when it is wrung from us by gross injustice, envy, and ingratitude.* On one or other of these grounds most of the self-praise which has drawn down such censure on the head of the great *Roman orator* may be justified. Nay, it may be defended by the example of one who was a more devoted benefactor to the human race than any one, except our Redeemer; namely, the Apostle of the Gentiles. He, in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, c. 12. as he *begins* the detail of his merits and endowments with the deprecatory softening ἀνεχέσθε μου τῆς ἀφροσύνης, and ὡς ἄφρονα δέξασθε με, so *ends* with an apology for his boasting, accompanied with the *reason* for it; namely, ὑμεῖς με ἠναγκάσατε, "you have compelled me to do it, by rendering it necessary;" "I have been constrained to do it for your good, in order to disabuse you of the prejudice you had in favour of false teachers; and, therefore, you ought surely to excuse me for boasting."

[15] *Whether in knowing what, &c.*] This is a sort of definition of a statesman and orator. It is strange that the commentators should not have been aware how much the passage has been imitated. Thus, Dio Cass.

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* So Livy, l. 23, 10. (Ego) nulli Campanorum secundus, vinctus ad mortem rapior. Solon ap. Diog. Laert. Sol. 49. λέγων ταῦτα, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν μὲν σοφώτερος, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρειότερος εἰμί. See also Aristid. 3, 65. Liban. ap. Villois An. 2, 52. Under such circumstances virtue frequently (to use the words of Mrs. Hannah More) "grows proud, forgets its humble worth, and rates itself above its real value."

perior to base lucre. For he who *hath* knowledge [16] indeed, but cannot *communicate* it, is in the same condition as one [17] who never had the conceptions; and he who possesses both those qualities, but is ill-affected to the state, can never impart as salutary counsel as one who is *well*-affected [18]; and he who is so too, will yet, if a slave to corruption [19], set every thing to sale to gratify one base passion. So that if, as supposing me to possess those qualities even in a tolerable degree, or more than other men, you were induced by me to undertake the war, it is not just that I should now bear the charge of having done you wrong.[20]

616, 30. γνώναι τὰ προσήκοντα καὶ εἰπεῖν ῥᾷστα δύνασθαι. Philostr. V. Soph. 1, 19, 1. οἱ μήτε γνῶναι ἱκανοὶ ἐδοξαν, μήτε ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὰ γνωρισθέντα. Xenoph. Mem. 1, 2, 52. τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ δέοντα, καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυναμένους. See also Suid. in Δημοσθ. Finally, Horace Epist. 1, 4, 9. "Quid voveat dulci nutricula majus alumno, Qui sapere et fari possit, quæ sentiat."

[16] *For he who has knowledge, &c.*] A similar distribution of the qualifications for a statesman is made by Arist. Rhet. p. 86., namely, into φρόνησιν, ἀρετὴν, and εὐνοίαν. Pericles has here in view the qualifications of a statesman *and orator*, the latter being, in the then state of Greece, necessary to the former. See Cicero de Oratore, Proœm.

[17] *As one who.*] Literally, "as if he;" for I have long been of opinion that καὶ εἰ μὴ, which is edited by Hack, Bekker, and Goeller, for εἰ καὶ μὴ, is the true reading. Goeller justly observes that *perinde ac si* is the sense here required; whereas εἰ καὶ will signify *etsi*. Ἐν ἴσῳ is for ἴσως, i. e. ὁμοίως. In vain does Gottleb. defend the common reading. The passage of Xenoph. Memor. 4, 1. adduced by him, is nothing to the purpose, since the εἰ there has no authority, and is rightly cancelled by the recent editors. There seems to have been an error, arising from a confusion of καὶ and κἀι. The very same mode of correction ought to be applied to Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 354, 7.

The turn of expression, in the words following, is similar to that of Horat. Carm. 4, 9, 30. "Paullum sepulta distat inertiæ Celata virtus." One may also bring to mind Pope's definition of wit, "what oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd."

[18] *As salutary counsel, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense. Οἰκείως is wrongly rendered by Portus, Smith, and Hobbes, as if for φιλικῶς. It does, indeed, occur in that sense at 6, 57., but it is not so suitable as *aptè, convenienter, e re civitatis*, a sense found in Xenophon, Polybius, Diod. Sic., and other authors. And such is here assigned by Valla, Acac., and Gail. Hack injudiciously combines both these senses. At ὁμοίως subaud καὶ εἰ εὔνους ἂν εἴη.

[19] *A slave to corruption.*] Or, "if not proof against corruption." So Æschyl. Agam. 333. κέρδεσι νικωμένου.

[20] *If, as supposing me to possess, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the passage, in which μέσως is for μετρίως, *mediocriter;* as Eurip. Herc. Fur. 58. ὅστις καὶ μέσως εὔνους ἐμοί. And. 865. Menand. μέσως μεθύων. Athen. 91. E. μέσως τρόφιμοι. But the most apposite illustration of the sense is in Eubulus ap. Athen. 63. D. Θερμοτέρου, ἢ κρυερότερον, ἢ μέσως

LXI. "Now as for [1] those who have a free choice of action, and in possession of all other objects of their reasonable wishes [2], it were arrant folly in *them* to go to war; but if [3] they must, of necessity, either give way, and so at once become subject to their neighbours, or else must encounter hazards, in order to their preservation — why then he who *declines* the danger is more blamable than he who boldly *faces* it. I, for my part, continue the very same I was — my sentiments are unaltered.[4] But you, how changed are you!

ἔχων. Hence is confirmed and illustrated the common reading in Eurip. Frag. incert. 168. οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς τινι Περαιτέρω τὸ καλλος, ἢ μέσως λαβεῖν.

But to consider the whole passage, though its sense has been tolerably well represented by the translators, yet neither they nor the commentators seem to have understood the scope of the words, or the force of the argument, which seems to be this: "As I gave my best counsel, and you, from a persuasion of my competent judgment, followed it, I ought not to be accused of wronging you. My fault, if any, is only *error of judgment* (in which, however, you partake), and not intentional wrong." The τοῦ ἀδικεῖν is emphatic, as appears from the γε, *saltem*, which is rightly placed after the τοῦ by Bekker and Goeller, from all the best MSS.

[1] *Now as for those, &c.*] The scope of this passage is not well comprehended by the translators and commentators. The orator, it should seem, intends now to enter upon a defence of the counsel he had given; and γὰρ has here (as often) reference to a clause omitted; q. d. "I am not, however, prepared to grant that the advice was bad, for," &c.

[2] *In possession of all other, &c.*] Namely, except *that* for the attainment of which a war is necessary. Such is, I conceive, the complete sense of this obscure, because too brief, sentence, τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, in which the τὰ ἄλλα is very significant. Smith renders: "Those, indeed, who are already in the fast possession of all the ends attainable by war, must make a foolish choice if they run to arms." But this is neglecting the τὰ ἄλλα, and making the orator utter a truism, or, certainly, a very shallow observation; for those who have already all the ends attainable by war, scarcely need be told that they ought not to go to war. Whereas the sense I have adopted is profound, and worthy of a great statesman.

[3] *But if they, &c.*] The ἦν is for ἂν ἦν. Hobbes wrongly changes the third into the first person plural, *we*. These words, together with the preceding, form a *sententia generalis*, though intended, no doubt, to be especially applied to this particular case.

[4] *I, for my part, &c.*] The words, καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι, are exegetical of the preceding. At ὁ αὐτὸς must be understood τῇ γνώμῃ, which is *supplied* at 3, 38. The sense is: "I am the same person I was then," not "*toujours* même," as Gail renders. This absolute use of ὁ αὐτὸς being wholly neglected by the commentators, the following examples may be acceptable: — Plutarch Arat. 31. οὔκετ' ἦν ὁ αὐτός. Eurip. Phœn. 935. ἀνὴρ ὁδ' οὐκ ἐϑ' αὐτὸς ἐκνεύει. Theogn. Sent. 324. οὔδε γὰρ — γίγνεται αὐτὸς ἔτι.

This absolute use of ἐξίσταμαι is also deserving of notice, at which must be supplied either ὧν ἐπήνεσα, with the Scholiast, or τοῦ νοῦ, or τῆς γνωμῆς. So Soph. Antig. 564. οὐδὲ νοῦς μένει, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται. and 1105. καρδίας δ' ἐξίσταμαι. where καρδίας is for γνώμης, *animi propositi*. Soph. Antig. 1105. καρδίας δ' ἐξίσταμαι Τὸ δρᾷν. Upon the whole, this seems to be an *agonistic*

and why? Because [5] when you followed my counsels, you were untouched by suffering; but now, when you feel the pinch of adversity, you change your views, and in the weakness of your own resolves, you question the rectitude of my counsel [6]; and that because the attendant ills now occupy the feelings of each of you [7], while the *advantages* thence resulting are as yet to all remote and unseen. The reverse, too, which [8] has befallen you, being both great and sudden, you possess not sufficient firmness of mind to persevere in your previous resolves.[9] For what is sudden and unexpected, and happens beyond all calculation, is enough to weigh down the mind and enslave the spirit.[10] Now this has been your case, both in other matters, and especially in that of the pestilence. And yet highly does it behove you, who are citizens of a

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metaphor, which may be compared with our familiar idiom *to stir a peg*. Such as some critics recognise in 1 Cor. 7, 37. ὁ δὲ ἕστηκεν ἑδραῖος. In my note, however, on that passage, I have proved that it is an *architectural* metaphor.

[5] *And why? Because.*] I have here supplied the ellipsis which, I conceive, exists in the original.

[6] *In the weakness of, &c.*] I have here ventured to deviate from the interpretation of all the translators and commentators, who take τῆς γνώμης to mean *mind* or *judgment*. So, Smith: "you measure the soundness of my advice by the weakness of your own judgments!" But this would have been, indeed, a most vain-glorious and arrogant, nay, even insulting, speech, little in accordance with the refined way of insinuating censure, which we discover elsewhere in this accomplished orator. Besides, the subject here is *resolution* or *perseverance*, not judgment. I have, therefore, adopted the sense *resolves*, a not unfrequent signification of γνώμη, on which see Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Agam. 1323. This, indeed, is placed beyond doubt by what just after follows: ταπεινὴ ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν, ἃ ἔγνωτε.

[7] *The attendant ills now occupy, &c.*] Ἔχει is for κατέχει. So Eurip. Hippol. 693. τὸ γὰρ δάκνον σου τὴν διάγνωσιν κρατεῖ. where the Scholiast explains: τὸ γὰρ λυποῦν σε κρατεῖ. This use of τὸ λυποῦν occurs also in Soph. Antig. 14. τὸ λυποῦν ὕστερον χάραν ἄγει. Conc. 359. οὐδὲ τοῦτο με Μόνον τὸ λυποῦν ἔστιν, ἀλλ', κ. τ. λ. Herodian 5, 2, 14. 2, 3, 18.

[8] *The reverse too, which, &c.*] It is truly and beautifully observed by Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1262. κεκλημένῳ δὲ φωτί μακαρίῳ πότε αἳ μεταβολαὶ λυπηρόν.

[9] *To persevere in your resolves.*] Such is the sense of ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἃ ἔγνωτε. So Xenoph. Hipp. 8, 22. δυνήσονται ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν.

[10] *For what is sudden, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. p. 305, 32. ὅταν γὰρ τι ἀπροσδοκήτως τινι καὶ μετὰ πλείστου παραλόγου προσπέσῃ, τὸ τε φρόνημα ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει. Procop. p. 123, 10. This use of δουλόω, *to enslave, daunt*, is elegant. So Eurip. Hippol. 426. δουλοῖ γὰρ ἄνδρα κἂν θρασύσπλαγχνος ᾖ, &c. There is also an elegance in the combinations of τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον, which is found also in Æschyl. P. V. 701.

powerful state, and trained up in manners and habits correspondent thereto[11], to be prepared to endure the most trying afflictions[12], and not obscure your reputation. For the world equally censures him who pusillanimously falls short of the glory already acquired, as it reprobates him who impudently arrogates to himself what is not his. Ceasing, then, to grieve over[13] your private losses, apply yourselves to promote the common weal.

LXII. "As to the labours of the war, that they may be heavy, and yet not bring us nearer to success, let what I have said on other occasions, suffice to prove that to be an erroneous notion.[1] There is, however, this one remark[2]

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[11] *Correspondent thereto.*] Or, to match it. Such is the sense of *ἀντιπάλοις*.

[12] *Endure the most trying afflictions.*] It is truly and beautifully observed by Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1352. *ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς γὰρ ὅστις οὐχ ὑφίσταται; οὐδ' ἀνδρὸς ἂν δύναιτο ὑποστῆναι βέλος.* which reminds one of Shakspeare, "the arrows of outrageous fortune."

[13] *Ceasing to grieve over.*] i. e. becoming callous to. So the Latin *dedolere*. This is a rare sense in the classical writers, in whom it mostly signifies *to despair*. Valckn. on Herod. 9, 31, 1. *ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν* M., i. e. *cum lugere desierant*, compares this force of *ἀπὸ* in *ἀποπονέω, ἀποκραιπαλάω, ἀπομηνίω*, and *ἀποσπουδάζειν*. I add the following passages: Theocr. Id. 1, 138. *ἀπεπαύσατο*. Heliod. 6. p. 271. *ἀπάλγησις*. Plut. Cleom. 22. Aristid. 2, 356. and 371.

This did afterwards take place, as we learn from 65, 4. *ὧν περὶ οἰκεῖα ἕκαστος ἤλγει, ἀμελύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες*.

[1] *Let what I have said, &c.*] This passage is by no means easy of interpretation. By Hobbes it is very darkly and inaccurately expressed; and by Smith its sense is totally perverted. The *commentators* are silent. Now the difficulty centres in *οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον*, where one should have expected the *neuter*, as suited to *τοῦτο*, omitted. The participle is, however, made to agree with *πόνον*, because *πόνον* there signifies, "the *notion* concerning the labour of the war." As to *ὑποπτευόμενον*, it is strange the interpreters should not have seen that that is for *ὑποτοπούμενον*, i. e. *supposed*. Indeed, we use the word, *suspect*, in this very sense.

[2] *There is, however, this one remark, &c.*] The whole of this passage in the original is beset with difficulties, which, however, the commentators do not exert themselves to remove. The sense (which is clearly what I have assigned) is partly obscured by the involution of the clauses of the sentence, and the brevity of expression; and partly by a phrase or two being used in a somewhat unusual sense. *Τόδε* signifies this *further*. There is some substantive to be understood here and at *ἔχοντι* (though *what*, it is difficult to say), corresponding in the former case to our *remark;* and, in the latter, to *subject* or *topic*. *Ἐνθυμηθῆναι* implies not merely *thought*, but *meditation*, and *reflection*. The words, *ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν μεγέθους περὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν*, may be literally rendered, "respecting you, as touching your greatness in respect to empire," i. e. the greatness of your means, or capability

which I would make, touching your means for the attainment of empire, which neither yourselves seem to have reflected on, nor have I mentioned in my former addresses; nor, indeed, should now have introduced a topic involving somewhat of boastful and arrogant claim, had I not perceived you unreasonably and causelessly alarmed. You think that your dominion extends only as far as your own subject allies; but I affirm, that of the two parts into which the world is distributed for use (the land, and the sea), the one you are entirely masters of, as far as you have chosen to occupy it, and may be as much farther as you please to extend your sway. Nor is there any one, whether king or state, now existing, that can hinder you, with the naval force which you now send to sea.[3] So that this power plainly depends not on[4] the occupation of your villas and estates (of which you think it much to be deprived), and therefore it is unreasonable for you so impatiently to bear their loss. You ought rather to set lightly by them, regarding them merely as the trim decorations[5] and

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for empire. Thus, ἐς will denote *object, end.* At οὔτε ἐγὼ must be understood ἐδήλωσα, from δηλώσω. Finally, προσποίησιν is not well explained ἀπαγγελίαν by the Scholiast, or rendered *speciem* by Portus and Gramm. It denotes *vindicationem, claim.* Smith bombastically renders it, "pompous beyond poetic vision."

[3] *Nor is there any one, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this perplexed and involved sentence. The τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ must be taken with πλέοντας, and συν be supplied. By παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ is meant *naval armament.* By *king,* is chiefly meant the king of Persia; and by *state,* the republics of Carthage, Massilia, and those of Greece, Italy, and Sicily.

[4] *Depends not on.*] Κατὰ here denotes *dependence,* or *correspondence.* This whole sentence, I would observe, throws much light on a saying of Æschyl. ap. Aristoph. Ran. 1465. (ὅταν νομίσωσι) πόρον δὲ τὰς ναῦς, ἀπορίαν δὲ τὸν πόρον.

[5] *Regarding them merely, &c.*] In κήπιον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα many antient, and all modern, commentators think, there is an allusion to *pleasure gardens* surrounding Athens. And though they adduce no passage in proof or illustration, there is something to countenance this in the following. Liban. Orat. p. 797. C. ἡδίως οὗτοι ἐμοὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς γεωργεῖτε καταγελάστων κηπίων. Thus also, in enumerating items of revenue at Rome, Polybius, l. 6, 17, 2. we find ποτάμων, λιμένων, κηπίων, μετάλλων. So also Appian, 2, 374. τῷ δήμῳ δὲ ἦσαν ἐνδιαίτημα οἱ κῆποι δεδομένοι. And at Polyæn. 4, 6, 18. τὴν καλουμένων βῶλον ἀπέχουσαν οὐ πρόσω τῶν τειχῶν, where I understand βῶλον of a plot of suburban ground, probably cultivated as garden ground. There may, however, be an allusion to those *petty gardens* which sometimes appertained to even the houses *in Athens,* as I find from St. Byz. in v. γῆ: λέγεται καὶ γήπεδον τὸ πρὸς τοῖς οἴκοις ἐν πόλει κήπιον. These, it is pro-

embellishments of wealth and power[6], and to know that *freedom* (if we hold fast and preserve *that*) will easily recover such trifles[7]; whereas, in the case of those who crouch to others, whatever they may yet acquire is wont to be lessened.[8] Let us, then, show ourselves not inferior, in either of these two respects[9], to our forefathers, who by toil, and not by inheritance, acquired these possessions — having, moreover,

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bable, chiefly consisted of flower gardens, decked out with as much care as those at the suburban boxes of our London cits.

There is, however, another explanation of the metaphor, which merits attention. Our Scholiast, and Ælius Dionys. ap. Eustath., take it of a *particular mode of dressing the hair* (so called from its resemblance to a trim garden), on which I would refer to Gesner on Lucian, t. 2, 328. Ælius explains κηπ. by καλλωπισμὸς κόμης. I suspect that such sometimes consisted of *borrowed* hair; and this seems to be alluded to in Menand. Hist. ap. Corp. H. Byz. 135. C. οὔτε τὴν Ἀντιοχείας ἄλωσιν, ἐγκαλλώπισμα τε καὶ ἐγκώμιον ἑαυτῷ περιτίθησιν. This interpretation, I have little doubt, was generally maintained by the antients; ex. gr. Isidor. Epist. l. 2, 201., who has evidently the present passage in view: τὴν μὲν ὥσπερ θεμέλιον καὶ οἰκοδομὴν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ὡς ἐγκαλλώπισμα. where the ἐγκαλλώπισμα has reference to the *colophon* or ornament at the top of an edifice. Ἐγκαλλωπ. is a very rare word; and even the new edition of Steph. Thes. has only this passage of Thucydides. I have, however, found it elsewhere in Aristid. 2, 289. ἐγκ. ἡγεμονίας. and Procop. 355. and de Ædif. 2, 6.

6 *Wealth and power.*] Such seems here the full sense of πλούτου, which word sometimes only denotes power or prosperity. Our *wealth* had originally that signification, which is sometimes found in the Book of Common Prayer.

7 *Freedom, &c.*] It is finely observed by Pindar (whom, perhaps, the orator had in view), Isthm. 8, 30. Ἰατὰ δ' ἔστι βροτοῖς Σὺν γ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τὰ, i. e. τὰ παρόντα. where see the Scholiast.

8 *Whatever they may, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage, which has been very much mistaken by the moderns, and (as appears by the var. lect.) not a little perplexed the antients. The older translators take it to mean "the remainder of what they possess." The recent commentators generally read προεκτημένα, and render *ante parata.* And, indeed, this latter sense is greatly preferable. But the antithesis is thus weakened; and as to the reading, it is of little or no authority. Smith evades the difficulty by rendering, "all that we possess." What Gail means by, "les accessoires de la liberté," I am at a loss to imagine. After all, the common reading must be retained; and, if the sense which I have assigned to the words be adopted, there will be no difficulty, the sense being apt, and the antithesis complete. Πρὸς here, as often, is for πρόσετι, *in addition to*; q. d. "all the gains they may in future add will be lessened, so that there be no hope of retrieving the losses of war."

9 *In either of these respects.*] Namely, those which follow, i. e. in retaining, preserving, and handing them down. Goeller aptly compares Sallust B. c. 51. "Profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecerunt, quam in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus."

retained and *handed them down to us*. Consider how[10] much more disgraceful it is to be deprived of what we already possess, than to fail in acquiring it; and go forth to encounter your foes not with spirit only, but with disdain[11]; for boastful alertness, which arises from lucky ignorance, may have place even in the bosom of a coward: but this dignified disdain is found only in him who[12] (as in our case) may feel confident that he is superior to his enemy, even in *counsel* as well as combat; for prudence, when thus high-souled (even supposing fortune equal), generates a courage more to be relied on; since we thus trust less to hope (whose power is chiefly conversant with straits and difficulties) than to judgment and counsel, from a consideration of existing circumstances, of which the forecast is surer.[13]

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[10] *Consider how, &c.*] I have been here compelled to break up the long sentence commencing at ὥστε, and ending at καταφρονήματι; for though, from the brevity and terseness of the Greek, it may be endured in the original, such would, in a modern language, be intolerable.

[11] *Go forth to encounter, &c.*] Such is, plainly, the sense of the words, of which, however, the point and spirit are not to be expressed in any version. Goeller notices an imitation of this *parisoma* in Charit. p. 158. and Procop. B. G. 1, 19. To which I add Xenoph. Anab. 3, 2. φρονήματι ἴεναι ἐπ' αὐτούς. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 165, 20. ἀλλ' ἴτε σὺν πολλῷ καταφρονήσει ἐπ' αὐτούς. and 311, 11. σὺν πολλῷ καταφρονήσει χωρεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς. Procop. p. 123, 27. 145, 43. 328, 12. 367, 12.

[12] *But this dignified disdain, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this passage, in which the commentators have failed to perceive that ἐγγίγνεται is to be repeated from the preceding. The construction is: καταφρόνησις δὲ (ἐγγίγνεται) ἐκείνῳ ὅς, &c.

The whole of the portion from ἴέναι to πρόνοια is pronounced by Dionys. Hal. to be "Heracliti tenebris obscuriorem." With what reason we shall see.

[13] *For prudence, when thus, &c.*] There are few passages in our author more difficult than the present; but the sense I have expressed is what, after repeated examination, I am persuaded is the true one; and I am gratified to find my interpretation supported by the opinion of the learned Krueger. The earlier commentators greatly wander from the sense; and even Goeller (after Reiske) does not scruple to take ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερφρόνος for διὰ τὸ φρονήσαι ὑπερέχειν τοῦ ἑτέρου, than which nothing can be more uncritical. Such a sense is not inherent in the word. It can only have that of ὑψηλόφρων, (as it is explained by Hesych.) like περίφρων in Æschyl. Ag. 1400. and μεγαλόφρων. The word occurs in Soph. Aj 1236. and others referred to in Steph. Thes., but never in the signification proposed by Goeller. Thucydides, too, often uses ὑπερφρονεῖν, but nowhere in such a sense. Ἐκ τοῦ ὑπερφρόνος is to be taken as a phrase for an adjective. And so (doubtless from this passage) Dio Cass. p. 28, 86. p. 447, 75.

At ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης, *in pari fortunâ*, must be understood ὁρμωμένη. The turn of the phrase is similar to that of ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοίου. Of ἧς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχὺς the best commentary is l. 5, 103. and 5, 111. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν τὰ

LXIII. "That dignity, too, accruing to the state from dominion (of which you all are proud), it is right that you should sustain, and either not decline the *toils* of empire, or not affect the *honours* attached to them.[1] Reflect, too, that you are not contending with the alternative alone of liberty or servitude, but that you risk not merely a deprivation of dominion, but also the danger of their revenge whose odium you have, in the exercise of rule, incurred; a dominion, let me add, which it is no longer in your power to decline[2], even

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μὲν ἰσχυρότατα ἐλπιζόμενα μέλλεται. I would thus paraphrase: "Hope most predominates in difficulties; for, in proportion as men are less supported by reason and prudence, so they place reliance on hope and uncertain events, as drowning men catch at twigs;" i. e. in straits, when men are destitute of all other help, they try the power of hope. *Ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*, existing circumstances, things present, at hand, and certain, in opposition to the dependence of hope, which is exercised on things absent, remote, and uncertain.

I must not omit to observe that *ξύνεσις* here denotes not only *prudence*, but *intelligence*, knowledge, and skill. And on the remark, that "this makes courage surer of its object," the best commentary may be found in the following passages: 2, 89. *τῷ δὲ ἑκάτεροί τι ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι, θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν.* and 6, 72. *τὴν δὲ εὐψυχίαν, αὐτὴν ἑαυτῆς, μετὰ τοῦ πίστου τῆς ἐπιστήμης, θαρσαλεωτέραν ἔσεσθαι.*

[1] *Either not decline, &c.*] It is strange that the commentators should not have noticed one of the many passages imitated from the present; ex. gr. Isid. Ep. 5, 533. *μὴ φευγεῖν τοὺς πόνους, ἀλλὰ τὴν εὔκλειαν δίωκε.* J. Chrys. 1, 19, 3. *μὴ πρὸς τὸν πόνον βλέπωμεν τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ τῶν πόνων ἀμοιβὴν λογιζόμενοι.* Xenoph. Mem. 2, 1, 3. *μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους.* Hist. 2, 4, 9. *δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν.* Sallust. Jug. p. 93. "Næ—illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviæ voluptatem, et præmia virtutis." The following noble passages of Pindar are also much to the purpose. Olymp. 2, 5, 34.

> Αἰεὶ δ', ἀμφ' ἀρεταῖσι, πόνος δαπα-
> να τε μάρναται πρὸς
> Ἔργον, κ. τ. λ.

and Nem. 9. 104. Ἐκ πόνων δ', οἳ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται Σύν τε δίκᾳ, τελέθει Πρὸς γῆρας αἰὼν ἀμέρα. Some of these passages were probably in the mind of Milton, in those matchless verses of his Lycidas:

> "Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
> (That last infirmity of noble mind)
> To scorn delights, and live laborious days;
> But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
> And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
> Comes the blind Fury with th' abhorred shears,
> And slits the thin-spun life. But not the praise."

[2] *Decline.*] Or give up. The phrase *ἐκστῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς* occurs often in Dio Cass. So also Dionys. Hal. 175, 26. Demosth. ap. Steph. Thes. *ἐκσ. ἁπάντων.* Philostr. *ἐκσ. τοῦ στεφάνου ἑτέρῳ.* This passage, too, is illustrated by Aristid. 3, 118.

if any of you at present, through fear and a fondness for quiet, would by this affect *the good sort of man*.[3] For in the nature of a tyranny you hold what[4] to have *assumed* may seem unjust, but to *relinquish* were perilous.[5] Such persons would very soon bring ruin on a state[6], if they could persuade

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[3] *If any of you at present, &c.*] Such seems to be the meaning of this sentence, the difficulty of which may be imagined from the variety of interpretations, some of which require the insertion of the negative *οὐ*. The perplexity is chiefly caused by the words *τόδε* and *ἀνδραγαθίζεται*, of which the force of the former will depend upon the verb to which it is referred. Most commentators take it with *δεδιὼς*; which is the most natural construction. Thus it will have reference to *ἀπήχθεσθε*, or rather *κινδύνου*, &c. So most commentators from Æmil. Portus to Abresch. But thus the sense is forced, and yet feeble. I prefer, with Fred. Portus, Hudson, Gottleb., Hack, and Goeller, to refer it to *ἐκστῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς*, taking it after *ἀνδραγαθίζεται*, on which, however, it is not really dependent, but (as Bauer alone saw) upon *κατὰ* understood. It is for *ἐν τῷδε*; and Thucydides would probably have so written, but for the *ἐν τῷ παρόντι* which immediately follows. Thus *δεδιὼς* will be taken absolutely in the sense *prætimens*; or it may refer to *κινδύνου*, &c.

Ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι here signifies "to act the good easy man," to affect probity and equity. Ἀπραγμοσύνῃ (sub. *ἐπὶ*) signifies *præ tranquillitate, otii studio*. So also in a kindred passage at 3, 40. *ἢ παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι*. where the Scholiast well explains it *ἀσκεῖν ἀγαθίαν*. The word is used in the very sense of the present passage at Procop. p. 29. and 114. Smith's version of this passage has scarcely a vestige of truth.

As to the *persons* here designated, I suspect those to have been a certain party (headed, perhaps, by Nicias), which always opposed a daring and ambitious policy, and recommended the quiet course of safety with probity.

[4] *For in the nature of a tyranny, &c.*] This is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 355, 46. *καὶ πεποιηκότες τυραννίδα τὴν ἀρχὴν*. and 399, 30. *φανερῶς ἤδη τυραννίδα περιβεβλημένοι τὴν ἀρχήν*. Mitford wrongly paraphrases: "The Athenian government is a tyranny in the hands of the people." *Tyranny* is a term very appropriate to that domineering rule which Athens held over the subject allies.

[5] *To relinquish were perilous.*] Thus Diog. Laert. 1, 97. says, that Periander being once asked *διὰ τι τυραννεῖ*, answered, *ὅτι τὸ ἐξουσίων ἀποστῆναι καὶ τὸ ἀφαιρεθῆναι κίνδυνον φέρει*.

[6] *Such persons would, &c.*] I have here deviated from all former interpreters, as considering the sense to have been more or less misconceived by all. Hobbes renders: "and such men as these, if they could persuade others to it, or lived in a free city by themselves, would quickly overthrow it." But this is perhaps more difficult than the original, where, indeed, there is nothing corresponding to *it*. There is, too, something incongruous in the next clause, "or lived in a free city by themselves." Besides, *εἴ που αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν* cannot have such a meaning. Still farther do Heilman and Gail wander from the sense. Goeller pronounces the interpretation of Hack unintelligible; and after remarking, "Qui ad socios, cum verbum *οἰκήσειαν* non possit aliud subjectum habere, nisi *οἱ ἀπράγμονες*, tum qui persuadent, tum quibus persuadetur, i. e. *πόλις ἀπράγμων*. Quare si ex vulgata *ἑτέρους τε* respondet illis: *καὶ εἴ που*, &c., qui illis *ἑτέροις*

others, or lived by themselves in political independence (as a free people). Indeed, inactive quietude cannot preserve its tranquillity unless it be conjoined with bustling activity[7]; nor does that principle befit a dominant, but a subject state, and that for quietness of servitude.[8]

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opponantur, non liquet." He concludes by altering τε into ποτε; and gives the following version: "Ejusmodi homines, si cæteris quoque aliquando persuaderent, civitatem protinus perderent, etiam tum, si per se soli tuis legibus viverent." But this appears to be less intelligible than Hack's interpretation; and to me it seems that Goeller has *corrupted the fountain* of interpretation by making the alteration he has done, for which there is no authority; for the two MSS. he mentions refer not to *this* τε, but to the one a little before.

The sense, indeed, is not easy to be determined. The only difficulty, however, is in εἴ που—οἰκήσειαν, and here all the commentators fail us. The words can, I conceive, only mean "or if they should go and settle apart from their country, and live in independence, governing themselves by their own rules," namely, as colonies planted in independence on their mother-country. Certainly ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν signifies *apart, by themselves.* So Valckn. on Herod. 8, 32, 4. πόλιν κειμένην ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς (for so he would read) remarks, that in this sense a city might properly be said ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς εἶναι, or κεῖσθαι, or οἰκεῖσθαι, referring to the present passage. Thus, also a thing is said to be ἐπ' ἐαυτοῦ: and so 9, 37. εἶχον ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μάντιν. The sense, then, of ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν being fixed, determines that of αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν.

As to the *construction*, it is well laid down by Hack thus: πόλιν ἀπολέσειαν, πείσαντες ἑτέρους τε, καὶ εἴ που—αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν. according to which the sense will be what I have assigned in the text. I have, however, sometimes thought that for τε should be read γε, and that at εἴ που—οἰκήσειαν should be supplied, not πόλιν ἀπολήσειαν, but σφᾶς αὐτοὺς απ. in the following sense:—"Nay, if they lived any where as a separate free state, on *themselves*." Thus, there will arise a more pointed antithetical sense; and the subaudition, though somewhat irregular, is quite Thucydidean.

[7] *Inactive quietude cannot, &c.*] The commentators notice an imitation of this passage in Dio Cass. l. 38, 16. To which I add, Procop. 108, 23. τὸ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖον οὐκ ἄν νικῴη, μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου ταττόμενον. Agath. p. 134. τὸ δὲ ἄπραγμον σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἀνθελέσθαι. Truly is it observed by Alciphron, Epist. l. 3, 29. πολλὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀπραγμοσύνης φύεται πράγματα.

Τὸ δραστήριον (*activity*) is used by Joseph. 1108, 1189, 1105. Philostr. 493. and 864. The phrase may have been formed on the τὸ δράσιμον of Æschyl. Theb. 550. Τὸ ἄπραγμον is very rare; nor have I met with it any where but in Joseph. p. 600. ult.

On this subject see the ingenious dissertation of Max. Tyr. on the preference of the theoretical to the practical life.

[8] *And that for quietness of servitude.*] I cannot agree with those interpreters who make ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν the nominative to ξυμφέρει; for thus a most absurd sense will arise, δουλεύειν being inconsistent with ἀρχούσῃ; not to say that thus the article would be required. The real nominative seems to be τὸ ἄπραγμον. And the infinitive (in δουλεύειν) expresses, by a subaudition of εἰς or πρὸς, *purpose* and *end.* Goeller has rightly rendered: "ut non vexatam servitutem agat;" and he, with reason, adopts the explanation of ἀσφαλῶς given by the Schol. on 4, 61., εἰρηναίως, ἐπιτηδείως, ἀκινδύνως.

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LXIV. " Be not *you* then seduced by such sort of citizens, nor bear animosity towards me (conjointly with whom you decreed the war [1]), if the enemy *hath* even come, and done what it was likely he would do, on your refusal to submit; and because, beyond our expectation, this pestilence hath befallen us — the only circumstance [2], indeed, that hath happened unlooked for; and yet to which, I know, I owe some portion of your resentment towards me — but most unjustly, unless, too, when you chance to attain any unlooked-for *prosperity*, you likewise ascribe it to me.[3] Evils which are [4]

This, it may be observed, was ever the principle acted upon at Athens, to which the words of Euripides are very apposite. Suppl. 324. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πόνοισιν ἄνξεται. αἱ δ' ἥσυχοι σκοτειναὶ πράσσουσαι πόλεις Σκοτειναὶ καὶ βλέπουσιν εὐλαβούμεναι.

[1] *Conjointly with whom, &c.*] He reverts to the argument used at the commencement of the oration; namely, that they had participated in decreeing the measure, and therefore he ought not to bear the blame, who only proposed it.

[2] *Circumstance.*] Πρᾶγμα. So Herodian, 3, 6, 4. βασιλείας κοινωνίᾳ, πράγματος, &c. With κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος. Matth. compares Æschyl. Ag. 276. χάρμα μεῖζον ἐλπίδος. I would observe that ἐπιγεγένηται has been rightly edited by Gottleb. and others; since ἐπιγίγνεσθαι, is far more significant than γίγνεσθαι, and is used, like our *befall*, chiefly of *evils*.

[3] *Unless, too, &c.*] Ἀνατιθέναι, in this sense, signifies to *put to any one's account*. In many of the passages, where it occurs, αἰτίαν is to be understood, which is *supplied* by Isocr., Appian, and Polybius.

But, to pass from words to *things*, the following citations point at a similar act of injustice, which has been committed towards rulers and governors. Æschyl. Theb. 4. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία Θεοῦ· (subaud ἐκ) εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μή γέγοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι, Ἐτεκλέης ἂν εἷς πολὺς κατὰ πτόλιν, Ὑμνοῖθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροιμίοις πολυῤῥόθοις, Οἰμώγμασίν θ'. where Dr. Blomfield aptly cites Tacit. Agric. 27. " iniquissima hæc bellorum conditio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur."

[4] *Evils which are, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the full sense of this passage, which is expressed in nearly the same words as Hobbes has employed. Smith, however, has refined it into a sentiment worthy of a *Christian*, as inculcating the duty of *patient resignation to the will of God, under evil*. Now, if the heathens did ever feel this, it was, doubtless, a very rare sentiment, and such as cannot be elicited from the words of the original, which only inculcate *endurance*.

Here I would compare Eurip. Phœn. 393. δεῖ φέρειν τὰ τῶν Θεῶν. Herodian 4, 14, 9. φέρειν δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς, καὶ τὰ προσπίπτοντα μετρίως ὑπομένειν, ἀνθρώπων ἔργον σωφρονούντων. Demosth. de Corona: δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγάθους ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασι ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅτι ἂν ὁ Θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως. See also Aristoph. 197, 8. Probably the orator might have in mind Soph. Philoct. 1316. ἀνθρώποισι τὰς μὲν ἐκ Θεῶν Τύχας δοθείσας ἔστ' ἀναγκαῖον φέρειν· Ὅσοι δὲ ἑκουσίοισιν ἔγκεινται βλάβαις, Ὥσπερ σύ, κ. τ. λ. Sophocl. Œd. Col. 1694. τὸ φέρον ἐκ Θεοῦ καλῶς Φέρειν χρὴ, μηδὲ ἄγαν οὕτω φλέγεσθον. where φέρον is for φερόμενον. Brunck

sent from Heaven we must endure, necessarily[5]; those inflicted by our enemies, courageously. Such has been heretofore the prevailing custom of this country.[6] Let it not, then, be interrupted in *you;* knowing the height of reputation to which our state has attained among nations, by never bending under calamities, and that by infinite sacrifices of blood and toil, it hath obtained a power the greatest hitherto known, of which an ever-during remembrance, even though we should hereafter succumb (for all human things are formed by nature to decay[7]), will survive to the latest posterity — the glory of having, as Grecians[8], exercised dominion over most Grecians; of having maintained the most formidable contests against them, both singly and collectively; and of having inhabited the largest and wealthiest[9] city of Greece. Now all

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on that passage aptly cites the Terentian " quod fors feret, feremus animo æquo."

[5] *Necessarily.*] i. e. as unavoidable, and therefore necessary to be borne. Goeller compares a similar use of the adverb in ἀπίστως at 1, 21. Ἀναγκαῖος and ἀναγκαίως are used of what happens, as it were, by a decree of nature; as when the antients said ἀναγκαίως τὸ πῦρ θερμὸν ἔστι καὶ τὸ γάλα λευκόν.

[6] *Usage of this country.*] The passage has been imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 659, 33. ἐν ἔθει ἦν τῷ πόλει. and 677, 32.

[7] *For all human things are, &c.*] It is strange that the commentators should have noted none of the many imitations of this passage in the classical writers; as Procop. p. 293, 16. τὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ σφάλλεσθαι ξύμπαντα πέφυκε. Pausan. 4, 29, 3. πέφυκε δὲ ἄρα ὡς ἐπίπαν μεταπίπτειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Appian, 1, 493, 45. καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους, δαίμονα. Theodectes ap. Stob. 32. p. 139. ἅπαντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισι γηρασκεῖν ἔφυ. Sallust, p. 159. " Quoniam orta omnia intereunt, quâ tempestate urbi Romanæ fatum excidii adventaret." Vell. Pat. l. 2, 11. " Ut appareat, quemadmodum urbium imperiorumque, ita gentium, nunc florere fortunam, nunc senescere, nunc interire." Πέφυκε signifies *natura comparatum est.* Thus it sometimes means " what we are fated to do." Hence is illustrated Eurip. Phœn. 930. ἅπερ πέφυκε, ταῦτα κἀνάγκη σε δρᾶν. where the commentators causelessly resort to conjecture.

[8] *The glory of having, as Grecians, &c.*] This is not well rendered by Portus, Hobbes, and Smith. The words Ἑλλήνων Ἕλληνες are, as it were, limitative and exegetical (like ἕτεροι ἑτέρων a little before), i. e. " we have ruled the greatest number, as Greeks over Greeks;" confining the comparison to *Greeks,* for in the great empires of Persia, Egypt, &c. others had ruled over far more. But, it may be asked, *did* the Athenians rule over most Greeks? The verb is expressed in the past tense; and the words have, I think, reference to that period when the Athenians had attained their greatest power and extent of dominion, about twenty-seven years before, at which time such might be very true, reckoning the Greeks of the colonies.

[9] *Wealthiest.*] Literally, " best provided with all things." So 2, 39. ἐπεισέρχεται — ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα.

this the inactive, indeed, may condemn; but those who aim at achieving any thing considerable will emulate, and such as attain not their object will envy [10]; for to be hated and maligned for the time present, has ever been the fate of all such as have aimed at rising above their fellows.[11] He, however, who encounters envy on weighty grounds, wisely counsels.[12] For not very lasting [13] is the hatred, and it leaves behind present renown, and hereafter an ever-during celebrity. Do you, then, forecasting for the future, to attain glory [14], and providing for the present, to avoid disgrace, strive now, by your courage and alacrity, to attain both those objects. Send

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[10] *Now all this, &c.*] Here, the Scholiast says, are adduced three evidences of the things in question. But, in fact, there are but *two* such evidences, or rather classes of persons adverted to, the *ἀπράγμονες* and the *δραστήριοι*, as before. The latter, however, are distributed into two parts: those who attain their object, and those who fail.

By *τι* is meant *τι μέγα* or *ἄξιον*. So Aristoph. Ran. 568. *ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν τι δρᾶν.* and 1, 142. *ἄξιον τι δρῶεν.*

[11] *To be hated and maligned, &c.*] So Eurip. Pull. 10. *εἰς τὰ 'πισημα δ' ὁ φθόνος πηδᾷν φιλεῖ.* Pind. Pyth. 11, 45. *ἴσχει τε γὰρ ὄλεος οὐ μείονα φθόνον.* The best commentary on this passage is the kindred one at 6, 16. *Οἶδα δὲ, τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ ὅσοι ἔν τινος λαμπρότητι προέσχον, ἐν μὲν τῷ κατ' αὐτοὺς βίῳ λυπηροὺς ὄντας, τοῖς ὁμοίοις μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυνόντας.*

[12] *He, however, who, &c.*] This passage is adverted to by Plut. de Amic. p. 73. A. Perhaps the orator had in mind Eurip. Phœn. frag. 2. *φθόνον οὐ σέβων φθονεῖσθαι δὲ ἐθελοιμ' ἐπὶ μεγίστοις.* So we have a saying, that "it is better to be envied than pitied." Hence is illustrated Æschyl. Agam. 912. *ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητος γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει.* and Pind. Pyth. 1, 162. *Ἀστῶν δ' ἀκοὰ κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύνει μάλιστ' ἐσλοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις. Ἀλλ' ὅμως, κρέσσων γὰρ οἰκτιρμῶν φθόνος, Μὴ παρίει καλά.* where the Scholiast adduces this very saying.

[13] *Not very lasting.*] By this is not meant, that it is of no long continuance in the individuals in question, for such it almost always *is;* but only that it does not continue long, i. e. longer than the *life* of the person maligned; the next generation will feel nought but admiration, and even those who hated, will, after death, feel other sentiments. Thus, Horace Epist. 2, 1. init. after remarking that the great benefactors of the human race "ploravere suis non respondere favorem Speratum meritis," says of Hercules: "Comperit invidiam *supremo fine* domari; Urit enim fulgore suo qui prægravat artes Infra se positas: exstinctus amabitur idem." Plutarch seems to have had this passage of Thucydides in view, Num. 6, 22. *τοῦ φθόνου πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπιζῶντος, ἐνίων καὶ προαποθάνοντος,* "has died even before the death of the object." And Thucydides himself seems to have reference to the present passage at 2, 45., suggesting the *reason* by *τὸ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνανταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται.*

[14] *Forecasting for the future, &c.*] Literally, forecasting what is honourable for the future, and not dishonourable for the present. *Προγνόντες* involves an idea of *action* as well as counsel and contrivance.

no more crouching embassies to the Lacedæmonians, nor thus betray your impatience under present afflictions [15]; for those who in calamity least bend under troubles, and most courageously bear up against them, *such*, whether states or private individuals, are the most illustrious and the best."

LXV. By such an address did Pericles endeavour to appease the anger[1] which the Athenians had conceived against him, and withdraw their mind from the contemplation of present evils. But though in public they were swayed by his representations, and both forbore any longer to send embassies to the Lacedæmonians, and engaged in the war more heartily than before, yet in private they grieved over their calamities; the common people, because, with lesser means and resources[2], they were deprived even of *those;* the great, as having lost fair possessions in the country, with buildings sumptuously fitted up[3]; and, what was most of all, having war instead of peace.[4] Nor did they[5] either of them cease from their anger

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[15] *Nor thus betray your, &c.*] Ἔνδηλος is a very significant term in this context. So Dio Cass. p. 17, 59. οὐκ ἔνδηλος ἦν. Joseph. 1304. οὕτως ἔνδηλος ἦν οὐκ ἂν ἐξελήσας, &c. So also Arrian, Aristoph., Sophocles, and Procopius; also Agath. p. 15. ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐνδωσείοντες.

[1] *Appease the anger.*] Ὀργῆς παραλυεῖν is a very rare phrase, which I have met with no where else, except in Dio Cass. 17, 47. 77, 25. τῆς ὀργῆς σφᾶς παρέλυσε. It seems to be a blending of two phrases, παραλύειν ὀργήν, and καταπαύειν τῆς ὀργῆς.

[2] *With lesser means and resources.*] i. e. lesser than the rich and powerful just afterwards mentioned. Ὁρμώμενοι cannot well be expressed in English. Hobbes renders it, "entering upon the war." But there rather seems to be an idiomatical sense, by which the term signifies "*to trust to, depend upon, to set out with for use, have an outfit.*" Thus at 1, 141. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοσῶνδε ὁρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐκλιπόντες.

[3] *Buildings sumptuously fitted up.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of οἰκοδομίας τε καὶ πολυτέλεσι κατασκευαῖς, where there is an hendiadys. The translators (for as to the commentators they do not notice the word) take κατασκευαῖς to mean *furniture.* But *that* was not lost, having been removed before the enemy came up. See supra, 14. The term seems to denote the *fitting-up* of a house, both internal and external, here and at 2, 16. ἄρτι κατειληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά.

[4] *War instead of peace.*] By which, namely, all present hope was cut off of retrieving their losses.

[5] *Nor did they.*] The sense of οὐ μέντοι γε has not been discerned by the translators. It is "*non—profecto, no—nor;*" which has more force than the simple negative. The οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο we may compare with our idiom, "not to rest until one has done any thing;" for the words ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν have no particular force, and are therefore omitted in a citation of the passage by a grammarian ap. Bekker Anecd. 1, 164.

until they had fined him[6] in a sum of money. Not long afterwards, however, with the accustomed levity of the multitude, they elected him their commander-in-chief[7], and committed the whole of the state to his guidance and authority; being now become less keenly alive to the private losses each had mourned, and judging, that in respect of the interests of the community at large, he was most highly to be prized. And this was the case; for so long as he guided the affairs of the state, and the peace continued[8], he governed with moderation[9], and was a careful guardian of its security[10]: under him

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[6] *Fined him.*] Aristides, 3, 101. ascribes this fining to the *judges*, who formed but a small part of the citizens. To the *people at large* he ascribes his speedy restoration in office. That, however, seems inconsistent with the words of Thucydides, especially ὥπερ φιλεῖ ὅμιλος ποιεῖν; for there he plainly alludes to the *levitas popularis auræ*. That clause has been imitated by Joseph. 849, 33. Appian, 1, 348. Procop. 41. and 104.

The fine imposed, we learn from Diodorus, was eighty talents; though, as others say, less. Plutarch says that in his time none made it exceed fifty talents, and some brought it down to fifteen.

[7] *Commander-in-chief.*] We have no word that exactly corresponds to this sense of στρατηγὸς, by which, like the *Doge* in the Venetian and Genoese constitution, was denoted one invested with the supreme authority, whether civil or military, and which Mitford expresses by commander-in-chief and prime minister. In general, this authority was not independent, but required the concurrence of a board, or council. Sometimes, however, this chief magistrate had assigned to him authority unlimited; and then he was said to be αὐτοκράτωρ. On which Goeller refers to Pausanias, 4, 15, 2. Xen. Hist. 1, 4, 20. and Schoenmann de Comit. Athen. p. 314.

[8] *And the peace continued.*] Ἐν εἰρήνῃ would *seem* to be a brief expression, equivalent to "during the period it was at peace." And so all translators seem to have taken it. But such was manifestly not the case. Pericles had had opportunity for showing his abilities for *war* as well as peace. Joseph. p. 603, 3. appears to have joined ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ with διεφύλαξεν. See Isaiah, 26, 3. But that would be doing violence to the construction, and be equally irreconcilable with facts. It should seem that ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ (in which the article exerts its force), as opposed to ὁ πόλεμος just after, must signify *the peace*, namely, which had subsisted from the reduction of Eubœa and the thirty years' truce, to the present war.

[9] *Governed with moderation, and, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Procop. 151, 11. μετρίως τε ἐξηγεῖτο, καὶ Λιβύην ἀσφαλῶς διέφυλασσε. and 166, 36. ἀσφαλῶς τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξε. At ἐξηγ. may be understood πραγμάτων, which is *supplied* by Dio Cass. 856, 39. μετρίως ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων.

[10] *Was a careful guardian of, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "was a faithful guardian of it." Smith, "he was vigilant and active for the good of the community." That may be *true*, but is not *the* truth. By ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν, Thucydides seems to ascribe to Pericles a *cautious policy* (such, indeed, as appears throughout his whole conduct of affairs), according to the maxim of Eurip. Phœn. 608. ἀσφαλὴς γὰρ ἐστ' ἀμείνων, ἢ θρασὺς στρατηλάτης. On this sense of ἀσφ. see more in the note on 1, 69.

it attained its utmost height of power; and when the war broke out, he plainly evinced his foresight in knowing its ability to sustain the contest. He survived its commencement two years and six months; and, after his death, his long-sighted prescience as to the war was yet more known and acknowledged; for he had told them, that if they would keep quiet, paying strict attention[11] to their navy, and not aim at fresh acquisitions[12] of empire during the war, nor put the city to hazard[13], they would weather the storm. They, however, acted in all respects the contrary to this, and pursued measures quite different[14], which had no apparent concern with this war[15], but only served to promote purposes of ambition and private interest[16], and were highly prejudicial both to themselves and their allies; schemes which, if they proved *successful*[17], tended rather to the honour and emolument

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[11] *Paying strict attention.*] This sense of θεραπεύω is somewhat rare; but it occurs in Xenophon and Dionys. Hal. Here, it may be observed, there is so much the more significancy and propriety in the term, since it was, among its other uses, applied to denote the repairing and keeping in order of ships, as Arrian Ind. c. 38, 9. Diod. Sic. l. 5, 68. and 3, 12.

[12] *Fresh acquisitions.*] Ἐπὶ here signifies *insuper.*

[13] *Nor put the city to hazard.*] Literally, "come into danger respecting." Such is the sense of the remarkable phrase τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας, of which (as the commentators have failed to notice it) the following examples may be acceptable. Herodo. ap. Steph. Thes. κινδυνεύοντες τῇ πόλει and κινδυνεύειν τοῖς ἑτοίμοις περὶ τῶν ἀφάνων. Polyb. 28, 13, 1. κινδ. τῇ πόλει. and 5, 61, 4. κινδ. τῷ βίῳ. and 1, 70, 1. κινδ. τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι. Diod. Sic. 5, 107. κινδ. τοῖς πατρασί.

[14] *Quite different.*] Such seems to be the sense of ἄλλα, and not *alia, other things*, as the translators render. This signification is, indeed, somewhat rare, but it is found in Xen. Mem. 1, 2, 37. referred to by Schæfer on Steph. Thes. Col. 1842., who also refers to Toup's Opuscula, and remarks that Euripides uses ἄλλα in the sense *rationi non consentanea.*

[15] *Concern with this war.*] I place the comma after εἶναι, joining δοκοῦντας εἶναι with the preceding. This sense of ἔξω deserves attention, of which the following are examples:—Xen. Mem. 7, 2. τὰ ἔξω τῆς τέχνης. Gregor. ἔξω τῶν προκειμένων. and ἔξω τοῦ λόγου. Demosth. ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος. Isocr. ἔξω ὑποθέσεως. So Aristid. 3, 205. (referring to this very passage) συνεβούλευε — ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων μηδὲν πραγματεύεσθαι.

Thucydides here adverts to those distant expeditions, especially the one to Sicily, by which the strength of the state was so divided that too small a force was left for the defence of the city.

[16] *Promote purposes of ambition and, &c.*] There here seems an allusion to Cleon and Alcibiades, and partly Demosthenes. Both these selfish views are attributed to Alcibiades by Nicias, infra, 6, 12. τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπῶν. — ὅπως θαυμασθῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱπποτροφίας, ὠφεληθῇ δὲ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ὠφεληθῇ τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[17] *If they proved successful.*] As in the case of Demosthenes and Cleon

of *private persons*; but, if they miscarried[18], would be detrimental to the *state*. Whereas[19] he, powerful alike by dignity of station and by wisdom, and also manifestly proof against all corruption[20], held the multitude under a liberal control[21], and was not so much led by them, as he himself led them. And that because, not having acquired his power by unworthy means, he was not obliged to soothe their humours in his speeches, but could venture, by his authority, somewhat vehemently to contradict them.[22] Thus, for instance, when he

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with respect to Pylus, and Demosthenes in Acarnania. On this sense of κατορθ. see my note on Acts 24, 3.

[18] *Miscarried.*] As in the case of Cleon in Thrace, and Nicias in Sicily.

[19] *Whereas.*] Hobbes renders, "the reason whereof was this;" and Smith, "the reason was this." Both very good renderings of αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι, but not sufficiently clear to be introduced into a version; for to what, it may be asked, do the words refer? They have no reference to the words preceding. In fact they seem to belong to the remote ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν (most of the intermediate words being parenthetical), and to tacitly contrast the measures of Pericles with those of his successors (which I have represented by *whereas*, that adverb implying *comparison*), as well as suggest the *reason*. The αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι may, therefore, be thus expressed: "One cause of this difference in point of safety of rule between Pericles and his successors was that *he*," &c. Gail not ill renders: "Voici la cause de ce changement."

[20] *Proof against all corruption.*] Χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος. This passage is imitated by Procop. p. 15, 40. ἀνὴρ δικαίος τε καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος. and 17, 7. Zosim. 4, 33. 2, 5. 46, 6. On the incorruptibility of this statesman, see Aristoph. Eq. 383., and the Scholiast there.

[21] *Held the multitude, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the phrase κατεῖχεν ἐλευθέρως, where ἐλευθέρως is not well rendered by Hobbes *freely*. It signifies, "not in a servile manner, but consistently with political and personal freedom, and worthy of freemen." So Eurip. Cycl. 286. ἱκετεύομεν τε καὶ λέγομεν ἐλευθέρως. And so Aristid. 3, 212. speaking of Pericles, says: ἐλευθέρως ὡμίλει τῷ δήμῳ. See also 3, 197. Here also I would refer to my note on Rom. 8, 21.

[22] *To soothe their humours, but, &c.*] In this sentence the phrases πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγειν and πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀντειπεῖν are deserving of attention. The former is used by Isocr. πρὸς ἡδονὴν λεγομένων. Soph. Elect. 921. οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λέγω τάδε. And so Demosth. ap. Steph. Thes. πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορειν. Cicero, ad voluptatem loqui. The πρὸς denotes *purpose, view*. Πρὸς ὀργὴν is of far seldomer occurrence, and of somewhat different use: for though it is probable the πρὸς had originally the same sense there as in πρὸς ἡδονήν, yet πρὸς ὀργὴν λέγειν, &c. almost always in the best writers signifies, not "to speak with a view to irritate another," as translators here render, but "to speak angrily." So Aristoph. Ran. 844. καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν σπλάγχνα θερμήνῃς κότῳ. and 856. μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν, Α., ἀλλὰ πρῴνως Ἔλεγχ', ἐλέγχου. Joseph. 1048. πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπεκρίναντο. et sæpe, Liban. Orat. 772. πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐπιπλήξεις. Appian 2, 496. πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀποκρίνασθαι. See also Arrian, E. A. 4, 13, 5. Ind. 14, 4. Lucian 2, 62, 9. Dionys. Hal. p. 153.

saw them unseasonably and insolently bold, he would, by his address, strike them with alarm[23]; and when, on the other hand, he saw them unseasonably apprehensive, he re-animated their courage.[24] Moreover there was, in name indeed, a democracy, but in reality a rule[25] administered by the principal person. His successors, however, being more on an equality with each other[26], and each aspiring to be first[27], applied themselves to gratify the humours of the people, and to give up affairs to them.[28] From which many blunders were committed (as was likely in a great and dominant state), and especially the expedition to Sicily, which was not so much an error of judgment respecting those against whom it proceeded, as that those who sent it out knew not what were the proper

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395. and 735. Such, too, I conceive, is the sense in the present passage; and this is much confirmed by Aristoph. Acharn. 530. ἐντεῦθεν ὀργῇ Περικλέης ὀὐλύμπιος Ἠστραπτεν, ἐβρόντᾳ, κ. τ. λ.

[23] *Strike them with alarm.*] The words of the original κατέπλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι are not a little remarkable, though the commentators pass them by. They may be literally rendered, "he beat them (i. e. their confidence) down to (the level of) fear." So Prov. 21, 32. "and casteth down the strength of their confidence."

[24] *Re-animated their courage.*] The passage has been imitated by Dio Cass. p. 86, 100. ἐς φόβον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀντικατέστησαν. Procop. p. 200, 9. ἐπὶ τῷ (I conjecture τὸ) θαρσεῖν ἀντικαθίστη. and 293, 15. ἀντ. τὴν γνώμην ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω. and 336, 43.

[25] *A rule.*] Not a *monarchy*, as Smith renders, for that name would by no means be applicable; rather *aristocracy*. And so Goeller, who aptly cites Plato Menex. c. 8. ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν, καὶ νῦν ἀριστοκράτια — καλεῖ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δὲ ἄλλο, ᾧ ἂν χαίρῃ. To which I add, that so Plutarch Pericl. l. 9. took the passage: Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θουκυδιδὴς μὲν ἀριστοκρατικήν τινα τὴν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογραφει πολιτείαν, λόγῳ μὲν οὖσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρος ἀρχην κ. τ. λ. See also Aristid. 1, 373. B. and Plutarch 2, 802., and especially Philostr. Vit. Apoll. l. 5. 35. and Aristot. Polit. passim.

[26] *His successors, however, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Procop. p. 259, 21. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες, &c.

[27] *Each aspiring to be first.*] Whence, also, arose most of the evils of Greece. Thus it has been well observed by Herod. 6, 98, 11. ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι — περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς πολεμούντων.

[28] *Give up affairs to them.*] i. e. abandon their execution to them. Hobbes and Smith wrongly render, "let go the care of the republic, neglect the concerns of the public." But the words will not bear that sense; neither, if they could, would it be admissible. The sense I have adopted is supported by 7, 48. ἐνδοῦναι τὰ πράγματα. and 5, 62. αὐτοῖς — τὰ πράγματα ἐνεδίδοσαν.

It is well observed by Plutarch Comp. Thes. et Rom. c. 2. ὁ ἐνδιδοὺς, ἢ ἐπιτείνων οὐ μένει βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἄρχων. ἀλλ' ἢ δημαγωγὸς ἢ δεσπότης.

LXVI. This same summer, the Peloponnesians and their allies undertook a naval expedition against the isle of Zacynthus, which is situated over against Elis. The inhabitants are colonists of the Achæans of Peloponnesus[1], and were con-

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than that of many, the merit of whose achievements has been, in a great degree, due to others acting under them, whose very names have perished. The philosophy of Pericles taught him not to be vain-glorious, but to rest his fame upon essentially great and good, rather than upon brilliant, actions. It is observed by Plutarch that, often as he commanded the Athenian forces, he never was defeated; yet, though he won many trophies, he never gained a splendid victory. A battle, according to a great modern authority, is the resource of ignorant generals; when they know not what to do, they fight a battle. It was almost universally the resource of the age of Pericles; little conception was entertained of military operations, beyond ravage and a battle. His genius led him to a superior system, which the wealth of his country enabled him to carry into practice. His favourite maxim was to spare the lives of his soldiers; and scarcely any general ever gained so many important advantages with so little bloodshed. It is said to have been his consolation and his boast, in his dying hours, that he never was the cause that a fellow-citizen wore mourning. When his soldiers fell, they fell victims to the necessity of their country's service, and not to the incapacity, rashness, or vanity of the commander.

"This splendid character, however, perhaps may seem to receive some tarnish from the political conduct of Pericles; the concurrence, at least, which is imputed to him in depraving the Athenian constitution, to favour that popular power by which he ruled, and the revival and confirmation of that pernicious hostility between the democratical and aristocratical interests, first in Athens, and then, by the Peloponnesian war, throughout the nation. But the high respect with which he is always spoken of by three men in successive ages, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Isocrates, all friendly to the aristocratical interest, and all anxious for concord with Lacedæmon, strongly indicates that what may appear exceptionable in his conduct was, in their opinion, the result, not of choice, but of necessity. By no other conduct, probably, the independence of Athens could have been preserved; and yet that, as the event showed, was indispensable for the liberty of Greece."

[1] *Colonists of the Achæans of Peloponnesus.*] The words "of Peloponnesus" are added, because there were others in Thessaly. With respect to the fact itself, it is, perhaps, the most important one to be found in antient writers, though omitted in Lempriere's references, which are, indeed, of little account. The only important citation is Hom. Od. 2, 24. where the island is called *ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος*; whence Virgil's *nemorosa* Z. This island had, as we learn from Ptolemy, Strabo, Phavorinus, and Scylax, a city of the same name, of tolerable size, and with a port, as also a strong citadel called Psophis. It is said by Strabo to have been one of the islands under the dominion of Ulysses. Such, I believe, is all the information to be collected from the antients, except what Pausanias and St. Byz. say, that it derived its name from a son of Dardanus. This, however, seems a mere mythological fiction to cover ignorance. More rational is it, with Bochart (Geogr. Sacr. p. 509.), to derive it from some word expressive of a peculiar quality. He fixes on the Hebrew זוח (Zuach), *to be elevated;* which very well corresponds to the Ovidian "*alta* Zacynthus," and, indeed, to actual observation. But the *νν* is thus left unaccounted for; and the deriv-

federates of the Athenians. On board of the fleet, which was commanded by Cnemus, a Spartan, were embarked one thousand Lacedæmonian heavy-armed. They made a descent upon their territory, and ravaged the greatest part of it. Finding, however, that the inhabitants would not hearken to a surrender, they proceeded homeward.

LXVII. At the expiration of this same summer, Aristeus, a Corinthian, and of the Lacedæmonians, Aneristus, Nicolaüs[1], and Stratodemus[2], and Timagoras, a Tegean, going to Asia as ambassadors (together with Pollis[3], an Argive, in a private capacity[4]) to the king, for the purpose of trying to

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ation is otherwise liable to objection. It seems better to seek it in the antient Greek, and derive it from ζα, *very* (perhaps from the Heb. צוה), as in many compound adjectives, and κυνθος, which seems to have signified *shaded, dark* (whence κυνθείνω *to hide*, and κύνθιον, *a mask*, both of which words are preserved by Hesych.). Now this very well answers to the Homeric description; and there were many antient names of places which commenced with *Za*, and mostly, I believe, for a similar reason. In like manner, the poet Ossian often uses the term *shady*, as applied to certain mountains of Scotland.

From D'Anville it appears that the island is yet called in Greece by its antient name; *Zante* being merely a corruption of foreigners.

[1] *Aristeus — Nicolaüs.*] Not *Aristæus*, &c., as Hobbes writes. Herod. 7, 137. calls them Aristeas and Nicolas.

[2] *Stratodemus.*] So I read for Pratodemus, from several MSS., Valetius, Gottleb., Hack, and Goeller. Bekker has restored the old reading, I suppose, because Pratodemus seems a Lacedæmonian form for Protodemus. Such, however, would, perhaps, be contrary to analogy, and certainly against the usage of our author.

[3] *Pollis.*] I have adopted the double l, with Gottleb., Bekker, and Goeller. And so in Xenoph. Hist. 4, 8, 11. and 5, 4, 61. Thiem. and Polyæn. 3, 11, 11. Many examples, indeed, of the *single* l are adduced by Maesv. on Polyæn. and by Wessel. on Diod. Sic. t. 6, 352.; but it is easier to imagine the double l to pass into the single than the contrary.

[4] *In a private capacity.*] Hobbes renders, "a private man." But ἰδίᾳ can have no other sense than that above assigned. Yet what such a person could have to negotiate with the king of Persia, it is not easy to see. We may, however, suppose a tacit allusion to the word δημοσίᾳ, with which ἰδίᾳ is often found placed in opposition; and thus in a free translation it may be rendered, "without any authority from the state." Yet this does not remove the difficulty, but rather increases it; for why should a private person go with ambassadors? The thing may, I conceive, be thus accounted for; — because, though without public authority, he was *not* acting on his own private behalf, but was an ambassador from a *party* among the Argives; namely, the aristocratical one. For though, as we learn from 2, 9., the Argives as a *nation* were on friendly terms with both the belligerent powers, yet individuals doubtless had their preferences, and there were then (as in most other places) two parties: the Lacedæmonian, or aristocratical,

induce him to furnish them with money, and take part with them in the war, went first to Sitalces son of Tereus, in Thrace, to persuade him, if possible, to abandon the Athenian alliance, and send forces to the relief of Potidæa, then besieged by the Athenian army, to be conveyed by his means to their destination[5] over the Hellespont to Pharnaces son of Pharnabazus, who would send them up the country to the king. But some Athenian ambassadors, Learchus son of Callimachus, and Aminiades son of Philemon, who chanced then to be at the court of Sitalces, persuade Sadoc son of Sitalces (who had been made an Athenian) to put the men into their hands, lest by passing forward to the king they should injure what was, in some measure, *his* city.[6] He, being prevailed upon, apprehends them[7] (by

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and the Athenian, or democratical; of which the former, we may judge from 2, 8. fin., would be the most numerous. This, therefore, it should seem, acting in a sort of public capacity separate from the other, sent the person in question as their accredited agent to the king.

The above view of the subject is much confirmed and illustrated by what was said supra, c. 22.; namely, that at Larissa in Thessaly the troops sent to Athens were commanded by two chiefs, of *either party one*; as also by Eurip. Orest. 439. Ορ. Κύκλῳ γὰρ εἱλισσόμεθα παγχάλκοις ὅπλοις. Με. Ἰδίᾳ πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἢ πρὸς Ἀργείας χερός; Ορ. Πάντων πρὸς ἀστῶν, ὡς ϑάνω. See also Eurip. Hel. 786.

[5] *To their destination.*] i. e. "whither they had destined (to go)." There is a similar ellipsis in our own language. Literally, "whither they were bent, or disposed, or desirous to go."

[6] *What was, in some measure, his city.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense, on which, however, the commentators are not agreed. Portus renders, "quantum in ipso situm esset;" referring it to *Sadoc*. But *that* the plural verb will not allow. Hack and Goeller join it with βλάψωσιν, and take it to refer to the *ambassadors;* assigning the following sense: "ne quantum in ipsis esset, urbem damno afficerent." But thus the sentence is forced, frigid, and feeble. The most natural interpretation seems that which I have adopted, and which does not materially differ from that of Hobbes; such, too, appears to have been the sense in which the passage was taken by the Scholiast, whose words (misunderstood by Goeller) signify, "as far as regarded his share in it." The interpretation, too, is placed beyond doubt by Aristoph. Acharn. 145., where it is said of Sadoc: πατέρ' ἠντιβόλει βοηϑεῖν τῇ πάτρᾳ; the whole of which passage throws light on the present. As to the objection of Goeller on the score of this sense of τὸ μέρος being unfrequent, and οὖσαν being omitted, it is groundless. In short, this was an argument which they would be likely to use with a person who (as we find from Aristophanes) was so immoderately fond of Athens as to chalk on the wall, Ἀϑηναῖοι καλοί, *O rare Athenians!*

[7] *Apprehends them.*] This outrage is by Herod. 7, 137. ascribed to Sitalces and the Nymphodorus mentioned supra, c. 29.; but, in fact, there is no discrepancy; since we cannot suppose that Sadoc would have ventured on the thing without the permission of Sitalces. And as to Nymphodorus,

the medium of some other persons sent with Learchus and Aminiades, who were ordered to give them up to them) as they were passing through Thrace [8], in their way to the vessel on board of which they were to cross the Hellespont, and before they embarked. By them they were taken and brought to Athens; and on the day of their arrival [9], the Athenians fearing Aristeus, lest, if he should escape, he might do them further mischief (for aforetime he had been manifestly the chief promoter of all that had taken place to their injury at Potidæa and in Thrace), put them all to death, without bringing them to any trial [10], or even hearing what they would have said, and cast their bodies into pits [11]; thinking it but just to retaliate on the Lacedæmonians by the same cruelties which they had begun with, by butchering and casting into pits such merchants of the Athenians and their allies as they took in

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he was apparently so much in the Athenian interest, as readily to further the measure by his influence with Sitalces.

[8] *As they were passing through Thrace.*] Herodotus says that they were seized at Bisanthe, on the coast of the Hellespont. Though the words of Thucydides would rather suggest some place in the *interior*. There is, however, no discrepancy; for the words πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν, which are joined with ξυλλαμβάνειν, suggest that the thing happened at the place of embarkation. And, indeed, as the chief pretence for apprehending them could only be an alleged treasonable correspondence with one who was yet regarded as the public enemy of Greece, there would be a peculiar propriety in selecting *that* as the place.

[9] *On the day of their arrival.*] Lest the public compassion should be interested in their favour, as in the case of the Mitylenians, l. 3.

[10] *Without bringing them to any trial.*] This confirms my opinion, that they were apprehended and put to death on pretence of treasonable correspondence with the public enemy; for had they been put to death only on the ground of their being *enemies*, it would not have been necessary to have added ἀκρίτους.

[11] *Cast their bodies into pits.*] With this passage there is some difficulty connected, though the commentators pass it by. One thing is certain, that this casting them into pits was meant as a contumely greater than that of ῥίπτειν ἀτάφους. There seems, too, to have been an allusion to the Ceadas (mentioned at 1, 134.), a sort of deep pit wherein they used to toss the bodies of malefactors. (See the note there.) But it may be asked, why have we mention of *pits?* would not *one* be sufficient? Doubtless it would; but though the singular is found in some MSS., yet the plural is sufficiently defended by the words following. A better-founded objection might be made to the plural in Eurip. Phaeth. frag. 9. φίλος δὲ μοι Ἀλλ' οὗτος (I read ἄλουτος with Musgr.) φάραξι σήπεται νέκυς. There, however, the poet does not speak of any particular spot, but *indefinitely;* to which the plural is very suitable. And we have a similar use in the expression *the fields*.

trading vessels on the coast of Peloponnesus.[12] For at the commencement of the war, the Lacedæmonians put to death as enemies all whom they took at sea; both those who were associated with the Athenians, and those that were neutral.

LXVIII. About the same time, and at the close of the summer, the Ambraciots [1], in conjunction with many Barba-

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[12] *Butchering and casting into pits such merchants, &c.*] This is adverted to by Herod. 7, 137., where that historian traces the fate of two of the above, namely Nicolaüs and Aneristus, to a judgment visited on their heads for the crime of their forefathers. And of Aneristus he adds a circumstance * which seems to allude to one of the atrocities here mentioned, namely, ὃς εἷλε ἁλιέας τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος, ὅλκαδι καταπλώσας πλήρεϊ ἀνδρῶν. [of which controverted passage the sense seems to be, "who captured the fishermen from Tiryns, running down upon them with a large vessel full of men," where I cannot agree with Wesseling and Valckn., who wrote Ἁλιέας; for though I find from St. Byz. that the *Halienses* were originally colonised from Tiryns, yet that would here be a circumstance quite irrelevant; and what is yet more, the Halienses were, as we find from 1, 105. et seq., in the Lacedæmonian alliance, and therefore Aneristus would not have molested *them*. The common reading ἁλιέας must, then, be retained: and ἐκ Τιρ. will denote the place they belonged to. This, I must observe, is confirmed by a fragment of Ephorus ap. Steph. Byz. in Ἁλιεῖς, where that writer says that some persons being expelled from Tiryns, and consulting the oracle as to the place whither they should go, it was replied that "wherever they went, or wherever they settled, they should there be fishermen;" by which it is highly probable that they had before been such. It may, indeed, be thought that the Tirynthians ought to have been unmolested, as being *Argives*, who it appears from 2, 8. were *neutral*. But Thucydides himself here tells us, that even neutrals were treated in the same manner as belligerents.

[1] *Ambraciots.*] The territory of Ambracia lay at the north-west extremity of Greece Proper, on the Sinus Ambrac. It was bounded on the west by the Charadras, and on the south by the Ayas, by which it was separated from Amphilochia. Its boundaries, to the north, are not determinable. In many recent maps this tract of country is called *Molossia*. That, however, is an error. Molossia lay further inland, to the north of Ambracia.

The chief city of the same name was situated on the river Arachthus (called by the later writers the Arathon, now Arta), and, as Scylax and Dicæarchus tell us, at 80 stadia from the gulf; though Palmer, Antiq. (to whom I am indebted for most of the references in this article,) estimates the distance at only three or four. Its situation, I would observe, is well described by Livy, 38, 4. The city was of a tolerable size, and had an excellent port. From the various sieges it underwent, it appears, also, to have possessed considerable strength.

Its site is fixed by Pouqueville, Græc. 2. c. 35., at some ruins called Kogona, not very far from the present city of Arta. Such, however, it

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* For that he only speaks of *one* action, appears from his use of the *article*, which has what is called the reference κατ' ἐξοχήν. See Middleton, c. 1. sect. 1. § 2.

rians [2], whom they had raised, went on an expedition against Argos in Amphilochia[3], and the rest of its territory. Their enmity against the Argives took its first rise from the following circumstance. This Argos was, together with the rest of Amphilochia, colonised by Amphilochus son of Amphiareus, who, on returning from the Trojan war, and being dissatisfied with the state of affairs [4] at Argos, founded this city on the Ambracian gulf, and called it Argos, after the name of his own country.[5] This city was the largest of Amphilochia, and had the most opulent and powerful inhabitants. Being, however, many generations afterwards, hard pressed by misfortunes, they called in, as joint-colonists [6], the Ambraciots, as

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should seem, cannot be the site of *Ambracia;* for then it would have been an *inland* city, and could not have given name to the gulf. Besides, it is said to have had an excellent port. The ruins, mentioned by that writer, are probably those of the old town (or Palæochorio) of Arachthus, which D'Anville thinks corresponds to the present *Arta;* and from which, indeed, that seems to have derived its name. Neither will it prove *Arta* to have been its site, that Scylax and Dicæarchus place it at 80 stadia from the sea; for that statement is contradicted by the accurate Strabo, who says it was but a *little* way, a few stadia from the sea (ἐκ θαλάττης), meaning the *gulf:* which last expression shows that the mode of taking the passage of Scylax, proposed by Palmer, namely, to understand θαλάττης of the *open sea,* cannot be admitted. Indeed the nearest distance from the *sea* is 170 stadia. This discrepancy, however, may be removed, by supposing that Scylax wrote, not π, but τ, i. e. *three.*

To advert to its early history, this was a colony of the Corinthians, and settled in the time of Cypselus; though it is not clear whether the place did not exist *before* that period; at least the mythological fictions, which derive the name from some personage of the heroic ages, seem to point at high antiquity.

[2] *Barbarians.*] Probably the Molossi and other Epirots.

[3] *Amphilochia.*] The boundaries of this territory are indeterminable, except on the side of Ambracia. It properly extended along the gulf, as far as Actium, though, it should seem, to have been only a strip of land extending very little way into the interior.

[4] *Dissatisfied with the, &c.*] Such is the sense of μὴ ἀρεσκούμενος τῇ μεταστάσει. So Herod. 4, 78. διαίτῃ οὐδαμῶς ἠρέσκετο Σ. 3, 34. οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει. 9, 66, 1. And so Dio Cass. often, especially 324, 76., where he imitates the present passage: τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει ἠρκέσθη. where I conjecture ἠρέσθη.

On this *dissatisfaction* it is observed by the Scholiast, that he found his mother Eripyle slain by his brother Alcmæon. "He would, besides, ill acquiesce in the rule of Ægisthus."

[5] *After the name of, &c.*] Ὁμώνυμος (as is usually the case with nouns compounded with ὁμοῦ; so, just after, ὁμόρους τῇ Αμφ.) here takes the genitive, as in a kindred passage of Isocr. Evag.

[6] *Joint-colonists.*] Livy, 4, 37., expresses the ἐπην. ξυν. thus, in "societatem urbis agrorumque adsciscerunt."

bordering upon Amphilochia; and from those Ambraciots living amongst them they first learned the Greek language, which they now speak[7], though the rest of the Amphilochians still use only the Barbarian tongue.[8] However, in process of time the Ambraciots drove out the Argives, and occupied the city themselves.[9] Upon this, the Amphilochians gave themselves up[10] to the Acarnanians, and both calling in the additional aid[11] of the Athenians, they sent them Phormio as their general[12], and thirty ships: on the arrival of which force they

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[7] *First learned the, &c.*] Such is the sense of ἐλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν. where two sentences are blended into one. Ἑλληνίζω signifies properly to be a Greek, to speak Greek; and, in an active or *hiphil* sense, to teach others to speak it. This is, indeed, a rare signification, but it occurs in Liban. ap. T. Magist., where we have the passive (as here), *to be taught;* similar to which is ἐκδεδωρίωνται in Herod. 8, 73. At γλῶσσαν must be understood κατά. Somewhat similar is the expression ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ in Æschin. C. Ctes.

[8] *Still use only the Barbarian tongue.*] Not, *were* Barbarians, as Hobbes renders, nor, "are still Barbarians," as Smith. For βαρβ. here seems, from what goes before, to be used in the same sense as at 1 Cor. 14, 11. ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος· καὶ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος.

It would seem, by the circumstance of the Argians of Amphipolis first learning the Greek language from the Ambraciot settlers, that the original settlers with Amphilochus were so few in number that the language was in process of time lost.

[9] *Drove out, &c.*] This might be expected from the dangerous expedient of associating themselves with a people so much more powerful than themselves, and has happened in numerous other cases.

[10] *Gave themselves up.*] Not *submitted themselves to* (as Hobbes renders), which suggests a wrong idea; nor "threw themselves on the protection," which is not significant enough. The words διδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶσι contain a strong expression, and may be understood from 1, 26. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλε, παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. This solemn act, therefore, implied a union with, and subserviency to, the other nation.

[11] *And both calling in the additional aid.*] Such is the full sense of προσπαρακαλέσαντες, which is read for the vulg. προσεκαλέσαντο, from the greater part of the MSS., by all the recent editors; though on the nature of the construction they are not agreed. Poppo regards it as a blending of two modes of expression; Goeller takes αἱροῦσι as the finite verb to this participle, and regards the intermediate words as put to genitives absolute. But both these constructions are equally harsh. If the reading in question is to be adopted, the simplest method will be to suppose an antapodoton, and take προσπαρακαλέσαντες ἀμφότεροι as nominatives, regarding the relative following as put for the demonstrative. This, however, is so great an irregularity that we must, I think, suppose the author presumed that a finite verb had preceded. But, after all, I greatly question whether προσπαρεκαλέσαντο be not the true reading.

[12] *Phormio as their general.*] Not, "under the command of Phormio," as Smith renders; a sense not permitted by the position of the words, nor by the τε — καὶ. Besides, a *general* was as much wanted as an auxiliary force.

took Argos by storm, and made slaves of the Ambraciots; the place being then inhabited in common by Amphilochians and Acarnanians; and thereupon was first formed the alliance between the Athenians and Acarnanians. The Ambraciots, however, first conceived an enmity to the Argives from this enslavement of their countrymen; and they afterwards, in this war, gratified it by forming this armament, composed of themselves and of the Chaonians and other Barbarians. Having arrived at Argos, they made themselves masters of the territory; but not being able to carry the city by assault, they returned homeward, each dispersing to their respective abodes.[13] Such were the events of this summer.

LXIX. On the commencement of winter, the Athenians sent twenty ships round[1] Peloponnesus, and Phormio as

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Here we have first introduced one of the most able and, in all respects, estimable of the Athenian commanders. An anecdote is related by Pausan. 1, 23, 12. which has reference to this very period, and is so honourable both to Phormio and the Athenians that I cannot but introduce it, especially as there are some corruptions which I shall endeavour to emend. In the first place, for *Φορμίωνα τὸν Ἀσωπίχου* read there *Φορμ. τὸν Ἀσωπίου*, as appears from Thucyd. 1, 68. The words following are these: *Φορμίωνι γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν Ἀθηναίων ὄντι ὁμοίῳ, καὶ ἐς προγόνων δόξαν οὐκ ἀφανεῖ, συνέβαινεν ὀφείλειν χρέα· ἀναχωρήσας οὖν ἐς τὸν Παιανιέα δῆμον, ἐνταῦθα εἶχε δίαιταν, ἐς ὃ ναύαρχον αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων αἱρουμένων, ἐκπλεῦσαι οὐκ ἔφασκεν· ὀφείλειν τε γὰρ καὶ οἱ, πρὶν ἂν ἐκτίσῃ, πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ εἶναι παρέχεσθαι φρόνημα. οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι (πάντως γὰρ ἐβουλεύοντο ἀρχεῖν Φορμίωνα) τὰ χρέα, ὁπόσας ὤφειλε, διαλύουσιν.* where *ἐπιεικέσιν* signifies "the respectable;" but *ὁμοίῳ* seems to require the superlative (which occurs in Xen. Hist. 1, 1, 21. *τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους τῶν τριηραρχῶν*: so Gregor. cited by Sturz, *τὸ δὲ μέτριον καὶ καλῶς ἔχον ἐπιεικέστατόν φασι*). And with this it is found in Thucyd. 1, 25. *ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις*, and 7, 29. Again, for *ἐβουλεύοντο*, Facius ought to have received *ἐβούλοντο*, from Amasæus and Kuhn, which is exceedingly confirmed by Thucyd. 6, 20. *ἐπειδὴ πάντως ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς ὁρμημένους, κ. τ. λ.*

[13] *Dispersing to their respective abodes.*] Literally, "were disbanded to," &c. But *διαλύεσθαι* is a *vox prægnans*, signifying to be disbanded and retire.

[1] *Sent twenty ships round.*] Smith renders, "to cruise on the coasts of Peloponnesus." But though I have elsewhere noticed and illustrated such an expression, yet here it cannot well be admitted; for Phormio, as we find from what follows, did *not* cruise on the coast of Peloponnesus, but kept stationary at Naupactus, guarding the entrance of the sea of Crisa. I would, therefore, follow the usual sense, which, I find, was also adopted by Diod. Sic.

Phormio was doubtless sent, from the credit which he had gained on the former occasion, and the influence which he possessed with the Acarnanians; or, as Mitford phrases it, from his experience of the western people and the western sea.

commander; who, taking post at Naupactus[2], kept guard that none might pass in or out of Corinth and the Crisæan gulf. Six other ships they sent to Caria and Lycia, under the command of Melesander[3], in order there to levy contributions, and prevent the Peloponnesian privateers from harbouring there and cruizing thence, to the molestation of their merchant-ships sailing from Phaselis and Phœnicia, and that part of the continent. He, having disembarked on Lycia, with a force composed of Athenians from the fleet, and some allied troops, was defeated in battle, with the loss of part of the army and of his own life.

LXX. This same winter, the Potidæans finding themselves no longer able to hold out[1], and that even the irruptions of the Peloponnesians made the Athenians not at all more disposed to raise the siege; their provisions, too, having utterly failed them, and many other afflictions befallen them there

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[2] *Naupactus.*] Of this city the most complete account may be derived from Palmer's Antiq. Gr. p. 497–501. Yet there there is little solid information. We find from 3, 102. that it was a city of no inconsiderable extent, with a suburb not fortified. The origin of the name is evidently from its being a place for ship-building; but the period of its foundation is not known. Its antiquity may, however, be imagined by the opinion that it obtained its name from being the place at which the Heraclidæ built the ships wherewith they passed over into Peloponnesus; though some, as Ephorus, maintained that it had *before* been used for ship-building.

It is said by Anthon. ap. Lempriere to be now called Enebect, or Lepanto. But the name it at present bears among the Greeks is *Nepactus. Lepanto* is only a corruption of the Italians and other foreigners.

[3] *Melesander.*] Several MSS. have *Melisander*; and Duker, observing that it is not easy to determine which is the true reading, confirms the latter from Ælian V. H. 11, 2., to which may be added *Melisippidas* in Plut. Ages. But *Melesippus* occurs in Thucyd., *Melesermus* in Suid., *Melesios* in Pindar Olymp. 8, 71., and elsewhere. Moreover, the common reading is defended by Pausan. 1, 29, 6. καὶ Μελήσανδρος ἐς τὴν ἄνω Καρίαν ναυσὶν ἀναπλεύσας διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου. Though there the learned antiquary has erred by trusting to his memory. If he had inspected the present passage, he would have seen that it was on *Lycia*, not Caria, that Melesander disembarked; and certainly did not ascend the *Mæander*, a river of *Caria*. The error seems to have arisen from confounding this circumstance with a very similar one at 2, 19. where Lysicles is said to have made a descent ναυσὶν ἀργυλόγοις τῆς Καρίας ἐκ Μυοῦντος ἀναβὰς διὰ τοῦ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου, &c.

[1] *Hold out.*] Literally, "hold out being besieged." There is a very similar expression in Herod. 2, 157. A. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον πολιορκουμένη ἄντεσχε. Hence may be emended Zosim. 1, 55, 1. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντείσχοντο πολιορκούμενοι. Read ἀνείχοντ.

through distress for food [2], insomuch that some had even fed upon each other [3]; then, indeed, they made proposals for treaty to the Athenian generals in command, Xenophon son of Euripides, Hestiodorus [4] son of Aristoclidas, and Phanomachus son of Callimachus, who accepted the proposals, seeing the distress of the army, in a bleak and winterly spot, and that the state had already expended two thousand talents on the siege, and came to a composition on the following terms: "That they should depart, they, their wives, and their children, and the auxiliary troops, with one garment each; but the women with two [5]; and that they should have each a certain

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[2] *Distress for food.*] Literally, "in respect to such food as they were constrained to eat;" as, for instance, horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, and even more loathsome food.

[3] *Fed upon each other.*] This must, of course, be taken in a *popular* sense, and not be interpreted too rigidly. The passage is imitated by Liban. Orat. 503. B. ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. Procop. p. 14, 11. ἐς βρώσεις ἀηθεῖς ἐλθόντες — τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. Also p. 93, 41. οἵ γε καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤδη ἐγείκοντο. where read ἐγέγευοντο, as in this passage of Thucydides.

Reimar, on the passage of Xiphilin, remarks, that history is full of such horrible recitals. He might have added that Herodotus 3, 25. tells us the first instance was on the expedition of Cambyses to Æthiopia. Lots, he says, were cast for one out of ten to be eaten by the rest; therefore Cambyses, δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπεὶς τοὺ ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον, ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο. which passage is had in view by Liban. Orat. p. 507. Strabo, l. 4. p. 282, 5., says, that eating of human flesh is a Scythian custom.

[4] *Hestiodorus.*] Liban. Orat. p. 503., who has reference to this passage, says Αἰτιόδωρος. But that seems to be an error of the scribes, partly proceeding from itacism.

[5] *With one garment each; but, &c.*] Such treaties generally included some condition as to the quantity of apparel to be taken. So Polyæn. 7, 48. συγχωρῆσαι αὐτοῖς ἕνι ἱματίῳ ἐξελθεῖν. Pausan. 9, 1, 3. ἀπελθεῖν σφᾶς πρὸ ἡλίου δύντος, ἄνδρας μὲν σὺν ἑνὶ, γυναῖκας δὲ δύο ἱμάτια ἑκάστην ἔχουσαν Appian 1, 400, 19. διεξελθεῖν διὰ χιτωνίσκου μόνου. Livy, "cum *binis* vestimentis ab Sagunto exire." See also Appian 1, 52, 21. and Xen. Hist. 2, 3, 6.

By the ἱματίῳ is meant, as regards the men, the *pallium, mantle,* an outer garment or wrapper. The women, it may be observed, were allowed to take two garments, because they always *wore* two, as appears from Herod. 2, 36. where, mentioning the points of opposition between the Egyptians and other nations, he says: εἵματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἓν ἑκάστη. Thus, upon the whole, it was only permitted them to take one suit of clothes, the χιτὼν, &c., being included. It was rare that *two* suits were allowed. The only instance I have remarked is in Appian, 1, 383, 23. ὁμόσαντες σὺν δύο ἱματίοις ἕκαστον ἀπολύσειν.

The *auxiliaries* here mentioned were, I imagine, chiefly Corinthians, formerly sent to garrison Potidæa, as we find from 1, 60. seqq.

sum of money to bear their travelling expenses[6]:" and on the guarantee of this treaty they departed to Chalcidice, or wherever else they could find an abode.[7] The Athenians, however, imputed much blame to the generals for concluding the treaty without their consent and authority; thinking that they could have obtained possession of the city on what terms they pleased. And afterwards they sent colonists of their own people to Potidæa, and there settled them. Thus was concluded the *second* year of the war which Thucydides hath composed.[8] Read thus far with the Greek — Aug. 24. 1849.

YEAR III.

LXXI. On the return of summer, the Peloponnesians and their allies made no irruption into Attica, but went on an expedition to Platæa, under the command of Archidamus son of Zeuxidamus, king of Lacedæmon. After encamping his forces, he was proceeding to ravage the territory. Whereupon the Platæans immediately sent ambassadors to him, with representations to the following effect: — "Archidamus, and ye Lacedæmonians, ye act neither justly nor in a manner worthy of[1] yourselves and your forefathers, by thus making war upon Platæa. For Pausanias son of Cleombrotus, the Lacedæmonian, after having, in conjunction with such Greeks as were willing to take part in[2] the peril of the battle which was fought in our territory, freed Greece from the Medes; and having in the market-place of Platæa sacrificed victims to

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[6] *A sum of money to, &c.*] Ἐφόδιον is here not an adjective, as some take it, but a substantive in apposition with *ἀργύριον*, as denoting the *purpose*. The word properly signifies *provision for the way* (so Herod. 6, 70. ἐπόδια λαβὼν ἐπορεύετο ἐς Ἐλιν.), what is called in Genes. 42, 25. and 45, 21. ἐπισιτισμὸς εἰς τὴν ὁδόν.

This was a very rare condition. The only instance I have remarked is in Zosim. 3, 18, 9. ῥητὸν ἀργύριον καὶ ἱμάτιον ἔχοντα.

[7] *Or wherever else, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of the words καὶ ἕκαστος ᾗ ἐδύνατο, which are ill rendered by Smith, "where every one shifted for himself."

[8] *Thus was concluded, &c.*] A mode of speaking which occurs, with slight variations, at the end of each narrative of a year, and has been imitated by Procopius, as p. 176, 3.

[1] *You act, &c.*] So Xen. Anab. 2, 3, 35. ἄξιον εἴη βασιλεῖ, &c.

[2] *Take part in,* ξυνάρασθαι.] This construction with the accusative is rare; but it occurs in Dionys. Hal. 327, 35. οἱ συναράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα. Eurip. Orest. 765. συννηρόμαν φόνον σοι μητρὸς.

Jupiter the Deliverer[3], and called together all the confederates, he gave back[4] to the Platæans their city and territory, to be possessed and inhabited in independence[5] granting to them that none should war against them unjustly, nor so as to enslave them[6]; otherwise all the confederates present should afford them succour to the utmost of their power. These immunities, then, your forefathers bestowed on us for the courage and alacrity which we displayed at that perilous crisis; but you do the very contrary, coming with our bitterest enemies, the Thebans, for our enslavement. But, by the gods, who were invoked as witnesses of the oaths[7]; by the tutelary deities[8], both of your own country and of ours, we earnestly charge you not to injure the Platæan territory, nor violate your oaths, but to suffer us to enjoy the independence which Pausanias was pleased to grant us."

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[3] *Sacrificed victims to, &c.*] Wesseling on Diod. 11, 29. (referred to by Goeller) says that the Greeks ever afterwards observed the anniversary of the battle of Platæa as a holy day, and sacrificed τὰ ἐλευθέρια (scil. ἱερὰ) to Jupiter Ἐλευθερίῳ. On the worship paid to Jupiter the Deliverer, Gottleb. refers to Bach on Xen. Œcon. p. 34.

[4] *Gave back.*] Such is the sense of ἀπεδίδου, and not *gave* or *conferred* this privilege, as Hobbes and Smith render. The απο has reference to its having been before occupied by the Persians.

[5] *To be possessed and, &c.*] The construction is: (ὥστε) αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν οἰκεῖν, &c. This addition may *seem* not necessary; but the words are really important, as adverting to that claim of sovereignty which the Bœotians pretended to have over Platæa, and which was thus set aside by the general voice of Greece, and the independence of Platæa established.

[6] *Granting to them that, &c.*] Here we must supply the simple out of the compound verb ἀπεδ. preceding.

This it was necessary to add, since otherwise the Platæans might have soon been deprived of the independence which had thus been so solemnly granted them.

[7] *The gods, who were invoked as, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of θεοὺς τοὺς ὁρκίους τότε γενομένους ποιούμενοι. Wasse observes, that the *form* of the oath by which confederates mutually bound themselves, occurs in Lycurg. adv. Leocr. p. 149. And he refers to Plutarch in Miltiad. I add Æschin. p. 16, 16. ἐπομόσας τοὺς ὁρκίους θεούς. Theophyl. Simoc. p. 14. C. τοὺς τε πατρῴους θεοὺς θρησκεύειν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλων τῶν ὅρκων αἰσχύνεσθαι.

[8] *By the tutelary deities, &c.*] On the θεοὺς πατρῴους, Goeller refers to the commentators on Eurip. Elect. 666. Seid. On the θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους (on which the commentators have omitted to treat), I would adduce Æschyl. Theb. πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν, καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων Βωμοῖσι; where Dr. Blomfield refers to Heyne on Virg. Georg. 1, 498. See also my note on Acts, 24, 14.

LXXII. Thus spoke the Platæans; to whom Archidamus made this reply: — "Ye say, Platæans, what is very right and just, if ye only do as ye say[1]; and, as Pausanias granted you, be both yourselves free, and give your assistance to liberate others, who, participating with you in those perils, and uniting in those oaths, are now in subjection to the Athenians. It is for the liberation of them and others, that such immense preparations have been made, and so great a war undertaken; in which we especially enjoin you to partake, and thereby abide by your oaths. But if you decline this — why then (as we have already before proposed to you) keep quiet, and attend to your own business; side with neither party, receiving both as friends; but, for any hostile purposes, neither. And with this we will be satisfied."[2]

Thus spake Archidamus. Now the Platæan ambassadors, having heard him, went to the city; and after communicating to the people what was said, brought back this answer: — "That it was not possible for them to do what he advised, without the concurrence of the Athenians; for their wives and children were with them. They had fears, too, lest their

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[1] *If ye only do as ye say.*] Literally, "if your words correspond to your works." Here we must subaud ἔργα, which is *supplied* in Dionys. Hal. 1, 303, 41. ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅμοια τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα.

[2] *With this we will be satisfied.*] It is very many years since I came to the conclusion that ἀρκέσει (not the vulg. ἀρέσκει) is the true reading. Indeed, it is not only found in most MSS., in Dionys., and Valla, but yields a far more suitable sense; for their *neutrality*, we may suppose, was not so much pleasing to Archidamus (since he would have preferred their *alliance*), as that he thought it better than their *hostility*. This view of the sense is confirmed by the preceding formula, μάλιστα μὲν — εἰ δὲ μή, the former of which denotes what is thought *the best;* the latter, what may otherwise be *acquiesced in*. And this use of ἀρκ. is confirmed by a kindred passage of Xen. Cyr. 8, 3, 45. ἀρκέσει μοι ὅ, τι καὶ σὺ ἔχῃς, τούτων μετέχειν.

The sense of νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν is not, as Hobbes and Smith render, "enjoying what is properly your own," but "minding your own affairs only;" as 1, 120. νεμ. τὰ ἴδια.

I must not omit to observe, that the προκαλεῖσθε, a little before, signifies, not "*advised* you" (as Hobbes and Smith render), but *proposed* to you, and offered as a condition. So infra, προὐκαλούμενοι πολλά. Pausan. 2, 13, 1. τοῖς μὲν, ἃ προεκαλεῖτο P. ἐφαίνετο ἀρεστά. Hence in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 742, 7. ἃ δὲ προσκαλούμεθα ὑμᾶς — ταῦτα ἔστι. read προκαλούμεθα. In this phrase there is, as Matthiæ in his Gr. Gr. § 413. observes, an ellipsis of ἐς. And I would add that the *complete* phrase occurs in 5, 43. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑμᾶς προκαλοῦνται ἐς σπονδάς.

compliance might endanger the safety of the whole city, and were apprehensive lest, on their return, the Athenians should not permit them to remain neutral; or the Thebans, as being comprehended in the oath to receive both parties, might again attempt to seize their city." But Archidamus, to reassure them on that head, said, "Do you then deliver[3] the city and its houses into the keeping of the Lacedæmonians; point out the boundaries of your territory, show the number of your trees, and whatever else may admit of numeration[4]; and go ye, and retire where you please, so long as the war continues; and when it shall have ceased, we will restore them to you. But until that period, we will keep them as a deposit, cultivating the ground, and paying you such a rent for it as may suffice for your support."

LXXIII. Having received this offer, the ambassadors again went into the city; and after consulting with the people, brought back this answer: — that they wish first to communicate with the Athenians upon these proposals; and if they could induce them to give their consent, they would accede to them. Until that time, they demanded a truce, and that their territory might not be injured. Whereupon a truce was granted them for as many days as would be likely to elapse before they should return[1]; and meanwhile they forbore

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[3] *Do you then, &c.*] A most extraordinary proposal this, which Archidamus could hardly expect would be accepted, since it would leave them wholly in the power of the Lacedæmonians, should *they* succeed, and incur the almost certain loss of that which was now only in jeopardy; and if the *Athenians* should gain the upper hand, it would involve the certain loss of their possessions, since the Athenians would regard them as betraying their cause.

[4] *Admit of numeration.*] Literally, "come into number;" with which I would compare Æschyl. Pers. 16. ἐν' ἀριθμοῦ βαδίζειν. By "*whatever else*" are meant, houses, barns, hovels, and other immovable property. By the *trees* are meant, principally, *fruit* trees, but also timber. As to the *cattle*, it might be removed, or sold to the next occupiers.

Certainly the expedient was practicable; though I do not remember any correspondent example, except that of a *whole people* occupying a territory from others supposed to be the proprietors, and, therefore, paying to them what is here called φορά. Thus, in the case of Lesbos, mentioned at 3, 50., where the Lesbian lands are said to have been allotted out to Athenian shareholders, to whom the Lesbians were to pay two minæ each per annum.

[1] *Return.*] At κομισθῆναι some substantive in the accusative must be

to ravage their territory. The Platæan ambassadors having proceeded to the Athenians and communicated with them, went back to their fellow-citizens with this message: — The Athenians say, that "neither at any former period since we have been their allies have they suffered us to be injured, nor will they now permit it, but will succour us to the utmost of their power." They also entreat you [2], by the oaths which your fathers sware, not to make any change in the alliance.

LXXIV. The ambassadors having made this report, the Platæans came to the resolution not to betray the Athenians, but endure, if it must be so, to see their land ravaged, and to suffer whatever else might befall; to go forth no more, but to make answer from the walls that it was impossible for them to do what the Lacedæmonians required. As soon as they had returned this answer, king Archidamus then set himself first to make solemn attestation [1] to the tutelary gods and heroes of the country, in these words: — "Ye gods [2] and

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understood; not, however, *responsum*, as Portus, Smith, and others, but rather *αὐτούς*, i. e. the ambassadors; and *κομισθῆναι* is for *ἀνακομ.*, as in 6, 29 and 37. And so the Schol.

[2] *Entreat you.*] Not *adjure*, as Smith renders; which would be too pleonastic. *Ἐπισκήπτειν* signifies *to urgently enjoin, earnestly entreat*, which senses seem here combined. The latter is found in 3, 59., and in Æschin.: *κλαίοντας, ἱκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ἐπισκήπτοντας*. and Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 636. On this word see also Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 107.

This passage is imitated in Basil ap. Steph. Thes. *ἐπισκήπτω ὑμῖν πρὸς τῶν πατέρων*. There is a very similar one in Herod. *ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω θεούς τοὺς βασιληΐους ἐπικαλέων*.

[1] *Attestation.*] Or *protestation*, as Hobbes renders. *Ἐπιμαρτυρία* denotes a solemn appeal to any person to bear witness to what shall be said.

[2] *Ye gods, &c.*] On the tutelary gods of the antients, see a copious account in Spanheim on Callim. t. 2. p. 669. referred to by Duker. Wasse aptly compares Eurip. Phœn. 501. *Μαρτύρας δὲ τῶνδε δαιμόνας καλῶ, Ὡς πάντα πράσσων ξὺν δίκῃ*, &c. *Ἐπιμαρτυρία*, I would observe, is rare; nor have I met with it elsewhere except in Dio Cass. 919, 50. *τῇ Θεῶν ἐπιμαρτυρίᾳ*. The *verb* is used in Liban. Or. 302. *Θεοὺς μαρτυρομένη καὶ ἥρωας*. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 649. *ἐπιμ. Θεοὺς τε καὶ δαίμονας*. and 676. *ἐπιμ. Θεοὺς καὶ προγόνων δαίμονας*. I would also compare Dinarch. p. 98, 18. *μαρτ. τοὺς ἥρωας τοὺς ἐγχωρίους*. Dio Cass. 487, 3. *μαρτύρας Θεοὺς καὶ ἥρωας τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ποίησομαι*. Eurip. Hec. 79. *ὦ χθόνιοι Θεοί*. Æschyl. Theb. 69. *ὦ πολισσοῦχοι Θεοὶ*, where see Valckn. and Blomfield, also Valckn. on Herod. 7, 53. Who those tutelary heroes were appears from Wasse on III. 24.

This was thought an important religious duty. Thus Xen. Cyr. 3, 3, 22. *Θεοὺς θυσίαις καὶ ἥρωας Ἀσσυρίας οἰκήτορας εὐμενίζετο*. And Onosander seems to bear testimony to the *custom*, by introducing a form of protest-

heroes, who preside over [3] Platæa, we take you to witness that we have not invaded this country (wherein our fathers, after invoking your aid, overcame the Medes, and which you made propitious for the Greeks to fight in [4]) for lust of dominion, but only after these had deserted their sworn compact; nor, whatever we may now do, shall we be guilty of injustice. For though we have made them many and equitable proposals, all have been rejected. Grant us, therefore, this supplication [5], that those who began the injustice may be punished, and that those who are lawfully bringing vengeance for injury may obtain their purpose." [6]

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ation in his Strateg. p. 27. This solemn *attestatio*, too, was used by the Romans on declaring war. Thus Liv. l. 1, 32. " Audi Jupiter, et tu Juno, Quirine, Diique omnes cœlestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni, audite," &c.

[3] *Preside over.*] Ἔχετε answers to λελόγχασι in a kindred passage of Herod. 7. 53., and to εἰλήχασιν in one of Dinarch. p. 98. These words properly denote only *occupancy*, but therein are implied the correspondent notions of honour on the one hand, and of protection on the other.

[4] *Made propitious for, &c.*] The epithet εὐμενῆ, properly belonging to the *gods* protecting (as in the passage of Xenophon above cited), is given here to the *country* protected. Καὶ αὐτὴν is put for its equivalent ἣν, as often in the Attic writers. Ἐναγωνίσασθαι does *not* depend upon παρέσχετει. Nor must τοῖς ἐναγωνισαμένοις be supplied at εὐμενῆ, as Goeller directs; but ἐναγ. is dependent upon ὥστε, and αὐτοὺς is to be understood.

This passage is imitated by Plut. Alex. c. 34. (cited by Goeller), τὴν χώραν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας παρέσχον. I add Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes. τόπος εὐφυέστατος ἐναγωνίζεσθαι. So in ἐμμάχεσθαι. Bauer, indeed, denies that ἐν in such cases has any force; but such a doctrine has been exploded more than a century ago.

[5] *Grant us, therefore, this supplication.*] Literally, " consent or assent (to us) in this, that," &c., a signification of ξυγγνώμων εἶναί τινι very rare. The commentators adduce no examples; nor can I furnish more than the following: — Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 47, 36. (the whole of which passage is plainly imitated from the present), Θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας οἳ κατέχουσι τὴν δὲ τὴν γῆν παραιτούμενοι συγγνώμονας ἡμῖν γενέσθαι καὶ ὧν ἠναγκασμένοι δρῶμεν, πειρασόμεθα πολέμου ἄρχοντας ὑμᾶς ἀμύνασθαι. The verb is so used in Herod. 5, 94. ἐπολέμεον — οἱ μὲν ἀπαιτέοντες τὴν χώραν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι. And so Genes. 34, 22. " Only herein will the man consent unto us for to dwell with us," &c.

[6] *That those who began, &c.*] Such is the sense, which is somewhat darkly expressed, and the construction tortuous. Τῆς ἀδικίας depends upon τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις; as 1, 76. ὑπάρξαντες πρῶτοι τοῦ τοιούτου. and without the πρῶτ., supra 67. At ἐπιφέρειν subaud τιμωρίαν, from τιμωρίας, and also τισι. There is much spirit, and more than usual fidelity, in Gail's version: " Daignez, tous unanimement, faire retomber la punition de l'injustice sur ses auteurs, et accorder le succès de la vengeance à ceux qui la poursuivent legalement."

LXXV. Having made these solemn protestations to the gods [1], he put his army in motion for hostilities.[2] And first, he palisaded [3] the place round with the wood of the trees which they proceeded to fell, that there might be no further egress. They then raised a mound against the place [4]; expecting that it would be quickly taken by the constant labour of so great a force. Cutting down [5], therefore [6], timber [7] from

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[1] *Having made these, &c.*] The passage has been imitated by Philostr. V. Ap. 4, 6. τοιαῦτα ἐπεϑειάσασϑε. Joseph. 348, 12. ταῦτ' ἐπιϑειάσας, κ. τ. λ. Procop. 62. 18. πολλὰ ἐπιϑειάσας. Appian 2, 378, 63. πολλὰ ἐπιϑειάσας.

[2] *Put his army, &c.*] On this siege (the first, Mitford observes, of which any connected detail remains in the annals of mankind) Goeller refers to Manso Spart. P. 2. p. 42. 405. Folard. ad Polyb. P. 2. p. 174. Gail Mem. p. 183. Bredov. on this passage. The reader may every where consult with advantage Lipsius Poliorectes.

[3] *Palisaded.*] The word περισταυρόω is rare, and no example is adduced by Steph. Thes. It occurs, however, in Xen. Anab. 7, 4. 10, 11. and 29. Hist. 3, 2, 2. and περιχαρακόω in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 172.

[4] *Raised a mound against the place.*] So Herod. 1, 162. χάματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα. and 2, 137. 4, 76. Appian 1, 476, 49. χῶμα ἔχον. and 1, 752. Joseph. 972, 15. Though it may be very true that this is the first detailed account of a siege, yet the methods of assault here recorded are very inartificial, and such as not only would readily suggest themselves, but had been employed many hundreds of years before. Thus in 2 Sam. 20, 15. "and they cast up a bank against the city (ἔξέχεαν πρόσχωμα), and it (i. e. not the *army*, as Bp. Patrick understands, but the *mound*) stood in the trench." So Joseph. p. 972, 15. τάφρον ἔχου, and 2 Kings. 19, 32. "he shall not cast a bank against." Sept. οὐ μὴ ἐκχέῃ πρὸς αὐτὴν πρόσχωμα. Now the former of those events took place about B. C. 1022. i. e. nearly six hundred years before this period. So also Jerem. 6, 6. "Hew ye down trees, and cast a mount against Jerusalem." Also 22, 24. 26, 8. Dan. 11, 15.

[5] *Cutting down.*] Smith renders, "had cut down." But no timber had yet been felled, since Archidamus had not yet proceeded to extremities. It is meant, that they employed the timber, as they felled it, on this erection. And such is the view in which the passage was taken by Hobbes, though he resorts to an unnecessary license of interpretation. Mitford says that the neighbouring forest supplied the materials for the palisade. But he confounds the palisade and the *mound;* for the words of our author plainly denote that the former was constructed chiefly of such wood, comparatively of a light sort, as was near the place; while the beams necessary for the mound would require the heavy timber of Cithæron. Indeed, previous to any operations of a siege, it was always the custom (as it still is) to clear the ground around the place to be besieged. So Joseph. 1219, 32. καταξληϑέντος δὲ παντὸς ἕρκους καὶ περιφράγματος, ὅσα κήπων προανεστήσαντο καὶ δένδρων οἱ οἰκήτορες, ὕλης τε ἡμέρου τῆς μεταξὺ πάσης ἐκκοπείσης, ἀνεπλήσϑη μὲν τὰ κοῖλα καὶ χαραδρώδη τοῦ τόπου.

[6] *Therefore.*] Or *hereupon.* The use of μὲν οὖν is here *continuative*, in the sense *porro, igitur.* See Hoog. Part. 358.

[7] *Timber.*] Ξύλα literally signifies such large *planks* or *beams* as are formed by squaring the trunks of trees by the use of the axe; from ξύω, cognate with ξέω.

Cithæron, they built them up on every side of the mound, laying them crossways, so as to serve the purpose of a wall, to prevent the mound from falling away.[8] To this they brought materials of every sort, wood[9], stones, and earth, and whatever else when laid on would accomplish the object.[10] For seventy days and nights unintermittingly they heaped up the mound, divided into reliefs[11], so that some should be carrying, while others took food and sleep. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonian Xenagi, or commanders of the quotas[12] of each allied

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[8] *Falling away.*] Or being dissipated and extended too far, as its base would, if not confined, and thus be the longer in attaining any considerable height. So Joseph. 1317, 41. *ὅπως δὲ μὴ ὑψουμένου τοῦ ἔργου, ἡ γῆ διαχέοιτο.*

Φορμηδὸν signifies *crossways*. Thus ⋕ not ⋇. For *φορμηδὸν* comes from *φορμὸς*, a plaited mat, or piece of wattled or wicker work; which is what the Scholiast means by *ψιαθηδὸν*, &c. This passage is thus imitated by Dio Cass. 227, 29. *ξύλα ἔκοψαν — στοιχηδὸν ἐπισυνέντησαν.* So Æneas Tact. p. 574., speaking of a similar military work, represents it as composed *ἐξ ὀρθίων καὶ πλαγίων συντιθεμένων.* where see the learned note of Casaubon, who cites Vitruv. l. 10, 20. and 7, 3. What is there mentioned, however, was somewhat different, being composed of wicker-work, formed of osiers. Sometimes, even walls of circumvallation were thus formed. So Joseph. 1317, 35–45. *οἰκοδομησάμενοι τεῖχος ἕτερον — τοιῷδε τρόπῳ κατεσκεύασαν. δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἐπὶ μῆκος προσεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὴν τομὴν συνέθεσαν. δύο δ' ἦσαν στίχοι παράλληλοι τοσοῦτον διεστῶτες, ὅσον εἶναι πλάτος τείχους, καὶ μέσον ἀμφοῖν τὸν χοῦν ἐνεφόρουν. ὅπως δὲ μὴ ὑψουμένου τοῦ χώματος ἡ γῆ διαχέοιτο, πάλιν ἑτέραις δοκοῖς ἐπικαρσίαις τὰς κατὰ μῆκος κειμέναις διέδεον. ἦν οὖν ἐκείνοις μὲν οἰκοδομία τὸ ἔργον παραπλήσιον.*

[9] *Wood.*] The *ὕλην* denotes not so much *wood*, as twigs and brushwood bound up into faggots; as at c. 77.

[10] *Accomplish the object.*] *Ἀνύτειν* (the sense of which has not been seen by the translators) is well explained by the Scholiast *τελεσουργεῖν.*

Doubtless the materials were brought up by means of inclined planes.

[11] *Divided into reliefs.*] *Διηρημένοι κατ' ἀναπαύλας* is a blending of two phrases, and signifies "divided into parties for relief." *Ἀναπ.* is put in the plural, because the word which it comprehends would have been in the plural. There is something very similar in Livy, 5, 19. "In partes sex munitionum numerum divisit: senæ horæ in orbem operi attributæ sunt: nocte ac die nunquam ante omissum."

[12] *Commanders of the quotas.*] I have here deviated from all the translators and commentators, who take the *Xenagi* to mean commanders of the mercenaries. For this there is, indeed, the authority of the Scholiast, and nearly all the antient lexicographers, but not a single proof from any *classical writer* has been produced; and though I can furnish one from Max. Tyr. Diss. 35, 6. *διὰ τοῦτο ξεναγοὶ, διὰ τοῦτο μισθόφοροι*, &c., yet so little of a critic was M. T. that it is not decisive That such is not the sense, is probable from the circumstance that the Lacedæmonians did not at this period employ mercenaries. I have no doubt that by Xenagi are here meant commanders of the quotas furnished by the allies of the Lacedæmonian confederation, who are called *ξένοι* in contradistinction to the Spartans. And this sense is completely confirmed by the following passages

state, were set over them, to urge them to the work. But the Platæans, when they saw the mount rising, formed a wooden frame-work of a wall [13], and placed it on that part of the city wall where the mount was raised; then they built up into it bricks from the adjacent houses [14], demolished for the purpose. The timbers served to bind them together, lest the building, being high, should be weak.[15] It was also covered [16] in front with skins and raw hides, both to defend the timbers against the shots of the fiery darts [17], and for the security [18] of the workmen. Thus was the wall raised to a considerable

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of a contemporary historian. Xen. Hist. 5, 2, 7. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔπεμπον αὐτοῖς κατὰ κώμην ἑκάστην ξεναγόν.* 5, 1, 33. *διέπεμπε καὶ ξεναγοὺς ἐς τὰς πόλεις.* and 4, 2. 19., the second of which passages will show that the name was applied even to commanders of the Periœci of the Lacedæmonians. See the dissertation prefixed to this work on the different orders of the Lacedæmonian nation. I mean not, however, to deny that *ξεναγὸς* afterwards came to denote a commander of mercenaries; for this the antient lexicographers show; and that is all, none excepting Suidas (who copies our Scholiast) adverting to *this* passage. To Max. Tyr. above may be added Posidippus ap. Athen. 376. and Polyæn. 5, 17.

[13] *Wooden frame-work of a wall.*] Formed like the one above described in Joseph. 1317. by which the whole of this passage from *ξύλινον* to *οἰκοδόμημα* is exceedingly illustrated. *Ἐσφκοδόμουν* (which is ill understood by the commentators) signifies, "built up in the interstices of the wood-work."

[14] *From the adjacent houses.*] This passage is imitated by Æneas Poliorc. 33. fin. *ἐκ τοῦ ἐγγύτατα οἰκιῶν, καθαιροῦντα.* And such probably is the true punctuation.

[15] *The timbers served, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Procop. 83, 12. and Arrian. E. A. 2, 18, 7.

[16] *Covered.*] *Προκάλυμμα* is rare in this sense. It occurs, however, in the whole passage, as imitated by Arrian E. A. 2, 18. cited by Duker. I add Procop. 83, 32. *ἐπενόουν προκαλύμματα ἐκ τραγείων τριχῶν — ἀρτήσαντες ἐκ ξυλῶν μακρῶν ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε πυρφύροι ὄϊστοὶ οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἐξικνεῖσθαι εἶχον.* Polyæn. 5, 17. *τοῖς ὑπορρυττομένοις δὲ καὶ προκαλύμματα ὑπερέτεινεν ὡς βουλόμενος λανθάνειν.* See also 3, 11, 13.

On the *δέρρεις καὶ διφθέρας* (skins and raw hides) made use of for this purpose, I would adduce the following passages: — Agath. p. 73, 11. *δέρρεις δὲ ὑπερθὲν καὶ διφθέρας ἐπιβάλλοντες πάντοθεν.* Procop. 68, 24. *δέρρεις δὲ καὶ βύρσας κ. τ. λ.* and 198, 2. Hence in Polyæn. 3, 11, 3. *δέρρεις κατέλαβε.* I conjecture *παρέβαλε.* So also Pollux, 1, 93. mentions among the tackle of a ship *δέρρεις.*

[17] *Fiery darts.*] Of these much use was made in antient warfare; for a full account of which I beg to refer to my note on Ephes. 6, 16.

[18] *Security.*] For *ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ* one MS. at least has *ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ*, which appears to me the true reading. The phrase occurs in the best writers, as Xenophon, Polybius, &c., who yet never, as far as I know, use *ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ εἶναι.* The reading in question was certainly in Dio Cassius's MS., since it occurs at p. 227. in a passage closely imitated from the present. The raw hides, it may be observed, were well adapted to quench and resist the fiery darts.

height, and the mound opposite to it ascended [19] with corresponding celerity. The Platæans, too, devised another contrivance; they perforated the wall at the place where the mound bore upon it, and drew to them the earth from it.[20]

LXXVI. On discovering this, the Peloponnesians thrust clay into straw hampers [1], and cast them into the perforation; which, not falling through, could not be drawn in as was the earth. Thus cut off from success, they desisted, indeed, from the attempt [2], but proceeded to dig a subterraneous trench from

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19 *Ascended.*] Ἀντανήει. A word which I have not found out of Thucydides. Dio. Cass. 333, 44., in a passage imitated from this, has *ἀντανίστατο*. See my note on Ephes. 2, 21.

20 *Perforated the wall, &c.*] This very expedient is mentioned by Procop. p. 84, 22. also 10, 19. 72, 17. In *ἐσεφόρουν* the *ἐς* signifies *towards* them; *ἔσω*, within the city. So a little further on *ὑφεῖλκον παρὰ σφᾶς τὸν χοῦν*.

1 *Thrust clay into straw hampers.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage, which has occasioned no little perplexity to the commentators. All the older ones explain the *ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνείλλοντες* (after the Schol.) " hurdles of reed, daubed over with clay." But it is difficult to imagine how such could effect the purpose in view; nor can *ἐνείλλειν* signify to *daub*. The recent commentators, and Mitford, take the words in the sense which I have adopted, and which I very many years ago assigned. That *ταρσὸς* may denote *basket*, is certain from Zonaræ Lex. Col. 640. These *ταρσοὶ*, however, seem rather to have been *hampers* than baskets. That the word will denote either, is plain from its use in Homer, Theocrit., &c., where it is employed to denote a *cheese-vat*, in which cheeses were placed to be dried; and *that* could not be a *mat*, but a basket. On the sense of *εἴλγειν*, *ἐνείλλειν*, and the cognate words, see the very learned remarks of Ruhnken and Hemsterh. on Timæi Lex. p. 69—72.

By the *καλάμου* must be understood, not *reed* (which would not be pliant enough), but *straw*, a signification of the word which occurs in the best authors. Goeller refers to Herod. 1, 179. *μετὰ δὲ, τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν*, &c., which passage I had myself, very many years ago, resorted to. But if it has any correspondence to the present, the sense must be very different. On that passage (which has been most erroneously translated by Larcher and Beloe) I have treated at large in a series of notes on that historian, which I propose, ere long, to lay before the public. For this to have any similarity to that passage, it is necessary that *ἐνείλλοντες* be taken like the *διαστοιβάζοντες* there. But I can hardly think that the word admits of such a sense. Besides, *ταρσοῖς καλάμου* must then denote *tops of reeds*, which is not the sense in the passage of Herodotus, nor would here be suitable; for tops of reeds would, if they could have been found in any tolerable quantity, have been too weak for the purpose. And yet that the present passage was so taken by some antient commentators, appears from Phot. Lex. in *ταρσοὶ*, which he explains " the tops of the reed," and says that so it is used in Thucydides. And such is the explanation given by the Etym. Mag. 747, 5. and Suid.

2 *Desisted, indeed, from, &c.*] For *τοῦτο* Steph. would read *τούτου*, which may be confirmed from Procop. 84, 28. *οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τούτου μὲν ἀπέσχοντο.*

the city[3] to whereabouts they conjectured the bottom of the mound was, and again drew away the earth to them; and for a long time eluded the observation of the besiegers, who, though still heaping on matter, were the farther from accomplishing their purpose; the mound being drawn away below, and the upper earth continually settling down on the vacant space.[4] Fearing, however, lest even by this means they should never be able to hold out — so few against so many[5] — they contrived this additional device. Abandoning the erection of the lofty edifice over against the mount, they proceeded to build on the inside, and towards the city, a wall in the form of a half-moon[6], commencing at either end

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122, 19. 196, 21. and Dio. Cass. 623, 87. *τούτου μὲν ἔπεσχε.* where the conjecture of Xyland., *ἄπεσχε*, is, without reason, approved by Reimar; nay, in the above passages, there is little doubt but that *ἔπεσχε* is to be read. With respect to the accusative *τοῦτο* of the present passage, it is not only supported by all the MSS., but by a kindred passage at 5, 46 and 63., and hence may be emended Dio Cass. 1072, 42. *ἔπεσχε δὲ οὖν τοτι.*

[3] *Dig a subterranean trench, &c.*] So Appian 1, 691. *Ἀρχελάου δὲ τὸ χῶμα ὑπορύττοντος καὶ τὴν γῆν ὑποφέροντος τε*, &c. Dio Cass. 1080, 9. *τὸν τὸ χοῦν ὑπορύσσοντες ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος· ὑφείλκον.* Heliod. 2, 278, 8. *αὐλῶνα τινα στένον τε καὶ ὑπόγειον ἀπὸ τῆς πολέως ἐπὶ τὰ χῶμα τῶν πολεμίων διικνούμενον ὀρύττειν ἀποκεκλήρωτο.* See also Joseph. 1249. init. Nor must I omit to illustrate the sense of *ξυντεκμηράμενοι*, as it has been neglected by the commentators. There is an ellipsis, which I have supplied, and which the Schol. has very well explained. So in a similar passage in Appian Mith. 36. (imitated from the present) *τὴν γῆν ἐς τὰ τείχη, τεκμαιρόμενοι δίώρυττον.* The word occurs in a similar sense at Xen. Symp. 2, 8. Thucydides seems to have had in mind a very similar expression in Herod. 2, 150, 13. *ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκιῶν ἀρξαμένοι οἱ κλῶπες, ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεώμενοι, ἐς τὰ βασιληΐα οἴκια ὄρυσσον.* also 9, 37. This use of *σταθμ.* has been imitated by Procop. 227. and Pausan. 7, 21.

[4] *The upper earth continually, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Appian 1, 691. Arrian E. A. 2. 27, 6. Procop. 84, 28.

[5] *Fearing, however, &c.*] For thus it would be a contest of strength between the two parties, i. e. whether the Platæans could draw the earth away under, as fast as the Lacedæmonians could heap it on above. Now though the labour of the former would be much less than that of the latter, yet it would not be in proportion to their disparity of numbers, which prevented them from using reliefs, as the Lacedæmonians could do. This shows the folly of the Athenians in garrisoning so ill a post of such consequence. Had the garrison been three or four times as numerous and well provisioned, it is probable that the place would not have been taken.

[6] *A wall in the form of a half-moon.*] This expedient was, on other occasions, adopted. So Appian 1, 694, 80. *τὰ πεπτωκότα τοῦ τείχους ᾠκοδόμει, μηνοειδῆ αὐτοῖς πολλὰ περιθεὶς ἔνδοθεν.* Diod. Sic. 9, 222. *ᾠκοδόμησα τρίτον τεῖχος μηνοειδὲς, περιλαμβάνοντος τῇ περιφέρειᾳ πάντα τὸν κινδυνεύοντα τόπον τοῦ τείχους.* Arrian E. A. 1. 21, 8. *ἀλλ' ἔφθησαν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος τείχους, ἔσωθεν πλίνθινον μηνοειδὲς ἀντοικοδομησάμενοι.*

from the lower part of the wall; so that if the great wall should be taken, this should hold out, and put the enemy to the necessity of erecting another mound against that, and, as they proceeded inward, have a double trouble, and be yet more exposed to missiles, and that from either side.[7] The Peloponnesians, however, in addition to the raising of the mound, brought up their battering engines[8] against the city; one of which, planted on the mound, was played against the high part of the wall, and shook it violently[9]; throwing the Platæans into great alarm. Others they applied in different parts against the wall; and these the Platæans drew upwards by throwing ropes[10] about them, or else, suspending huge beams by strong iron chains fastened to either end, and hung from two poles like yard-arms[11] inclining forwards and stretching over the

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[7] *Exposed to missiles, and that, &c.*] Such is the sense of ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ εἶναι. The words are illustrated by Appian 1, 694, 83. καμνῶν δὲ ὡς ἐν στενῷ, καὶ βαλλόμενος ἄνωθεν ἐκ τε μετώπου καὶ τῶν κεραιῶν, ὡς ἐν μηνοείδεσι χωρίοις. Arrian E. A. 1, 21, 12. καὶ οὐ κατὰ μέτωπον μόνον ἠκροβολίζοντο ἐς τοὺς προμαχομένους τῶν μηχανῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν πύργων, οἳ δὴ ἑκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἐρηριμμένου τείχους αὐτοὶ ὑπολελειμμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου τε καὶ μονονοὺ κατὰ νώτου παρείχον ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἐς τοὺς τῷ ἀντῳκοδομημένῳ τείχει προσάγοντας.

[8] *Battering engines.*] The first decided mention of these is in Juvenal 4, 2. about B. C. 595. Calmet remarks that they are not mentioned by Homer, though, according to Pliny, they were invented by Epeus at the siege of Troy, Vitruvius says they were first invented by the Carthaginians, at the siege of Cadiz.

[9] *Shook it violently.*] i. e. from the bottom; for such is the true sense of κατέσεισεν, as in Ælian V. H. 3, 16.

[10] *Drew upwards by throwing ropes.*] So Livy 36, 23, "laqueis exceptis declinebant." Pausan. 1, 21, 8. σειραῖς περιβάλλοντες (read περιβάλλοντες) τῶν πολεμίων ὁπόσοις. Ropes were also thrown out, to divert the effect of *other* military engines; as Appian 1, 269. βρόχοις δὲ τὰ δρέπανα περιέσπων. and 323. 22. τὰ δρέπανα βρόχοις παρῆγον.

The ἀνακλᾶν is rightly explained by Goeller *reflectere;* but the examples he adduces are not apposite, except Thucyd. 7, 25. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀκάτων ὤνευον ἀναδούμενοι τοὺς σταυροὺς καὶ ἀνέκλων. I add Appian 1, 751. τοὺς κρίους λίθοις ἀπεκαύλιζον. Dio. Cass. 1080, 11. τοὺς κρίους τοὺς μὲν βρόχοις ἄνειλκον — τοὺς δὲ ἁρπάγαις ἀνεσπῶν. Procop. 335, 2. τὸν κρίον — ἐφέλκειν.

[11] *Suspending huge beams, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the meaning of this sentence, which has been more or less misapprehended by all the interpreters. The difficulty chiefly rests on the terms following. Τομὴ is here used in a rare sense; and as in Hom. Il. α. 235. ἐπειδὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπε it signifies the place whence it was cut (compare Isaiah 51, 1.), so here it denotes the place whence the beam was cut from the tree either way. The only example of a similar use known to me, is in Joseph. p. 1317, 41. δόκους μέγαλας ἐπὶ μῆκος προσεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τὴν τομὴν συνέθεσαν.

By κεραιῶν are denoted certain poles protruding like horns, or sail-yards, or yard arms of ships, to which the beams were suspended by *very long*

wall, they drew them up obliquely[12]; and as often as the engine was going to fall upon any part, they let go the beam at slack-chain from their hands; which falling violently upon the beak of the engine, broke it off.[13]

LXXVII. Upon this the Peloponnesians, finding that the machines were of no service, and that a counter-work was erected over against the mound, concluded that it would be impracticable to take the city by any of the present means of terror[1], and therefore began to make preparations for completely investing the city. First, however, it seemed advisable to try if it were possible, by the aid of a brisk wind, to set the city on fire (especially as it was not large). For their thoughts were turned every way to devise means[2] whereby the place

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chains, which admitted of being raised and tightened, or lowered and slackened. Of these we elsewhere read. So Plutarch Marcell. 15. *ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἄφνω ὑπεραιωρούμεναι κεραῖαι.* Athen. 208. C. *κεραῖαι, ἐφ' ὧν κατασκεύαστο φατνώματα δι' ὧν ἠφίετο λίθοι, κ. τ. λ.* On these see the remarks of Casaubon on Æneas Pol. p. 577.

[12] *They drew them up obliquely.*] Here I read *ἐγκαρσίας* from almost all the MSS. and the recent editors. And this I am enabled to confirm from the following imitations: — Appian, 1, 321. *τοὺς κρίους τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐξέλυον, ἐπιβάλλοντες ἐπικαρσίας δόκους.* Procop. p. 10, 14. *τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἀεὶ δοκοῖς τισὶν ἐγκαρσίαις ἀνέστελλον.* 197, ult. *δόκους ἐγκαρσίας.* also Polyæn. Stratag. 6, 3. *δόκους — πλαγίας παρέτεινε.* These sail-yards could not well be drawn up otherwise than obliquely, since that gave them a greater length of chain.

Τὴν δοκὸν χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσι Hobbes has not well rendered "slacking the chains;" nor do the words seem to have been properly understood. They form a phrase for an epithet, and are elliptically put for (*ἐπὶ*) *χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσι* (*οὔσαν*). And *καὶ — ἔχοντες* is for *καὶ εἶχον* or *ἔχοντες.*

[13] *Broke it off.*] On *ἀπεκαύλιζε* Goeller refers to Procop. B. P. 1, 18. I add Aristoph. ap. Pollux, 10, 144. *λόγχαι δ' ἐκαυλίζοντο, καὶ ξυστὴ κάμαξ.* and Equit. 825. *καὶ τοὺς καυλοὺς τῶν ὠθυνῶν ἐκκαυλίζων, καταεροχθίζει.* where the Schol. truly says this is a metaphor taken from the lopping off the heads of vegetables. The word also occurs in Hippocrates and Appian, and was with reason restored by Markland to Eurip. Suppl. 717. *κἀπικείμενον κάρα κυνέας θερίζων κἀποκαυλίζων.*

[1] *By any of the present, &c.*] Such is the sense of *ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν,* which words are most erroneously rendered by Smith, "amidst so many obstacles." Of the above signification of *δεινὸν* there are examples at 3, 45. *ἀποτροπὴν ἔχειν ἢ νόμων ἰσχυῖ ἢ ἀλλῳ τῳ δεινῳ.* and in Isocr. 343. *πάντων τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δεινῶν ὀλιγωρήσας.* Hence is illustrated Pausan. 1, 6, 6. *Αἴγυπτον αἱρήσειν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὐδεμίαν εἶχεν ἐλπίδα.*

[2] *Their thoughts were turned, &c.*] Such seems the full import of *πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἐπενόουν,* with which I would compare Aristoph. Thesm. 436. *πάσας δ' εἰδέας ἐξήτασεν· πάντα δ' ἐξάστασεν φρενί.*

might be reduced without the expense of a blockade.[3] They therefore brought faggots of brush-wood[4], and threw them from the adjacent mound[5]; first into the space between it and the wall, which, by so many hands, was soon filled; they then heaped them into other parts of the city, as far as they could reach from the height; tossing also fire[6], with sulphur and pitch, which soon caught the wood; and such a fire arose as had never been yet seen kindled by human hands[7]; though sometimes mountain-forests have taken fire, by the mutual attrition of dry branches agitated by winds, and have sent forth fire and flames of their own accord.[8] This, however,

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[3] *Expense of a blockade.*] In ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ πολιορκίας there is a hendiadys. And so, I find, Hudson takes it, who refers to Casaubon on Polyb., from whom, indeed, his note is almost wholly derived. I cannot, however, but suspect that by δαπάνης Thucydides intended not only expense of *money*, but of *lives*, and perhaps *labour*. And this is supported by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 339, 4. imitated from the present passage: μάλιστα μὲν ἄνευ μάχης καὶ πόνου κατάλυεσθαι τοὺς πολέμους εἰ δὲ μή γε, συν ἐλαχίστῃ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους δαπάνῃ. So also δαπάνη in Synes ap. Steph. Thes. and Hesych. δαπάνη· τροφή.

[4] *Faggots of brushwood.*] Such is the sense of ὕλης φακέλλους. By ὕλης are meant the boughs and twigs of trees, and brushwood, what we call *kindling*. Φακ. is explained by T. Mag. δεδεμένον φορτίον, which corresponds to our *bundle*. The word seems derived from φακὸς, which Zonaras explains *shoulder*, and that from φάκω, cognate with φακὸς or φασκὸς, *fascis* and *fasciculus*. It is often used of fire-wood. So Plut. Fab. Max. 6. φρυγάνων φακ. Eurip. Cycl. 241. φακ. ξύλων. Appian 2, 169. φακ. ξύλων ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων. Joseph. 208. φακ. ὕλης ξηρᾶς. Herod. 4, 62. φρυγάνων φακ.

[5] *Adjacent mound.*] The word πρόσχωσις is rare; but it is found in Joseph., and πρόσχωμα in Æschyl. P. V. 872.

[6] *Tossing also fire, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 642, 40. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίον οἰκιῶν ἀσφάλτου καὶ πίσσης πεπυρωμένης, ἀγγεῖα σφενδόναις ἐναρμόττοντες ἐπέβαλλον ὑπὲρ τὸν λόφον — οἱ συμφοροῦντες αὐτῶν φακιόλους φρυγάνων — ἀνέμῳ παραδόντες τὰς φλόγας, ἐπιφόρῳ. See also Herodian, 8, 4, 26. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 192, 3. Hence in Polyæn. 4, 7, 4. πῦρ ἐμβαλὼν ἄνηψε τὴν πύλην, read ὕλην.

[7] *And such a fire, &c.*] This passage is closely imitated by Joseph. p. 142, 41. ἐξέλαμψε δὲ πῦρ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὐδὲ χειροποίητον ἱστόρησέ τις — οὐδὲ γῆθεν ἀναδοθὲν κατὰ ὑποδρόμην καύματος. οὔτε κατὰ βίαν πνευμάτων· ὕλης πρὸς αὐτὸ παρατριβείσης αὐτομάτως ἐξεκρούσθη. where for ὅσον οὐδὲ I read ὅσον ουδέπω; and for οὐδὲ γῆθεν, οὔτε γῆθεν; finally, for πρὸς αὐτὸ, πρὸς αὐτὴν, with the antient interpreters.

[8] *Sent forth fire and flames, &c.*] Such is the literal sense of ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα. As the phrase has not been illustrated by the commentators, the following passages will probably be acceptable: — Athenæus, p. 19. of Callisthenes the conjuror: ὃς πῦρ τε αὐτόματον ἐποίει ἀναφύεσθαι. Plutarch Alex. 35. ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου λάμψαι τι πῦρ. Athen. 233. E. αὐτομάτως ὕλην ἐμπρησθείσης. Herod. 2, 180. ὁ νηὸς αὐτομάτως κατεκάη. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 260, 23. ἐμπρησθέντος τοῦ δὲ ναοῦ — ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου — ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός.

was exceedingly fierce, and was within a very little of destroying the Platæans after they had escaped the other perils. Indeed, to a considerable distance in the city, it was impossible to approach the flames; and if, as the enemy expected, the wind had blown strong towards the city, they could not have escaped. But (as it is said to have happened) a heavy rain, with thunder, coming on, quenched the flame, and thus the danger was averted.

LXXVIII. This contrivance having also failed, the Peloponnesians, leaving a certain portion of the forces, but dismissing the remainder [1], drew a wall of circumvallation round

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With the use of χειροποίητος here I would compare Liban. Orat. 937. χειροποίητος πῦρ—αὐτόματος. Gottleb. aptly compares Lucret. 1, 896. "At sæpe in magnis fit montibus, ignis, ut altis arboribus vicina cacumina summa terantur inter se, validis facere id cogentibus austris, donec fulserunt flammæ fulgore coorto."

To this cause, indeed, Vitruvius de Archit. l. 1. refers the *origin* of fire, saying, "arbores ab initio ventis agitatas inter se terentes ramos ignem primum excitavisse." This subject is also treated by Scaliger on the Ætna of Severus.

[1] *Leaving a certain portion, &c.*] I have seen no reason to accede to the opinion of the recent editors, that the words, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀφέντες, are to be cancelled, since the authority for their *omission* is but weak, there being far more MSS. that have than which have not the words. Of the latter class, indeed, there are only four MSS. of any account; and even two of those have the words in the margin: and, as to the Cod. August., its authority is neutralised by the discrepancy of its counterpart the Cassel. In the former case, then, the evidence is *positive*, in the latter only *negative*. The words, too, might be omitted per homœoteleuton. It is true we just after read of the army going home, and dispersing to its cities; but that may very well be understood of the army *left behind*. Poppo remarks, that they would not venture to permit the whole army to go, until the circumvallation was effected, for fear of the Athenians. But a much smaller force than the whole might be sufficient to remove that apprehension, and the Lacedæmonians would, of course, have a force *large enough* for all the purposes in view. Besides, if the words be cancelled, they, or something similar, must be *understood* in the sense adopted by Poppo and Goeller, namely, that the rest departed into Bœotia. But such an *omission* would be very harsh. Moreover, the words are required by the prodosis in μέρος μὲν, &c.; for to say, with Poppo, that the apodosis is found in τάφρος δὲ, or, with Goeller, in καὶ διελύθησαν, would be using an argument by which *almost any thing* might be proved.

If, however, it should be thought that the whole army would be necessary to accomplish the circumvallation, and maintain the defence of the works against the Athenians, we may (with Hack) suppose that the words τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἄφεντες have the sense, "dismissed them to some adjacent place," as Bœotia; which, I grant, seems more agreeable both to the words themselves, and the following ones, ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ διελύθησαν

the city, a certain space being allotted to each state.[2] There was a ditch both on the inside and outside[3], from which they made the bricks. And when the work was accomplished, about the rising of Arcturus[4], leaving a garrison for half of

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κατὰ πόλεις. The remaining part of the army, not wanted for immediate guard, would be more easily and comfortably subsisted in Bœotia.

[2] *A wall of circumvallation, &c.*] For the preceding was only a palisade. With respect to the distribution of space here mentioned, something similar is mentioned by Polybius of Lilybæum.

[3] *Inside and outside.*] i. e. both against the besieged, and against any invading enemy.

[4] *Rising of Arcturus.*] September 19. On the use of ἐπιτολὰς, and such like words, Bredov. has here a long and able note, the substance of which I shall detail. "As with us time is commonly denoted by festival and saints' days, so among the Greeks and Romans it was customary to compute the time of the year from the first appearance of certain bright stars* in the heavens, while they emerge from the sun's rays, or from their setting. These were chiefly Arcturus, Pleiades, Orion, and Canicula. But since the import of the words *rising* and *setting* is so various, it were to be wished that the antients had used some distinction of sense. Now, a star rises and sets daily; and this the Greeks expressed by ἀνατέλλειν and δύνειν, ἀνατολὴ and δύσις. But that daily rising and setting seems gradually more and more to precede the sun, until at certain times in the year it coincides with it, when the star becomes no longer visible to us. A little before it disappears the star sometimes rises after sunrise, and sometimes sets after sunset. Now, that setting of the star which takes place immediately after sunset, and is last visible to us, the Greeks call (κατ' ἐξοχὴν) the δύσις; or, as Geminius, κρύψις. After that time the star is overpowered by the sun's rays, and for forty days is not visible. At the end of that period its rise is a little before sunrise, and then it again comes into view; which, *first rising to view*, the Greeks express by ἐπιτολὴ and ἐπιτέλλειν, words never applied to the *sun*. At length, after some months, the star rises a little before sunset; and then, after some weeks, it sets a little before sunset. These periods they also apply to the marking of time; and thus they speak of the ἐπιτολὴ both eastern and western of each star, more by the use of the term ἐπιτολὴ, without any addition, leaving it to be determined by connection which ἐπιτολὴ was meant. And so of the δύσις and κρύψις of each star.

Now, in Hippocrates de vict. rat. 3. p. 34, 36. (as in our author), by the ἐπιτολὴ of Arcturus is meant the *eastern* ἐπιτολὴ, which, we collect, happened about the autumnal equinox, whence they reckoned the beginning of autumn; i. e. according to the calendarium Romano-Julianum, on the 12th or 17th of September. Yet Hippocrates, at p. 36., uses the ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολὴ of the *evening* rise of Arcturus. Aristophanes often uses ἀνατολὴ in an extended sense, to denote the rising of stars, in reference to the sun. Theophrastus sometimes uses ἀνατολὴ, and ἀνατέλλειν, of the rise of stars; though elsewhere he uses the more accurate terms ἐπιτολὴ, and ἐπιτέλλω. A distinction which was insisted on by Hipparchus and Geminius, and

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* By this the learned Commentator seems to deny that the antients reckoned time by *festivals*. But that is sufficiently apparent from Theophr. Char. Eth. 3. τὴν θάλαττην ἐκ Διονυσίων πλώϊμον εἶναι. See more in my note on Acts, 27, 9.

the wall (for the other half was guarded by the Bœotians), the army departed and separated each to their cities. The Platæans had, previous to the siege, removed to Athens their wives and children, as also the most aged and otherwise useless crowd.[5] Those who were left, and stood the siege, were four hundred of the Platæans, and eighty Athenians, and, moreover, one hundred and ten women, to prepare their food.[6] This was the whole number of them when the siege began; nor was there any other individual in the place, whether bond

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which began to prevail, when, by the more accurate observation of the stars, various risings were discerned; and especially as it seemed improper to confound the rising of a star not visible (as when it coincides with that of the sun), and the rising of a star which happens a little before the sun. In recent astronomy the former of these is called the *cosmical*, and the latter the *heliacal* rise, which the antients, for better discrimination, called συναvατολὴ and ἐπιτολή."

See also Dodwell's Annales in loco, and Gail.

[5] *Useless crowd.*] Or, useless population, turba inutilis, i. e. ad *bellum;* what Diod. Sic. t. 6, 64. calls τὸν ἀχρεῖον ὄχλον, as also Xen. Anab. 6, 17. Hist. 7, 2, 18. Herod. 1, 194. and 3, 81. σὺν τῷ ἀχρηΐῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. And so elsewhere in the best antient writers. Hence I cannot approve of the introduction of ἄχρηστον from several MSS., by Hack and Bekker. As to what they allege, that ἀχρεῖον is a *gloss*, the contrary is nearer the truth. Morever, ἀχρεῖον is not only defended by half the MSS., but was read by Dio Cass., as appears from a close imitation of the present passage at 248, 77.

Of the active sense in ἐκκεκομισμένοι, of the partic. perf. pass., see the examples adduced by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Agam. 252.

[6] *To prepare their food.*] This is an expression by which a part is used for the whole; for we may suppose that these women discharged not only all other domestic duties, but (as appears from Diod. Sic. 1, 584. and Polyæn. 8, 70.) employed themselves in carrying the food, arms, and ammunition to the ramparts, dressing wounds, nursing the sick, and probably rendering such other services to the common cause as they were able, nay, sometimes even above their strength. See also Zosim. 3, 22, 7. To the examples adduced by Duker, I add Eurip. Troad, 494. Hec. 366. Herod. 7, 187.

We may imagine that, in determining the *number* of the women (who would, of course, be the youngest and strongest), the proportion was one woman to four men; though Herod 3, 150. relates that, at the siege of Babylon, one woman was assigned to each man, τὴν δὲ μίην ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἐξαιρέετο. Certainly their duties were not a little laborious; for they had to grind the corn into flour before they made the bread, and that by a very rude and toilsome process; namely, by hand-mills composed of two huge stones. See my note on Matt. 24, 41. So Homer Od. v. 105. γυνὴ ἀλετρίς. Pollux, 7, 180. μυλακρίδα τὴν ἀλῶσαν γυναῖκα ἔλεγον. Hence may be understood Lycoph. Cass. 5, 8. Μυληφάτου χιλοῖο δαιταλευτρίας. Theophr. Char. Eth. c. 8. says, καὶ τὴν σιτοποιὸν πειρᾷν, from which, and the above passage of Pollux, it appears that the labour was generally such as to occupy one person. That this office fell very heavy on the women in times of siege, we may infer from Zosim. 3, 22, 7., where he mentions an ἀλετϑρὶς γυνὴ making bread in the dead of the night.

or free. Such was the mode in which the siege of Platæa was conducted.

LXXIX. This same summer, and about the same time with the expedition against Platæa, the Athenians, when the corn was in full ear, assembling two thousand heavy-armed and two hundred horse of their own people [1], undertook an expedition against the Chalcideans of Thrace and the Bottiæans, under the command of Xenophon son of Euripides, assisted by two colleagues. They, coming under the walls [2] of Spartolus, in Bottiæa, destroyed the corn. It was thought, too, that the town would have been brought to surrender by the intrigues of a faction within. Those, however, who were of the opposite party, had sent beforehand to Olynthus, from whence came a body of heavy-armed and other forces [3] to garrison it. These making a sally, the Athenians were brought to an engagement close under the city, in which the heavy-armed of the Chalcideans, supported by some auxiliaries, were worsted by the Athenians, and retreated to Spartolus. But the horse and light-armed of the Chalcideans, with a very inferior number, defeated the Athenian horse and light-armed (for they had a few targetteers from the district of Crusis [4]); and after the battle had begun, some other target-

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[1] *Of their own people.*] i. e. Attica. This is not put pleonastically; but we may infer (what, perhaps, was meant to be *implied*) that the light troops (for such there must have been, and, indeed, these are afterwards mentioned) were of the *allies*.

[2] *Under the walls.*] For the ὑπὸ does not merely mean *to* (though Diod. Sic. substitutes for it ἐς), and the Athenians are just after said to be πρὸς αὐτῇ πόλει. Of this use other examples occur in Polyæn. 4, 6. ὑπὸ τὴν Βῶλον. Pausan. 4, 34, 1. ὑπὸ τοῦ Π. τὸ στόμα. The phrase is borrowed from the Homeric ὑπὸ Ἴλιον εἶναι, ὑπὸ Τροίην, ὑπὸ πτόλιν. The situation, too, of Spartolus was probably high, on a chain of hills which skirt the coast.

On the situation of Bottiæa I have already treated, supra, 1, 57. Spartolus has place in few maps, nor is it easy to fix it; but I agree with Poppo Proleg. p. 359. that from Thucyd. 5, 18. it was probably on the west of Olynthus. Certainly it was not far from that city. Hence in Isæus, p. 55, 18. φυλαρχῶν τῆς Ὀλυσίας ἐν Σπαρτώλῳ, I conjecture Ὀλυνθίας.

[3] *Other forces.*] Such must here be the sense of στρατία. By *other* is meant a force of light-armed, or rather, as we find from what follows, targetteers, for it is just afterwards said, that *other* targetteers came to their aid from Olynthus.

[4] *For they had a few, &c.*] By *they* (as Hack and Goeller rightly remark) are meant, not the Chalcideans (as all the other commentators under-

teers from Olynthus came to their assistance. And now the light-armed of Spartolus, emboldened both by this accession of force [to their friends], and that, even *before* it came up, they [5] had not had the worst of the battle, ventured again to attack the Athenians, in conjunction with the Chalcidean horse and the auxiliaries. The Athenians now retreated to two bodies of troops [6] which they had left with the baggage; and whenever they advanced, the enemy gave way; but whenever they retired, pressed upon them, and annoyed them with missiles. The Chalcidean horse, too, rode up, and charged wherever an opportunity occurred [7]; and throwing them into no little consternation, put them to flight, and pursued them to a considerable distance. The Athenians fled for refuge to Potidæa, and after fetching away their dead by truce, returned with the remainder of the army to Athens. Their loss amounted to four hundred and thirty slain, including all the commanders. The Chalcideans and Bottiæans set up a trophy, and, taking up their own dead, separated each to their respective cities.

LXXX. This same summer, and not long after these events, the Ambraciots and Chaonians [1], wishing to subdue all Acarnania, and detach it from the Athenian alliance, urged the Lacedæmonians to equip a navy from their confederacy, and

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stand) but the *Athenians*. The words are parenthetical and explicative, serving to show that the Athenians had *some* light-armed, though they brought none from Athens; namely, a few targetteers from Crusis.

Of Crusis the commentators only say that it was a district of Mygdonia; referring to Herod. 7, 123. To which authority may be added Steph. Byz., Strabo, l. 7. Κρουσὶς μοιρὰ τῆς Μυγδονίας. and Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 38, 10. ἔθνος Κρουσαῖον. Hence it appears that in the passage of Herodotus, Pauw and Wessel. rightly correct Κρουσαίη.

[5] *And that they had, &c.*] By *they* must be understood, not, as the commentators imagine, the *Spartolians*, but the *Chalcideans*. By *accession of strength* is meant that to the Chalcideans. Throughout this chapter, indeed, our author has been blamably negligent in not making the *subject* of the words clear. Thus just after at ἀναχωροῦσι must be understood the *Athenians*, not, as the construction would lead us to suppose, the Chalcideans.

[6] *Two bodies of troops.*] These were doubtless in the rear, where the baggage was always placed.

[7] *An opportunity occurred.*] At ᾗ δόκοι subaud καιρός.

[1] *Chaonians.*] These had been associated with the Ambraciots, on the occasion mentioned supra, c. 68.

send it, with a thousand heavy-armed, to Acarnania; saying that if they would co-operate with them, by proceeding thither with both a fleet and army (the Acarnanians on the sea-coast not being able to muster together with the rest[2]), they might easily seize Acarnania, and make themselves masters of Zacynthus and Cephallenia; and thereby it would no longer be so easy for the Athenians to sail round Peloponnesus. There was hope, too, they thought, of taking Naupactus. The Lacedæmonians, persuaded by these arguments, sent Cnemus, who was yet admiral[3], with the heavy-armed on board a few ships immediately, and issued orders to the confederates to equip their ships as speedily as possible, and sail[4] to Leucas. Now the Corinthians had been especially zealous in forwarding the desires of the Ambraciots, who were a colony of theirs; and the naval quota from Corinth and Sicyon, and those parts, was in preparation; that from Leucas and Anactorium and Ambracia, coming up first, waited for the rest. But Cnemus and the thousand heavy-armed, having effected their passage undiscovered by Phormio (who commanded the twenty Athenian ships watching about Naupactus), immediately made preparations for the land expedition. There were with him, of Grecians, the Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians, and the thousand Peloponnesians whom he brought with him; of Barbarians, there were a thousand of those Chaonians not subject to regal government.[5] These were commanded by

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[2] *Not being able to muster, &c.*] It was, indeed, at all times difficult for the Acarnanians to muster for mutual and general defence, until (as we learn from Diod. Sic. t. 8. 349. *ἐκ τῶν ὀχυρῶν καὶ μικρῶν χωρίων εἰς ὀλίγας πόλεις μετοικῆσαι. ὅπως μὴ, διεσπαρμένης τῆς οἰκησέως ἀδυνάτωσιν ἀλλήλοις βοηθεῖν.* A similar use of *ξυμβοηθεῖν* occurs in Xen. Hist. 7, 4, 27. Polyb. 4, 67, 4. So also Aristoph. Lysist. 247. *οὔκουν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ξυμβοηθήσειν οἴει Τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐθύς.*

[3] *Yet admiral.*] Duker thinks it clear by the *ἔτι* (*yet*) that the office of admiral was, at Lacedæmon, limited to a certain period. Some say it was annual; but that, he thinks, is not easy to be proved; nay, it would appear from the chronology of our author, and from Diod. Sic., that it at last exceeded this period. But, perhaps, it may be accounted for by supposing that, though the office was only an annual one, yet it might be lengthened, at pleasure, by the same authority which erected it for the first period.

[4] *Issued orders to, &c.*] Literally, sent round orders to the fleet to equip itself and sail; the ships being, by a common figure, put for the sailors, or the states who furnished them. Attention, also, is due to the *reciprocal* sense in *παρασκευασμένῳ*.

[5] *Not subject to regal government.*] The term *ἀξασιλ.* deserves attention

Photius [6] and Nicanor, who were of the families that were eligible to govern [7], and who then held the annual office of archons. With the Chaonians associated the Thesprotians, also not under regal government. Some Molossians, too, and Atintanians [8] came, led by Sabulynthus, guardian to their king Tharyps, who was yet a minor; and some Paravæans [9],

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of which the following are examples. Xen. Hist. 5, 2, 12. Θρᾶκες οἱ ἀβασιλ. Plut. Alcib. 26. and Lucull. 26. Joseph. 855, 39. And it should be restored to Herod. 4, 6. It occurs also in Diod. Sic. 3, 346. and Lucian, 2, 55. Artemid. On. 1, 8. *οὐδὲν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων ἄθεον — ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἀβασίλευτον.* But there it merely means *without a governor.*

[6] *Photius.*] This spelling I retain; though the recent editors give *Photeus*, which is supported by four MSS. And Φωτνος may be thought to deserve the preference, as being less usual than Φωτίος; yet it not only is unusual, but nowhere occurs, (nor indeed, I apprehend, any word in τνος.) In short, it seems a mere error of the scribes.

[7] *Eligible to govern.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of ἐπετησίῳ προστατείᾳ; and this is most agreeable to the context, and well supported by authority. The recent editors, indeed, read ἐπ' ἐτησίῳ προστασίᾳ. But προστατείᾳ is, I conceive, somewhat better adapted to the sense; and it is supported by at least five MSS., and also by Dio Cass. 666, 82. προστατείαις ἐπετησίοις χρωμένοις. and 715, 22. τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπετησίους. This writer, too, often elsewhere uses ἐπετήσιος, as does Homer η. 118. Thus there is strong authority for ἐπετησίοις, at least all that so minute a variation, in which MS. authority is of little or no weight, requires. And this reading I prefer, on account of the sense; for if ἐπ' ἐτησίῳ be adopted, ἐπὶ must be taken to signify "on condition of." However, I would not be positive; especially as I think ἐπ' ἐτησίῳ was read by Appian. Thus 1, 7, 4. ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ προστάταις ἄρχουσιν ἐτησίοις. That he read προστατείᾳ is plain. And that also occurs in Xen. Mem. 3, 6, 10. and 6, 2, 6., and is here read by Valckn. on Herod. 7, 101.

This government, Hack says, was like that of the Haluades at Larissa in Thessaly.

[8] *Atintanians.*] So I read, with the recent editors, for *Atitanians.* To this, indeed, the MS. readings mostly tend; and it is also supported by Aristotle, Polybius, Appian, Lycophron, Steph. Byz., Polyæn., Livy, and Pliny. Scylax, p. 10. has Ἀτίτανες; but there must be read Ἄτιν.

The situation of this place it is not easy to fix; but from the laborious researches of Palmer, Antiq. p. 249. seqq. it appears to have been in the very farthest corner of Epirus, and near Apollonia. See, however, Poppo's Proleg. p. 130.

The Chaonians and Thesprotians occupied the sea-coast from the Acrocerania to the gulf of Ambracia.

[9] *Paravæans.*] The situation of this tribe is involved in no little obscurity. Thus Duker says: "Parævæi quinam sint mihi non liquet." It is by Danville placed at the north-east corner of Epirus. Steph. Byz. makes them a tribe of the Thesprotians: which is somewhat confirmed by Arrian cited by Palm. Antiq. 335. And yet Palmer (from Rhianus ap. Steph. Byz.) thinks they were so called, from dwelling by the side of the Anas, which runs into the Ambracian gulf. To me it seems that they were situated on the back of Molossia; though, as appears from Arrian, on the

commanded by Orœdus, their king; with whom also joined in the expedition a thousand Orestians [10], placed under the orders of Orœdus by their king Antiochus. Perdiccas, too unknown to the Athenians, sent a thousand Macedonians, who, however, arrived too late [11] to be of any service. With this army Cnemus set forward, not waiting for the navy from Corinth; and passing Argeia [12], ravaged Limnæa, an unwalled village, and came to Stratus [13], the largest city of Acarnania, thinking that if they could first take this, the others would easily be brought to submit.

LXXXI. But the Acarnanians, seeing a large land force invading their country, and hearing that their enemies would quickly be upon them by sea also, made no disposition for joint resistance, but stood each on their defence separately, and sent to Phormio, urging him to come to their assistance. He, however, declared that he could not possibly leave Naupactus

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chain of hills which divide Epirus from Thessaly. At all events, the above, which is the orthography of our best MSS., is abundantly confirmed.

[10] *Orestians.*] These are placed, by almost all geographers, at the furthest N. W. corner of Epirus. But Poppo thinks they lay far more to the east than the maps represent. And Steph. Byz. reckons them as a Molossian tribe.

[11] *Arrived too late.*] It is strange that none of the translators, except Gail, should have seen that ὕστερον ἦλθον is for ὕστεροι ἦλθον or ὑστέρησαν. So ὕστερον ἥκειν at 7, 27. and Æschyl. Agam. 1656. ὕστερος ἔλθῃ τοῦ σημείου. Hom. Il. σ. ὕστερος ἐλθών. Aristoph. Vesp. κἀν ὕτερος ἔλθῃ. Xen. Anab 2, 2, 17. ὕστεροι προσιόντες. Livy, 27, 17. qui serius profecti.

[12] *Argeia.*] Palmer here would read *Agræa*, which has been adopted by Gottleb., but rightly, I think, thrown out by the recent editors. And Poppo, in his Proleg. 2, 147., has satisfactorily shown that Agræa cannot be the true reading, since that district was out of Cnemus's way to Stratus, and, indeed, was out of Acarnania.

[13] *Stratus.*] This was the capital of Acarnania, and from Xen. Hist. 4, 6, 4., we learn that the general council of the nation was there held. It is proved by Palmer Antiq. from Polybius and Strabo, to have been on the right bank * of the Achelous, ten stadia from that river, and two hundred stadia from the sea. Poppo thinks it may be the present *Serobagli.* It is half an hour's distance from Lapenus, and Pouqueville, Græc. 3, 152. says that the city walls, turrets, and gates, as also its long walls to the Achelous, are yet remaining. It seems to have derived its name from being originally the place of muster for the armed population of Acarnania.

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* This is quite clear also from Thucyd. 2, 82. I cannot, therefore, but wonder that Dr. Butler alone should place it on the *left* bank. In all the maps, however, it is placed not far enough up the Achelous; and in those of Boccage the Anapus is brought far too near to the Achelous.

without defence, when a navy was ready to sail forth from Corinth. The Peloponnesians and their allies, disposed in three columns, marched towards Stratus, in order that, should they not be able by *words*[1] to persuade them to submit, they might by *deeds*[2] attack[3] the wall. In their advance the Chaonians and the other Barbarians occupied the centre.[4] On the right of them were the Leucadians and Anactorians, and their confederates. On the left was Cnemus, with the Peloponnesians and Ambraciots.[5] The divisions kept at a distance from, nay, were sometimes out of sight of, each other. Now the Greeks marched forwards in regular order and with caution, until at length they encamped in a commodious situation.[6] But the Chaonians, confident in themselves, and, indeed, having a reputation among the people of that part of the continent for superior prowess, would not stop to occupy a camp, but, together with the other Barbarians, pressed forward impetuously[7], thinking that they should take the place on the first onset[8], and carry off all the honour. The Stratians,

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[1] *By words, &c.*] I here read λόγοις, with the recent editors; not only because it is found in most of the MSS., but because it is most correspondent to usage, (λόγοις being for ξυμβατηρίοις λόγοις, as, 5, 75.) as also to the phrase ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. And although in the antithesis it does not so well answer to ἔργῳ, yet such a perfect correspondence is seldom aimed at by our author.

[2] *Indeed.*] Ἔργῳ is used as in a similar paronomasia at 2, 40. ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ἃ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν.

[3] *Attack.*] Literally, make an attempt to scale. So πείρᾶν τῶν τειχῶν at 7, 12.

[4] *Centre.*] A prudent disposition, since those somewhat weaker would be kept in better order and supported by the wings.

[5] *On the left was, &c.*] They took the *left* in order to oppose the best troops of the Acarnanians; for the Greeks usually placed such in the right wing.

[6] *Commodious situation.*] Both the Greeks and Romans chose even an encampment for a night with singular care, and always fortified it regularly.

[7] *Impetuously.*] Literally, "with a rush;" for I cannot agree with Benedict in adopting the reading ῥώμῃ, though it is found in almost every MS. The two words are so often confounded that MS. authority is very slight. Besides, the following passages will sufficiently defend the common reading. Hesych. ῥύμη. ὁρμὴ βίαια. Heliod. l. 4, 4. τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ῥύμην. Pollux, 4, 90. ῥύμῃ πολλῇ καὶ δρόμῳ. Other examples, and the emendation of several similarly corrupt passages, I must reserve for my edition.

[8] *On the first onset.*] Such is the sense of the *idiomatical* term αὐτοξοεί, which, contrary to all rules of translation, Hobbes and Smith render literally. Suidas says it is used by Theopompus for κατὰ κράτος. But perhaps he meant what is expressed by the phrase *coup-de-main*. And that may be the sense here.

informed of their approach, and thinking that if they should master them thus separated, the Greeks would be no longer so eager to advance, planted ambuscades on the parts around the city[9], and when they were near, advanced upon and charged them, both from the city and from the ambuscades; and being thrown into consternation, many of the Chaonians were slain, and the other Barbarians, seeing *them* give way, no longer stood their ground, but betook themselves to flight. Now neither of the Grecian camps[10] had any knowledge of the battle, because the Barbarians had been considerably in advance of the Greeks[11], though they had hastened forward in order to occupy an encampment. But when the Barbarians came pressing upon them in hurried flight[12], they received them into protection, and, drawing the camps together, rested there for the day. The Stratians, meanwhile, did not venture to engage with them, because the other Acarnanians were not yet assembled[13] for defence, but annoyed them at a distance with their slings (in the use of which the Acarnanians are held to be very expert), and much distressed them; for it was not possible to stir from the camp without armour.[14]

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9 *Planted ambuscades, &c.*] Literally, "beset the ground with." At τὰ subaud χώρια. Προλοχίζω is a vox solennis de hac re, occurring in Dio Cass. 228, 85. 870, 70. Dionys. Hal. 62, 8. 66, 36. Joseph. 208, 6. 183. Menand. Hist. ap. Corp. Hist. Byz. 1, 109. C. Heliod. Æthiop. p. 289.

10 *Camps.*] Not *armies*, as Hobbes renders; nor *bodies*, as Smith. They are called *camps*, because the columns in question encamped apart, and by the time of the attack on the Chaonians had occupied their encampments.

11 *The Barbarians had been, &c.*] These words, *Barbarians* and *Greeks*, I have supplied, in order to clear the sense, which our author has left not a little obscure by neglecting (as he often does) to mark the *subjects* of the verbs or participles.

12 *Came pressing upon, &c.*] Such is the literal sense of ἐνέκειντο (which Hobbes and Smith have not expressed.) It is, indeed, a very rare one, the word being always used of the *pursuers*, not the *pursued*.

13 *Were not yet assembled.*] The *not yet* seems to imply that urgent requisitions had been sent out, immediately after the battle, to the surrounding country, to muster, and destroy their half-subdued invaders.

14 *Stir from the camp, &c.*] i. e. "none could stir from the camp but heavy-armed." By κινηθῆναι is meant to go out to forage, in order to procure food, water, fuel, and other necessaries; services upon which the light-armed were always sent, and for which the heavy-armed were very unfit. Hence the *distress* here mentioned.

Hobbes and Levesque take ὅπλων for ὁπλιτῶν, "without their men-at-arms." But that sense would require the *article*. And it were vain to appeal to a similar use of ὅπλων at 3, 1. because there the article is found.

Aug. 24. 1852.

LXXXII. As soon as it was night, Cnemus made a hasty retreat with his forces to the river Anapus [1], which is eighty stadia distant from Stratus, and on the following day fetched away the dead by truce; and the Œniadæ having, out of amity [2], come up and joined them, he fell back thither [3] before the posse of the Acarnanians had come up; and from thence each departed homewards; the Stratians setting up a trophy for their victory over the Barbarians.

LXXXIII. Meanwhile the fleet from Corinth, and the other allies of the Crisæan gulf, which was to have joined Cnemus, in order to prevent the maritime Acarnanians from assembling for the defence of the country, arrived, but was compelled, about the same time as the battle at Stratus, to come to an engagement with Phormio and the twenty Athenian ships which were on guard at Naupactus. For Phormio had watched them sailing along outside of the gulf, intending to attack them in the open sea.[1] Now in this voyage to Acarnania, the Corinthians and their allies had been not so much prepared for a sea-fight as for land-service [2]; never

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In the whole of this passage Smith has most egregiously mistaken the sense; which is the less excusable, as his *fidus Achates*, Portus, did not here fail him.

[1] *Anopus.*] In order to place a river between himself and the enemy, for better defence. This river, in all the maps, but especially in Boccage's, is placed too near the Achelous.

[2] *Amity.*] And, indeed, *alliance;* for the Œniadæ were in the *Lacedæmonian* league, from an hostility which they had long entertained towards the Athenians. See 1, 111. Hence we may see how erroneous is Hobbes' version, "come in of itself."

[3] *Fell, &c.*] Cnemus seems to have made a very able retreat. And his only mistake was in not waiting for the junction of his allies from the Crisæan gulf. Probably, however, he could not restrain the ardour of his barbarian allies, whom, perhaps, had he waited for the rest, he would have lost.

[1] *Open sea.*] Literally, "the open space," ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ. So Arrian, 2, 6, 3. and 7, 6. 5, 17, 11. Polyb. 12, 19, 6. 15, 13, 10. and 30, 4. But the most apposite passage I can cite is Plato Epist. φοβούμενος τὸν ἐκπλοῦν ὃν προσεδόκων μὴ μοι στενὸς γίγνοιτο ἀντ' εὐρυχώριας. Probably the present passage was in the mind of the writer.

[2] *Not so much prepared, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense of the words of the original, in which the recent editors have rightly given οὐχ ὡς. This, indeed, I had myself many years ago seen to be the true reading, both from the nature of the phrase, and from parallel passages at c. 85, 86, and 87. Ναυμαχίαν, too, is *probably* the true reading; and it is supported not only by parallel passages in 85, 86, and 87, but by Dio Cass. 625, 66. Nay, I

supposing, that against their forty-seven ships the Athenians would ever venture to come to an engagement with twenty. When, however, they saw them coasting along the opposite shore, as they were steering along[3] their own, and as they were crossing over from Patræ[4] in Achæa to the continent

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have remarked one passage, in which both are found imitated, as Arrian, E. A. 2, 18, 9. ἅ τε (I read ἅτε, quippe) ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ μᾶλλον τι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ μαχὴν ἐσταλμένοι. This, however, rather proves that though both the accusative and the dative may be used after the ἐπὶ taken *by itself*, yet when united with ὡς, the dative only was employed. One cannot, however, but observe a certain harshness in the term. Why, it may be asked, did not Thucydides write ἐπὶ στρατείαν, which would have better corresponded to ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν? I answer, because he is fond of variety, and affects unusual and startling constructions; and also because in στρατιωτικώτερον there is an allusion to ναυτικώτερον, which is *included* in ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν. Of course στρατιωτικ. has reference to στρατιώτης, a *soldier*, as distinguished from a sailor. As to the reading of three good MSS. στρατιῶται, it is from the margin.

[3] *Steering along.*] i. e. Mitford says, (according to the nautical phrase) *hugging* the shore. Perhaps the expression κομιζομένων παρὰ γῆν imports a greater *caution* than was employed by the enemy. At least their creeping along the coast so long, and not making for the opposite coast sooner, implied a distrust in their naval skill.* Perhaps, too, they would have ventured across sooner, had they not seen the enemy on the opposite coast. They must, too, it should seem, have stopped some little time at Patræ, otherwise the Athenians, who had sailed from Naupactus, doubtless after they had cleared the narrows, could not have reached Chalcis. It appears, too, from what follows, that they attempted to pass over from Patræ under cover of the night. They had, therefore, probably waited for that time.

[4] *Patræ.*] An important city and harbour, of which, though little or nothing is said by the professed writers on geography, even up to the present day, a very learned account is given by Wasse on the present passage, from which I shall select the principal particulars, and subjoin a few illustrations of my own.

According to Eusebius, it was founded in 1071. B. C. On its origin, see Pausan. 7. p. 568., which writer and Steph. Byz. deduce the name from that of its founder. Strabo, 7. p. 519. says, it was formed from seven villages. It was ruined in the wars by which Greece was enslaved to Rome, but was afterwards restored, and made a colony by Augustus. The *singular* form, Patra, Pathra, or Badra, occurs in the later Byzantine historians, though the plural is preserved by others. For further particulars see Aristid. 1, 540. Dio, 424. Lucian As. 115. Sil. 15. Cic. Epist. Ammian. 19, 12., and especially Polyb. 2, 41. 4, 7, 83. and p. 1478. Liv. 38, 29. Plutarch Alcib. 198. and Cato, p. 343., also the Byzantine historians. On its present state, see Wheler Itin. p. 304.

I add that it is here called Patræ in Achæa, because there was another Patræ in Thessaly. It derived its name, not, I should conceive, from that of its founder, but from some circumstance relating to its foundation.

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* My learned readers will call to mind the Horatian "Neque, dum procellas Cautus horrescis, *nimium premendo Littus* iniquum."

opposite, descried the Athenians making towards them from Chalcis [5] and the river Evenus [6], and found that they had not escaped observation while they had slipped anchor and put to sea during the night.[7] Then, indeed, they were compelled to come to battle, about midway in their passage.[8] The commanders of the lesser quotas were such as had been

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Perhaps it was so called by the people of seven villages associated to form the town, and the name was selected as expressing what would be the common country or state of all. Its plural form seems to have reference to the seven villages from which it was formed. — The following remarks are from Poppo's Proleg.: — "We learn by Pausan. 7, 22, 7. and Strabo, p. 387. that it was fifty stadia by the sea-coast from the promontory of Rhium, though only forty in a direct line. It was also eighty stadia from the river Pirus, and near it the Glaucus runs into the sea, though the maps make it forty or fifty stadia distant. On its present state consult Chandler's Græc. c. 71. Pouquev. Morea, 1. c. 12. Græc. 3. c. 97. and Danvill. 1. c. 4. p. 153. seqq. See also Gell's Itinerary.

[5] *Chalcis.*] Of this name there were many cities; chiefly, I imagine, so called from the most antient Chalcis in *Eubœa.* The name must not be derived (with some) from a daughter of Asopus; but, with Pliny and others mentioned by Steph. Byz., from the brass-works carried on there.

[6] *Evenus.*] This river (like the Eurotas and the Milichius) seems to have been so called, from the gentleness of its stream, with which, in the words of the poet, "silent and chaste it steals the glades along." The very opposite to what is signified in the Achelous, now called Aspro Potamo. Indeed, most of the rivers of the antient world derived their names from some quality inherent in them, or some circumstance connected with their discovery; as I shall, perhaps, be enabled to prove and illustrate by examples on some other occasion.

[7] *Found that they, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of this passage, which has perplexed the translators and commentators more than they will confess. Hobbes renders: "and also knew that they had come to anchor there the night before;" Smith, "and found they had observed their anchoring the night before." But such cannot be the meaning, since the Peloponnesians could not expect to conceal their having taken port at Patræ the night before. The Schol. and Portus take Ἀθηναῖοι to be the subject of ἔλαθον. But such a change of subject would be extremely harsh, and moreover yield a sense even less apposite than the former; though I perceive that Levêque has taken up with this stale fancy. Reiske and Coray here resort to conjecture; the former reading ὑφορμισόμενοι, and the latter ἐφορμισόμενοι. But neither yields any tolerable meaning. The true sense, I have no doubt, is that which I have adopted; and I now find that Kistemaker assigned nearly the same; but he does not say how it arises. It cannot be elicited from the words as they now stand. I suspect, however, that this is one of the very few cases in which all the copies are wrong, and I confidently propose to read ἀφορμησάμενοι. This, indeed, is placed beyond doubt by a kindred passage at l. 8, 10. παρεσκευάζοντο ὅπως μὴ λήσουσιν αὐτοὺς αἱ νῆες ἐκ τῶν Κεγχρειῶν ἀφορμηθεῖσαι.

[8] *Passage.*] Namely, over to the coast of Ætolia (as in Eurip. Iph. Taur. 1379. πορθ. ναῶν); not *strait*, as some render; still less the Crisæan strait, as the Scholiast understands; for they were then out of the strait, and ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ, which Phormio had waited for.

appointed by each state, of the Corinthians Machæon, Isocrates, and Agatharchidas. And now the Peloponnesians ranged[9] their ships into a circle as large as they were able, so as not to give any passage through, with their prows outward and their sterns inward.[10] Within they also placed the barges which accompanied them as transports, and disposed five of the best sailing ships to be near at hand, to start forth at intervals, whenever the enemy should charge.[11]

LXXXIV. The Athenians ranged in line, one deep[1], sailed around them, and gradually compassed them into a small space, perpetually brushing past[2] them, and making feint as though they would charge them. They had, however, been ordered by Phormio not to attack before he should give the signal. For he expected[3] that their order would

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[9] *Ranged.*] Ἐτάξαντο is a vox prægnans, including the two senses, *ranged in order*, and *made* or *formed;* for as to ποιήσαντες, it has been with reason thrown out by the recent editors, as ex interpretamento.

With respect to the number of ships, which we were before told was forty-seven on the side of the Peloponnesians, and twenty on that of the Athenians, Diod. Sic. entirely coincides with our author. But Polyæn. 3, 4, 2. assigns to the former fifty, and to the latter thirty. I suspect, however, that for λ should be read κ (twenty). As to fifty, it is plainly a round number. In the above passage Polyænus has recorded (upon what authority I know not) several circumstances which merit the attention of an historian.

[10] *Prows outward, and, &c.*] Because thus they would be less liable to be injured by the charges of the beaks.

[11] *Within they also placed, &c.*] A similar contrivance is mentioned by Polyæn. 6, 16, 3. τὰς μὲν στρογγύλας τῶν νεῶν κύκλῳ περιστήσαντες ἑτέραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας ἱκανὸν διάστημα· τὰς δὲ τριήρεις ἐς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν ἀφορίσαντες, συχνοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ὁλκάδας ἐπιβεβάσαντες, ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας· καὶ τῶν διαστημάτων ταῖς τριήρεσι διεκπλέοντες, κ. τ. λ. In that case, however, the *transports* formed the circle, and the triremes were received within; perhaps because the transports were large heavy ships, not like the ones here mentioned, which were small barges, or *tenders*, suitable to so short a voyage.

[1] *One deep.*] Such is the sense of κατὰ μίαν, as ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, c. 90.; which I should hardly have mentioned, had not the meaning been egregiously mistaken by Bauer. The ναῦν is supplied in Polyæn. p. 502. Masv.

[2] *Brushing past.*] Such is the sense of ἐν χρῷ παραπλέοντες, which Wasse seeks to illustrate by phrases quite remote from the one in question. Abresch has, however, adduced two passages from Appian and Procop., where ἐν χρῷ παραπλεῖν is used in the sense of "sailing so close by any object as to graze its surface." The phrase occurs also in Dio Cass. 686, 26. 628, 86. Procop. p. 31, 18. ἐν χρῷ ἀλλήλοις ξυναγόμενοι. It is derived from ἐν χρῷ κείρω or ξύρω, as in Herod. 4. 175., *to cut to the quick.*

[3] *Expected.*] i. e. well knew. Hobbes and Smith wrongly render *hoped.*

not long continue, like that of a land force, but that the ships would fall foul of each other, and the barges cause confusion; and if the wind should blow from the gulf (waiting for which [4] he had kept sailing round), and which was accustomed to spring up about daybreak, they would not remain an instant [5] steady in their places. He considered, too, that the period for attack would be in his power to make when he pleased [6], his ships being the better sailers; and that *then* it would be the most convenient for him. As soon, therefore, as this wind sprung up [7], the vessels being already compressed by each other into a small space, were thrown into disorder, both by the wind and the barks pressing upon them; and now ship fell foul of ship [8], the men warding off with poles [9], and,

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[4] *Waiting for which.*] A similar shrewdness was displayed by Themistocles, at the battle of Salamis. So Plut. Themist. c. 14. *μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπρώρους καταστῆσαι ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς τριήρεις ἢ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ὥραν παραγένεσθαι, τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ πελάγους ἀεὶ καὶ κῦμα διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατάγουσαν.* So also in his Camill. 34. *ὅθεν εἰώθει μάλιστα προσπίπτειν ὁ ἄνεμος — ἀνέμεινε τὴν ὥραν.*

The wind here spoken of is the *land wind*, which about daybreak succeeds the sea-wind that usually prevails in the night. Hence may be illustrated Plutarch Mar. 37. *ἀχρις οὗ φορὰ γένηται, γίγνεσθαι δὲ εἰωθυῖαν ὥρα* (I conjecture *εἰωθυίᾳ ὥρᾳ*) *τοῦ πελαγίου* (scil. *ἀνέμου*) *μαραινομένου*, i. e. "when the sea-wind dies away." Indeed, even on land the wind generally springs up about daybreak; to which Gray beautifully alludes in the line,

"The breezy call of incense-breathing morn."

Thus I cannot but accede to the opinion of those etymologists who derive *aurora* from *aura*, not *aurum*.

[5] *Would not remain one instant, &c.*] Such is the sense of *οὐδένα χρόνον*, and not "for any time," as Smith renders. There is here a sort of hyberbole often occurring both in the classical and scriptural writers.

[6] *He considered, too, that, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Onosand. p. 63, 6. *ἐαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ νομίζῃ, τὸ ὅτε βούλεται τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς μαχην ἐκτάττειν, εἶναι.*

[7] *Sprung up.*] Literally *descended*, blew from the land; for *κατὰ* signifies *to seaward*, as *ανα to landward*. This passage is alluded to by Aristid. 3, 349. C.

[8] *Thrown into disorder, &c.*] So Herod. 8, 16. *ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν, καὶ περιπιπτουσῶν περὶ ἀλλήλας.*

[9] *Pushing off with poles.*] *Διωθεῖσθαι* is rare in this sense, and Pollux, 1, 120. has *τοῖς κοντοῖς ἀπεωθοῦντο*. But the common reading is defended by the following imitations of the passage. Dio Cass. 628, 94. *τοῖς κόντοις σφᾶς διωθοῦντο*. Procop. 99, 11. *στρατιώτων ὅμον τοῖς ναύταις ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλευομένων καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωθουμένων*. and 108, 42. *βοῇ καὶ πατάγῳ πολλῷ χρωμένου καὶ τοῖς κόντοις διωθουμένοι.*

amidst their endeavours to keep clear of each other [10], making such shouting, cursing, and railing [11], that they could hear no orders, whether of the officers or ship-masters [12], and being unable, inexperienced as they were, to bear up their oars in so billowy a sea [13], thus made the ships unmanageable [14] to the pilots; then, at that very crisis, Phormio gives the signal, and the Athenians making a charge, first sunk one of the

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[10] *Amidst their endeavours to, &c.*] Such is, I think, the full sense of χρώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφυλακῇ. For ἀντιφυλακῇ Reiske conjectures ἀνθυλακῇ. But that is a vox nihili, and that sense is *included* in βοῇ. Besides, the common reading, though rare, occurs in Dio. Cass. 1288, 45. and Lucian, 2, 37., ἀντιφυλάττεσθαι in Xen. Cyr. 2, 5, 2.

[11] *Shouting, cursing, and railing.*] So Liban. Or. 664. B. καὶ κραυγὴ πολλὴ καὶ λοιδορία, &c. See also Isocr. Paneg. Wasse aptly refers to Hor. Sat. 5. and Eurip. Hec.

[12] *Officers or ship-masters.*] By παραγγελλομένων (which is by the Scholiast taken of *persons*, but by the commentators of *things*), are, I conceive, denoted the orders of the officers, who directed the military operations of the ship, as opposed to the κελευστῶν, or persons who superintended the working of it, as pilots and boatswains, or directors of the rowers. The latter are well described by Ovid Met. 3, 618. (cited by Bauer). Qui requiemque modumque Voce dabat remis, animorum hortator. On the various officers of Grecian ships I have fully treated in my Recensio Synoptica, vol. 4.

This passage is imitated by Appian, 1, 328. καὶ τῶν παραγγελλομένων οὐ κατήκουον.

[13] *So billowy a sea.*] This seems to be the most accurate version of κλυδωνίῳ, which has reference to the short breaking waves which curl back, and dash over. The passage is imitated by Arrian E. A. 6, 18, 11. τό τε πνεῦμα κατῆει μέγα, καὶ αἱ κῶπαι ἐν κλύδωνι χαλεπῶς ἀνεφέροντο. and Appian, t. 2. 240. ὡς δὲ ὁ συνήθης τοῦ πορθμου κλύδων ἐπεγίγνετο — οἱ μὲν ἧσσον ἐμόχθουν, ὑπὸ ἔθους τοῦ κλύδωνος, οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐστῶτες βεβαιῶς ὑπὸ ἀηθείας, οὔτε τὰς κώπας ἔτι ἀναφέρειν δυναμένοι.

With respect to the phraseology, ἐν κλυδωνίῳ or κλυδώνι was a not uncommon phrase. So Eurip. Phœn. 866. ἐν κλυδώνι κείμεθα. It was, however, chiefly used in a metaphorical sense, as in the proverbial form ὥσπερ ἐν κλύδωνι, which occurs in Themist. p. 43. A. 164, c. 180. c. 199. Eunap. p. 149. Plut. in Coriol. The term ἀναφέρειν is a vox propria de hac re, and occurs not only in the above passages of Appian and Arrian, but in Polyæn. 5, 22, 4, κωπας ἀναφέρειν, and 3, 66. ἀσθενῶς τὰς κώπας ἀνέφερον. also 5, 22. The thing itself is illustrated by a passage of Pollux, which, indeed, may receive emendation from the present. It is l. 1, 117. ὠλίσθαινον αἱ χεῖρες — παρεφέροντο ἐκ τῶν κωπῶν, ἐξεπίπτον οὐκ ἔνην ἀνακόπτειν, τὰς κώπας. where for ἀνακόπτειν read, from a MS., ἀναφέρειν. The other reading makes nonsense. It stands, however, for *something;* and, if I mistake not, for ἀνακάμπτειν. The stages of corruption were ἀνακάμπτειν, ανακάπτειν, ἀνακόπτειν. It seems to be a gloss.

[14] *Unmanageable.*] i. e. (to use our sea-phrase) they would not obey the helm; as is the case when a ship is not properly worked, whether by oars or by sails. The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 624, 29. (ναῦς) ἀπειθεστέρας. and Pollux, 1, 112. ἀπειθέστεραι τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἦσαν αἱ νῆες.

admiral-ships, and then destroyed all, wherever they bent their course [15], and reduced them to such a condition that, from their confusion, they made no resistance, but fled to Patræ and Dyme [16], in Achæa. The Athenians, pursuing them, captured fourteen ships; and having taken [17] up most of

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[15] *All wherever they bent their course.*] I have here adopted the reading πάσας, from all the best MSS. and the recent editions; though the vulg. τὰς ἄλλας may admit of defence, and was perhaps read by Diod. Sic., who thus paraphrases the passage: τήν τε στρατηγίδα ναῦν κατέδυσε, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰς ἄπλους ἐποίησε. He has well interpreted the διέφθειρε, which does not denote the utter destruction of all, but the being put *hors de combat;* a signification on which I have before treated at 1, 50. And I cannot but think that the fourteen ships said just after to have been captured by the Athenians, were such of the ships here mentioned as were not sunk. Otherwise, indeed, the loss would have been too great for them to have been able so soon to raise, as they did, a fleet of 77 ships.

[16] *Dyme.*] So called, as we learn from Steph. Byz., (though the modern geographers are silent on this point) because it (or rather the district from which the city obtained its name) was situated in the farthest extremity of Achaia to the west. We may compare the name of *Finisterre*, the most western promontory of Spain, and those of several places in modern geography. Hence it will appear that the spelling *Dymæ* is erroneous.

This city was distant 40 stadia from the Pirus, and 40 from the Larissus. Dodwell fixes its site at some ruins near the village of Caramortu. St. Byz. has an interesting article on this place.

[17] *Taken up most of the men.*] On the sense of this passage there has been no little difference of opinion. The ἀνελόμενοι is usually interpreted, "having put to death." And so Mitford. Æm. Portus, however, observes, that it *may* signify, "took up and removed into their own ships;" but he would understand it of their own men who had fallen in the battle. This, however, cannot be admitted; since, from the nature of the engagement, very few *Athenians* could have fallen, and even those would not be in the enemy's ships, for the Athenians used the προσβολή, not the ἐμβολή. Æm. Portus also mentions the opinion of some who refer the taking up to the *Peloponnesians.* And this has been recently adopted by Goeller, who renders the passage thus: "Sie nahmen den grössten Theil der Mannschaft und brachten ihn anf ihre schiffe," "they took the greatest part of the men and brought them to their ships." He further remarks, that the sense, *killing*, would have required the *active.* This last argument, indeed, would seem to be unanswerable. Otherwise there would have been no reason to reject the common interpretation; since the warfare between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians was carried on by both parties with circumstances of the greatest atrocity. Thus, in 2, 92., it is said of six ships: ἄνδρας τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινας δὲ ἐζώγορησαν., and 2, 90. of nine ships, yet the Peloponnesians slew all they found. But, it may be asked, why should not the Athenians have taken them *all?* It is probable that the ships were in so sinking a condition that they could not with safety tow them off, or remove more than the greater part of the men (whom they made prisoners); not to mention that a considerable number might have effected their escape in boats, or on rafts, &c. See Acts, 28, 44., and my note in loc. In the above sense, ἀνέλεσθαι is very often used in Thucydides.

the men from them, sailed off to Molycrium[18], and, after fixing up a trophy at Rhium, and dedicating a ship to Neptune, returned to Naupactus. As to the Peloponnesians, they immediately coasted along with the remainder of their ships from Dyme and Patræ to Cyllene, the naval station of the Eleans. And now Cnemus, and the ships at Leucas, which were to have formed a junction with them, came, after the battle at Stratus, to Cyllene.[20]

LXXXV. Then the Lacedæmonians send out Timocrates, Brasidas, and Lycophron to the fleet, as counsellors [1] to

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[18] *Molycrium.*] Or Molycria, according to the orthography of Scylax, Strabo, Polybius, Diod. Sic., Plutarch, Pliny, and Steph. Byz. Yet the *ium* is defended by Pausan. 9, 31, 5., and Plutarch, referred to by Wasse, on Diod. Sic. 12, 60. And, as this is the most antient, so it is probably the true spelling; especially as one may suspect that the name was derived partly from the promontory to which it was so close. Poppo observes, that the site of the old city is, by Melit., referred to Caurolemne, by Pangier to a rivulet at Calio Castron, one hour's distance from the north-east of Castro Lepanti.

[19] *At Rhium, &c.*] Where, it may be suspected, there was a temple of Neptune, since most of the temples of that god were situated upon high promontories. So Scylax, p. 14. says, of the strait of Rhium, *καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἱερόν.* Goeller here refers to Herod. 8, 121. Procop. B. G. 4, 32. Scheffer d. milit. naval. 4, 2.

[20] *And now Cnemus, &c.*] There is here some obscurity (though the commentators notice it not) respecting Cnemus, and the ships with him. By the *αἱ — νῆες* one would imagine that something had before been said of Cnemus, and those ships having reached Leucas; which is not the case. We must, however, *suppose* the fact. The squadron would probably pass from Peloponnesus to Ambracia by Zacynthus, Cephallenia, and Leucas; and, afterwards, pass to Leucas in its way to join the fleet from the Crisæan gulf, where it waited till it heard of their having passed the straits. In the mean time happened the sea-fight, on the news of which reaching Cnemus at Œniadæ, whither he had retired after the battle of Stratus, he, after the disbandment of the forces, thought Œniadæ no longer a safe residence, and therefore went to Leucas, probably with those Leucadians who had formed a part of his forces; and when there, hearing that the Peloponnesians had gone to Cyllene, lost no time in joining it there, and reinforcing it with the ships under his command.

[1] *Counsellors to Cnemus.*] i. e. to be council, to form a council-board. "This unwise practice (observes Mitford) of directing military command, ordinary with most of the other Greeks, was little used with the Lacedæmonians." Be that as it may, it afterwards became very general with them, as we find by the frequent mention of the counsellors in Polybius, Appian, and Diod. Sic. See Schweigh on Appian, 1, 193., and on Polyb. 6, 35, 4. The custom was frequent with the Romans. So Livy: "legati a Senatu missi, quorum ex consilio imperatoris decernerent vel componerent res." Hence is confirmed the conjecture of Sylburg and Kuhn ap. Paus. 7, 16, 5. *συμξούλος* for *ἐμξόλους*.

Cnemus, ordering him to contrive[2] another and better-planned engagement, and not be excluded from the sea by so few ships. It did, indeed, seem to them (especially as this was their first trial of naval warfare) a most unaccountable and unexpected circumstance; and they were not so much inclined to think their navy inferior, as that there had been some cowardice; not balancing the skill of the Athenians, attained from long practice, against their brief and recent experience.[3] They therefore sent them off in anger; who, on their arrival, sent out orders, conjointly with Cnemus, to the states, to prepare ships. They also set themselves to refit those they already had, as for an engagement. Phormio, too, on his part, sends messengers to Athens, to give notice of these preparations, and to announce to them the victory that had been gained; urging them also to send him with all speed as many ships as possible, being in perpetual and daily expectation of being brought to an engagement. Hereupon they dispatch him twenty; giving, however, further orders to the commander in charge of them to first proceed to Crete.[4]

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[2] *Contrive.*] I have seen no reason to follow Bekker and Goeller in reading παρασκευάζεσθαι for κατασκ., from some MSS., and those some of the worst. Though I find this is also done by Schneider on Xen. Anab. 3, 2, 24., who has some learned remarks on the difference between the two words. Here I cannot but suspect παρασκ. to be a gloss, since it is difficult to conceive why any alteration of παρασκ. should have been made. Certainly, κατασκ. is the more difficult reading, and yet not so but that it admits of a good explanation. The word may signify *adornare*, of which sense see examples in Steph. Thes.; and it will, in a metaphorical sense, denote to *plan, contrive.* Κατασκ., too, is perhaps used with reference to the *ships*, κατασκευάζειν ναῦς being a common phrase.

[3] *Not balancing the skill, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this passage, where the translators are somewhat at fault. On the construction of ἀντιτάσσεσθαι with the genitive, Goeller adduces an example from Thucyd. 3, 56. I add, Eurip. Iph. Taur. 358. τήνδ' ἔνθαδ' Αὖλιν ἀντιθεῖσα τῆς ἐκεῖ. And so elsewhere in Eurip. Thus, Markland ought not to have conjectured τῇ γ'. With the sentiment in τὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐμπειρίαν we may compare 1, 142. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μελετῶντες αὐτὰ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἐξείργασθέ πω. The orator speaks of the Peloponnesians as likely to be εἰργόμενοι scil. τῆς θαλάσσης, agreeably to what is here said. And what he there says, πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ναῦς ἐφορμούσας κἂν διακινδυνεύσειαν πλήθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασυνοντες, was exactly fulfilled in this affair of Phormio. Indeed, the foresight of Pericles was shown in many other instances.

[4] *Further orders, &c.*] This would seem very ill judged; and here, Mitford observes, "we first discover the importance of the loss of Pericles, and the want of those superior abilities for the direction of public affairs which had hitherto, in so great a degree, obviated misfortune, and com-

For Nicias, a Cretan of Gortyn [5], and a public host or resident [6] of the Athenians, had persuaded them to send a fleet against Cydonia [7], a state in hostility to them [8], representing that he could bring it over to the Athenian interest. This he had urged merely to gratify the Polichnitæ [9], who bordered upon the Cydonians. He, therefore, that had charge of the fleet, took it to Crete, and with the Polichnitæ ravaged the territory of the Cydonians; and what with winds and other hindrances to navigation [10], he there spent no little time.

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manded success." This, however, is judging from the *event*. Indeed we cannot pronounce with certainty, without a fuller knowledge of all the circumstances. Considering how widely they doubled the promontory of Malea, Cydonia in Crete was very little out of the way; and the conductors of affairs (who seem to have been influenced by economical motives) might think that no long stay would be necessary. The wind, too, might, when the expedition was about to set off, be favourable for *Crete*, but not for the doubling of Malea.

5 *Gortyn.*] Or *Gortyna:* not Gortys, as Smith and Hobbes spell it; still less Gortynium, as Mitford; forms which never existed. See Cellarius, and especially the ample account of Gortyn, in the *Crete* of the indefatigable Meursius. The antiquity of this place is evident, from its being said to have been founded by a son of Rhadamanthus, or, according to some, Taurus. It is by Homer called τειχιόεσσα. In after times, however, its walls were beaten down, and never rebuilt; nor did it attain to any celebrity until long after the time of Thucydides. It had, then, however, many splendid temples, especially that of Apollo; and, in after times, flourished exceedingly, and came to be a very large city. Indeed, Strabo says it was fifty stadia in circumference; and, to this day, there remain extensive ruins, which sufficiently prove its antient grandeur.

6 *Resident.*] On this signification see the note at 2, 29.

7 *Cydonia.*] Another of the chief cities of Crete, of which there were three, Gnossus, Gortyn, and Cydonia. This also was an antient city, the foundation of which was referred to Minos, or Arcas. It was, as we learn from Diod. Sic. and Strabo, situated on the sea-coast at the north end of the island, and opposite to Peloponnesus. It is now called Canea. According to our Scholiast, its distance from Gortyn was one thousand stadia. Strabo says it was eight hundred, and represents it as equidistant from both Gnossus and Gortyn.

8 *In hostility to them.*] i. e. of the Lacedæmonian confederacy. The Scholiast wrongly takes the πολεμίαν to refer to the *Polichnians;* though there is no doubt but that the Cydonians and the Polichnitæ were then at war.

9 *Polichnitæ.*] Not *Polychnitæ*, as Smith and Hobbes spell it. Polichne was, we find, situated in the vicinity of Cydonia; but the exact place is not known. It is mentioned in Herod. 7, 170.

10 *Other hindrances to navigation.*] Such seems to be the sense of καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, which may refer both to calms and to tempestuous weather. I have added *other*, because ἀπλοία denotes, in a general sense, any thing which is a hindrance to navigation. Thus it is used in the *plural* by Herod. 2, 119. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὡρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχυν ἄπλοιαι. *Adverse winds* cannot *here* be included in the term, since they are adverted to in

LXXXVI. During the time that the Athenians were thus detained about Crete, the Peloponnesians, being prepared for battle, coasted to Panormus in Achæa, whither the land force of the Peloponnesians had gone to aid their operations. Phormio, too, coasted along to the Rhium adjacent to Molycrium [1], and rode at anchor on the outside of it, with the twenty ships with which he fought the late battle. Now this Rhium was friendly to the Athenians, and the other Rhium, namely that in Peloponnesus, is opposite to it; the *distance* between them is about seven stadia of sea, and forms the mouth of the Crisæan gulf. At this Rhium of Achæa, then, which is not far from Panormus [2] where their land force was, the Peloponnesians, with seventy-seven ships, took their anchorage, on seeing the Athenians bring to: and for six or seven days they occupied opposite stations, practising [3] their men, and making preparations for battle; intending — these, not to sail out of the Rhium into the open sea, fearing their former disaster — those, not to sail into the narrows, conceiving that an engage-

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ἀνέμων. That the word *might* denote such, is plain from Æschyl. Agam. 146. *μή τινας ἀντιπνόους Δαναοῖς χρονίας ἐχενῆδας Ἀπλοίας τεύξῃ*. See also 181—190.

From what is said we are left to infer that the attempt against Cydonia was unsuccessful. So different was the state of things to what had been represented to the Athenians, and so inadequate their force, that they did not even venture to attack the place.

[1] *Rhium adjacent to Molycrium.*] Otherwise called Antirrhium. The word Rhium properly denotes no more than a *promontory*, and in this sense it is often used in Homer and Theocritus. It seems to be cognate with *ῥίν*, the nose; and both words came from *ῥίω*, cognate with *ῥέω*, to *flow, run*. It signifies, then, what runs or juts out, like our *ness* and the Italian *naso*.

Much to the present purpose is the observation of Helladius ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1591. *ῥίον μὲν λέγομεν ἅπαν ὄρους ἀκρωτήριον ἴδιως δὲ Μολύκριον*.

[2] *Panormus.*] There were several places of this name, which always denoted a port, perhaps what we call a free port. The place in question, however, is not mentioned by the antient geographers; and is omitted in most maps, and wrongly placed in others. Pausanias alone shows its site, 8, 22, 7., where, he says, it is fifteen stadia from Rhium. The port was, no doubt, formed partly by the promontory, and partly by a small river which there runs into the gulf. So Strabo, p. 488, 17. *τὸ Ῥίον καὶ Ἀντιῤῥίον ὅσον δὴ πέντε σταδίων ἀπολειπούσαι* (scil. *αἱ ἄκραι*) *πόρθμον*. Hence it is plain that the geographers are wrong in affixing the name Drepanum, not to this promontory, but to another which they lay down a few miles further on the shore of the gulf.

[3] *Practising.*] Such is the sense of *μελετῶντες* (which is omitted by Smith, and rendered *meditating* by Hobbes); on which see Schweb. on Onosand. p. 25. This signification occurs also in 1, 80 and 142., *ποιεῖσθαι μελέτας* in 1, 18. and *μελ. τῶν πολεμικῶν* at 2, 39.

ment in a small space would be favourable to the enemy. At length Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other Peloponnesian commanders, wishing to come to an engagement with all speed, before any reinforcements should join the Athenians, called their men together, and seeing most of them dejected from their former defeat, and without any alacrity for battle, endeavoured to animate their courage by the following address: —

LXXXVII. "The event of the late battle, Peloponnesians, (if any of you, indeed, on account of *that* should fear the issue of the one at hand,) affords no just grounds of alarm[1]: for it was, as you know, engaged in without sufficient preparation; we set sail, too, not so much for a sea fight, as for a land expedition.[2] Not a few, too, of the circumstances of fortune happened to be adverse to us; nor were there wanting points in which our inexperience occasioned a failure in our first attempt at a sea fight. So that the defeat did not befall us from any our cowardice: nor is it just for those who are not defeated by strength[3], but have somewhat to allege in defence[4],

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[1] *Affords no just, &c.*] Literally, "affords by no means any such conjecture of results as to fill us with alarm." At τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι subaud εἰς τὸ or ὥστε. The passage is imitated by Procop. p. 124, 18. μάχης τῆς πρότερον γεγενημένης μηδεμία ὑμᾶς εἰσίτω μνήμη. οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡσσήθημεν, ἀλλὰ τύχης ἐναντιώμασι προσεπιπταικότες ἐσφάλομεν. where for ἐσφάλομεν, read ἐσφάλημεν.

The word τέκμαρσις is rare: I have only elsewhere met with it in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 475, 33. Dio Cass. 420 and 523. and Marc. Ant. 2, 13.

[2] *And we set sail, &c.*] i. e. it was unexpected; for, as Thucydides before says, the Peloponnesians never expected that the Athenians would venture to engage with them.

[3] *Those who are not defeated by strength.*] The neuter νικηθὲν is put for the masculine (as τὸ νικῆσαν in Herodian, 4, 5, 4. where examples are adduced by Irmisch.); and the τῆς γνώμης (with which the commentators have been more perplexed than they acknowledge) may be taken, perhaps, for περὶ τῆς γνώμης, and thus for ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, *in animo, at heart*, what is not defeated at heart; or it *may* be taken for τὸ τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ, &c., the mind or spirit that is not utterly defeated. And thus κατὰ κράτος must be taken in the sense *utterly, entirely*, which occurs in Thucydides and the best writers. So Hesych. explains it τελείως. It seems preferable, however, to take it in the sense "by mere strength," as opposed to the *sleight* of superior skill.

[4] *But have somewhat, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιλογίαν, which Goeller renders thus: "et qui rationis aliquas habent, quas adversariis objiciant," i. e. something to urge in refutation. But the former is the more natural sense.

to suffer their courage to be daunted[5] at the occurrence of calamity; but to reflect, that though by fortune men are accustomed to be disappointed, yet that in their own minds the truly brave are ever the same; nor, so long as their courage remains, will they be likely, under pretence of want of skill, to in any thing act the part of cowards. However, you are not so inferior to them in skill as you are superior in valour. Whereas this *knowledge* of theirs, which you especially dread, if, indeed, it have bravery united with it, will also have presence of mind in danger to perform what it has learned[6]: but without courage art avails nought in time of peril; for fear drives out the memory[7], so that skill without valour is utterly useless.[8] Thus against their greater skill set[9] your superior valour; and against the apprehension arising from defeat, oppose the reflection that you met it for want of preparation. You have, moreover, not only a superiority of ships, but the advantage of fighting near a friendly coast, with your heavy-armed at hand; and victory generally accompanies

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[5] *Daunted.*] Literally, *blunted.* So Soph. Œd. Tyr. 688. τοὐμὸν — καταμβλύνων κέαρ. Joseph. 869, 16. τὸν θύμον ἠμβλύνθη. Hence may be confirmed the emendation of Porson on Æschyl. P. V. 891. ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται γνώμην. So also Pind. Pyth. 1, 160. ἀπὸ γὰρ κόρος ἀμβλύνει. Dio Cass. 1123, 50. Herodian 5, 19. Agath. p. 23, 3. Soph. ap. Athen. 592. A. Herod. 3, 134. Plato, p. 646. The metaphoræ ratio is plain from Æschyl. Theb. 712. τεθηγμένον τοί μ' οὐκ ἀπαμβλυνεῖς λόγῳ. Of the same kind is the metaphor in our *daunt*, which word does not come from *domitare*, but the Ang. Saxon ðyntan, *to dint*, or *dunt*.

The words τῷ ἀποβάντι τῆς ξυμφορᾶς are for τῇ ἀποβάσῃ ξυμφορᾷ.

[6] *If, indeed, it have, &c.*] So Livy, l. 6, 7. "Simul concurreritis, quod quisque didicit ac consuevit, faciet."

[7] *Fear drives out the memory.*] Gottleb here (after Hemsterh.) adduces imitations from Plutarch and Ach. Tat. Of the numerous ones which I have noted, I select the following: — Dio Cass. τὸ παράλογον μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει. Procop. 70, 33. ὅτε γὰρ φόβος ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ περιπεπτωκότας ἐκπλήσσων, οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν διανοίαν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. and 119, 16. δειλίας αὐτοῖς ἐκπλησσούσης τὸν νοῦν. Joseph. 1315. τῇ φοβερότητι πᾶσαν εὐτολμίαν ἐκπλῆξαι δυναμένην. Livy 2, 65. "In increpando ignaviam, pudore metum excussisset."

[8] *Skill without valour is utterly useless.*] Goeller thinks this is an imitation of Homer Il. μ. 412. Here I would adduce the just remark of Artemid. On. 1, 12, 1. ἐπεὶ ὅς τις γε τέχνην οἴεται ἄνευ φύσεως ἐντέλη ἐσέσθαι, ἀτελὴς καὶ ἀπέραντος. This proves the necessity for both to be united. So Val. Max. 2, 3, 3. "virtutemque arti, et rursus artem virtuti miscent; ut illa impetu hujus fortior, hæc illius scientiâ cautior fieret."

[9] *Set.*] Or *oppose.* So Appian t. 2, 247, 37. τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἀντιθέντες, τῇ δ' ὀλιγότητι τόλμαν.

superiority in necessary equipment. So that in no one respect can we discern any probability that we shall be worsted; for as to the points about which we before erred, these being remedied [10] will now afford us instruction. With alacrity, therefore, let both masters and mariners mind each his own business[11], not leaving[12] the post which has been assigned to him. For ourselves, we shall plan the attack full *as well*[13] as the former commanders; nor will we leave to any one an excuse for being a coward.[14] Should such be found[15], they shall receive condign punishment; but the brave shall be honoured with the suitable rewards of their valour."[16]

LXXXVIII. Such were the exhortations addressed to the Peloponnesians by their generals. But Phormio himself, also fearful of a dejection of spirits in his men, and perceiving that they got together into clusters[17] apart, and seemed to stand in awe of the enemy's numerous fleet, thought it expedient to call them together, in order to inspirit and admonish

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[10] *The points—being remedied.*] Literally, *superadded.* How these afford instruction, is not very clear; perhaps by teaching them self-distrust and caution not to fall into any such like errors again.

[11] *Mind each his own business.*] This is wrongly rendered by Hobbes, "follow in his own order," and Portus, "follow his leader." Valla and others have better discerned the sense, which is the above. Ἕπεσθαι here is put for πράσσειν, as in a not dissimilar expression πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια at 1 Thessal. 4, 11. where see my note. When the word has the *sense* of πράσσειν, it also takes its construction; and consequently when it has its construction, it may be presumed to carry its sense. At τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν subaud μέμος. It signifies, "what is before us, or is appointed for us to perform."

[12] *Leaving.*] Or *deserting*, according to the reading of several MSS. which has been received by the recent editors. Perhaps, however, it is a gloss.

[13] *Full as well.*] The commentators have failed to perceive that οὐ χεῖρον is either a modest way of saying κρεῖσσον, or rather an ironical expression.

[14] *Nor will we leave to, &c.*] There is a similar passage in Xen. Anab. 3, 2, 31. τοὺς οὐδ' ἕνι ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῷ εἶναι.

[15] *Should such be found.*] Literally, "should any one, indeed, even be such." The βουληθῇ merely stands for our *should*, and εἶναι κακὸς must be supplied from the preceding.

[16] *The brave shall, &c.*] Similar sentiments are found in Themist. p. 19. B. 205. A. Diod. Sic, t. 3, 123.

[17] *Got together into clusters.*] So 2, 21. κατὰ ξυστάσεις γιγνόμενοι. where see the note. The very same expression occurs in Aristoph. Lysist. 578, καὶ τοὺς γε συνισταμένους καὶ τοὺς πολοῦντας ἑαυτούς, &c. By not perceiving the construction, Smith refers the ξυν. to the *ships*.

them on the present occasion. For he had *before* prepared their minds for such an event, by continually telling them [18] that there was no number of invading ships so great but they might sustain their attack. [19] Nay, the men had themselves of a long time taken up this opinion [20], that, as Athenians, they ought not to decline contest with any number of Peloponnesian ships. [21] Seeing them, however, somewhat dispirited at the present aspect of things, he thought fit to remind them of the courage which became them [22], by the following address :—

LXXXIX.[1] " Having, comrades, observed you[2] to be in fear of the *number* of our enemies, I have called you together, because I would not have you terrified at what ought not to excite alarm. For, in the first place, it is because these our foes have been before defeated by you, because they themselves are conscious of their inferiority to you, that they have fitted out this vast and unequally numerous fleet.[3] Then again, as

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[18] *For he had before, &c.*] Such appears to be the complete sense, which is imperfectly unfolded, and one clause inserted out of its natural order.

[19] *No number of, &c.*] i. e. they need not retreat before them, but might withstand them by the exercise of all those evolutions in which the Athenians were so superior to the Peloponnesians. And even thus it is a sufficiently bold assertion, somewhat hyperbolical.

[20] *Opinion.*] Not *presumption*, as Smith renders.

[21] *Ought not to decline, &c.*] This construction of *ὑποχωρεῖν*, with the accusative is rare. It occurs, however, in Hom. Il. *ν*. 476. *ὡς μένεν δουρίκλυτος οὐδὲ ὑπεχώρει Αἰνείαν ἐπίοντα.* imitated by Lucian, 2, 545, 91. *ὑποχωροῦμεν ἐπίοντας.* There is a very similar passage in Herod. 7, 104.

[22] *Remind them of, &c.*] Or, remind them of being courageous. Compare 4, 95. The passage is imitated by Procop. 137, 6. *βουλόμενος ὑπόμνησιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν.*

[1] With this oration, Goeller says, may be compared one of Sallust Jugurth. c. 49.

[2] *Having, comrades, observed, &c.*] This mode of commencement is imitated by Arrian. E. A. 5, 25, 6. *ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες* M. — *ξυνήγαγον ἐς ταὐτὸ*, &c. and Agath. p. 23, 7. *ὁρῶ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες, πλέον ἢ κατὰ τὸ συμβὰν ἀνιωμένους καὶ δῆλον κ. τ. λ.* where for *τοίνυν* I conjecture *τάννυν*. And so, just after, *τὰ νῦν*.

With respect to the address, *comrades* or *soldiers*, it may be observed, that those to whom he was speaking were, with few exceptions, *sailors*. But the term was sometimes employed to denote those who were employed in an expedition, whether land or sea forces. So Aristoph. Ach. 546. *ἦν δ' ἂν ἡ πόλις πλέα θορύβου στρατιωτῶν.*

[3] *Have fitted out this, &c.*] There is some difficulty connected with *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου*. I have expressed what seemed the most apposite sense, and such as was adopted by all interpreters, until lately excepted to by Doederlin, on the ground that *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου* would thus signify no more than is found in the preceding. But this appears to be a frivolous objection; for it is not

to the point on which they especially rely in venturing to attack us, namely, as if bravery appertained to *them* only[4], they have no other ground for their confidence than this, that having, from their skill in land warfare, been therein generally successful, therefore they may expect that the same success should attend them in *sea service*.[5] But surely *that* may in all justice be here expected to attend *us*, as in the other case it would *them*[6] (for in natural courage they have, at least, no superiority over us), and we all, in proportion as we have more skill in any thing, are more daring therein.[7] The Lacedæmonians, too, bearing sway among their confederates by

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the *same*, though nearly allied to it. As to the sense he proposes, it is too absurd for me to notice. Goeller would take the expression to refer to the naval and military forces, and all the other apparatus apart from the ships. But that would require παρασκευάσαντο to be taken twice; and the second time, in a sense not only different from the first, but, I conceive, unexampled.

[4] *As if bravery, &c.*] It should seem that Phormio had received, from some spies, intelligence of the substance and arguments of the speech of Cnemus.

[5] *That having, from, &c.*] Such seems clearly to be the sense, though there is some difficulty in exactly reconciling it to the words. See the commentators. The only real difficulty is in σφίσι, which seems so little suitable to the context, that Kistemmaker would read, from four MSS., ὅταν τε. But that is exchanging one difficulty for another and a greater; since the whole turn of the sentence requires οἴονται. Hack would refer σφισι to τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν; which will yield the sense, "to do the same *for themselves*." But that is very languid and frigid. Goeller would remove the difficulty by taking τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ as the *subject* of ποιήσειν, in the sense they think that this skill in land service will cause them to do the same (i. e. to succeed) in sea service. But that is doing the greatest violence to the construction. It is better at once to suppose a synchysis, or blending of two constructions, i. e. καὶ οἴονται σφίσι ε. τ. ν. ἔσεσθαι τὸ αὐτὸ and κ. ο. σ. ε. τ. ν. ποιήσειν.

[6] *That may in all justice, &c.*] Such is the simple sense of the original, which has been strangely misconceived by the recent interpreters. The τὸ δ' is by Hack referred to τὸ ναυτικὸν; by Goeller, to τὸ θαρσεῖν contained in θαρσοῦσι; both methods equally forced and inadmissible. It can only relate to τὸ κατορθοῦν, which is alluded to in the words immediately preceding ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό. The chief difficulty is, that νῦν is used for ἐν τούτῳ, since it corresponds to ἐν ἐκείνῳ. Those words respectively refer to the ἐν τῷ πεζῷ and ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ preceding. Finally, the εἴπερ does not quite concede the thing, but has the sense *siquidem*.

[7] *And we all, &c.*] Here Hobbes and Smith have totally missed the sense, which is plainly that above expressed. The scope of the passage is well illustrated by Goeller thus: "Indicat his verbis, quare Atheniensibus major in præsentia quidem fiducia esse debebat: nam magno animo et fortitudine Lacedæmonios præstare negat; utrosque se alicujus rei peritia se antecellere, eoque se audaciores esse ait. In præsentia autem id adesse, quo ipsi, Athenienses, excellant, rei navalis prudentiam demonstrari posse."

their reputation among them, have brought most of these men into danger *against their wills;* since otherwise they would never, after being so utterly defeated, have ventured [8] a fresh engagement. Ye need not, therefore, fear their valour; nay, you rather inspire them with a greater and juster ground for terror; inasmuch as they have been before defeated by you, and because they fancy that you would not resist them unless you meditated the achievement of something memorable.[9] For adversaries superior in number (as these are) make their attacks with more reliance on *strength* than on counsel; whereas, those who attack with inferior force and unconstrained, must run the hazard from the influence of some great and and sure design.[10] Reflecting on this[11], they stand more in awe of us for this *apparent* inadequacy of our forces, than they would for any preparation which might be more in proportion. Many are the armies that have been overcome by even inferior numbers, through want of skill[12]; some by cowardice; neither of which can be imputed to us. As for the battle, I shall not willingly hazard it within the gulf, nor

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[8] *Ventured.*] Literally, taken in hand, ventured to undertake. Here I read, with Hack, Bekker, and Goeller, for ἐνεχείρεσαν, ἐπεχείρησαν: for though ἐγχείρειν is sometimes used for ἐπιχείρ. in the sense *conari*, ἐπιχ. is used of *earnest* endeavour, and such as is exerted in difficulties, as is observed by Sturz. in his Lex. Xen.

[9] *Memorable.*] Literally, something decidedly remarkable. Here for τοῦ read τὸν, and subaud λόγον, which is *supplied* by Dio Cass. 646, 32. Παρὰ πολὺ is by the Scholiast well explained ὑπερβαλλόντως. This, it may be observed, is almost always joined with comparatives and superlatives; very seldom, as here, with a positive. Goeller at τοῦ supplies προνενικηκέναι. But that is exceedingly harsh.

[10] *For adversaries superior, &c.*] Goeller gives the following as the construction: οἱ πλείους ἀντίπαλοι, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, &c. And he adds that the sense is the same as if it were written, ἀντίπαλον ὄντα τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλέον ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ πίσυνον ἐπέρχεσθαι, πλειόνων ἐστι. At οἱ ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων (sc. ἐπερχόμενοι) καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀντιτολμῶσιν (οὐ τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλέον πίσυνοι). ἢ ὅτι μέγα τι τὸ βέβαιον τῆς διανοίας ἔχουσι, I would add that ἐπερχόμενοι is to be repeated from the preceding ἐπέρχεσθαι.

[11] *Reflecting on this, &c.*] Goeller interprets thus: "hanc nostram peritiæ et fortitudinis præstantiam reputantes isti, nos magis extimescunt propter id quod non expectabant, non verisimile erat, quam propter æqualem sive justum apparatum, quem non habemus." I would add that οὐ κατὰ λόγον is for παράλογον. So 3, 39. τὰ κατὰ λόγον εὐτυχοῦντα ἀσφαλέστερα ἢ παρὰ δόξαν.

[12] *Many are the, &c.*] So Pindar. Isthm. 4, 56. καὶ κρέσσον' ἀνδρῶν χειρόνων ἔσφαλλε τέχνα καταμάρψαισ.' Herod. 7, 10, 55. φιλέει γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ στρατὸς πολλὸς ὑπὸ ὀλίγου διαφθείρεται.

will I sail thereinto; being well aware, that to a few dexterously managed and swift-sailing vessels, opposed to a multitude unskilfully managed, want of sea-room is a disadvantage.[13] For unless they take their views of the enemy from a distance, they can neither sail up to the charge as they ought, nor can they retreat at the proper time, when hard pressed. There is, moreover, no possibility for cutting through the enemy's line, nor tacking[14] and back (in which consist the advantages of better-sailing ships), but of necessity the sea fight will become a land battle. Now under such circumstances the greater number of ships must have the advantage.

"Respecting these matters I shall use the best forecast and all the provident care I am able. Do you, on your part, keep in exact order on board your ships, and execute orders with celerity; especially as the enemy's station[15] is so near us. In the engagement itself account order and silence as of the utmost consequence; for great[16] is their importance in *all* military operations, but in sea fights especially so. Charge, then, your foes in a manner worthy of your former achievements. The combat which awaits you is indeed momentous, since on its issue depends, either for ever to extinguish all the hopes which the Peloponnesians have formed of raising a navy, or to bring nearer to Athens apprehensions for her maritime dominion. Again I remind you that most of *these* your foes you have already defeated; and when men are once vanquished, their minds do not feel an equal alacrity towards the same dangers."[17]

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[13] *To a few dexterously managed, &c.*] So Appian 2, 622, 63. ἡ μὲν ἐμπειρία διέφθαρτο ὑπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας κεκυκλωμένοις.

[14] *Cutting through, &c.*] On these sea-terms I must refer to the notes on 1, 49. to which may be added the following passages: Appian 2, 622, 56, ναυσὶ κουφαῖς διέπλεον τε καὶ περιέπλεον, καὶ ἐπανόδοις ἐχρῶντο. The present passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 624, 36. μήτε διεκπλεῖν μήτε περιπλεῖν (ἅπερ που ναυμαχίας ἔργα ἐστι) δυναμένοις.

[15] *Station.*] Or *moorage*. Ἐφορμήσεως is for ἐφόρμου, as 3, 6. See note on 6, 48.

[16] *For great, &c.*] Here I read, with Hack and Bekker, ὁ ἐς τὸ (for ὥστε), from the conjecture of Steph. Goeller edits ὥς τε, which *may* be the true reading, though it involves great harshness.

[17] *And when men, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Dio. Cass. 625, 57. φύσει πᾶν τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶσι σφαλῇ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ ἀθυμότερον γίνεται, and Procop. 328. φρόνημα δουλωθὲν ἅπαξ παλινδρομεῖν

XC. Thus did Phormio exhort and animate his men. But when the Peloponnesians saw that the Athenians would not sail into the gulf and the narrows[1], wishing to draw them thither, however unwillingly, they weighed anchor with the dawn of day, and sailed, ranged in files of four, towards their territory within the gulf[2], in the same manner as they had lain at anchor, the right wing leading the way. In this wing they had ranged twenty of their best-sailing vessels, in order that, if Phormio (supposing them to be sailing against Naupactus) should himself sail along the opposite coast to their succour, the Athenians might not escape their charge, nor get beyond their wing, but that these ships might enclose them as in a net.[3]

ἥκιστα εἴωθεν. and 208, 10. τῶν γὰρ πόλλακις ἠτυχηκότων ἥκιστα ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γνῶμαι.

[1] *The narrows.*] So the Latin, *angustiæ*, *fauces*. This signification is of frequent occurrence in Xenophon and Arrian, and is found in Joseph. 1104, 10.

[2] *Sailed, ranged in, &c.*] There are few passages that have been less understood than the present. The sense assigned by the translators is neither permitted by the words themselves, nor is agreeable to the context. Ἐπὶ, with an accusative, will not admit of being taken for παρὰ, as is done by the interpreters; that would require ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ. And even if such might be supplied, how could their coasting along their own shore alarm the Athenians for Naupactus? I am persuaded that a very different sense is required; namely, that " they made towards the Athenian territory." And such will arise, if for ἑαυτῶν or αὐτῶν we read ἀὐτῶν, *their*. In no other way, indeed, can the words following (any more than those a little further on, " in order that if Phormio, supposing them to be sailing against Naupactus, should himself sail along the opposite coast") be understood. The meaning of them is, that the line of battle was formed from the line of anchorage; what made the right and left in the latter, making it also in the former. Now this was done to prevent any unnecessary motion and stir, which would put the Athenians on their guard. Moreover it is mentioned that the *right* wing took the lead, because the column *might* have moved on its *left*, as it would have done, had it intended to go out of the gulf; whereas it must move on its right, to proceed to the Naupactian territory.

[3] *The Athenians might, &c.*] Such, after repeated examination, I must decide to be the sense of this obscure passage, which has been but imperfectly understood by the translators, and by the commentators wholly neglected. By τὸν ἐπίπλουν πλέοντα is meant, the charge of the squadron (or wing) sailing upon them. The words ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρως are obscure from brevity; but the sense seems to be, " so as to get beyond or out of the reach of the wing," which should thus suddenly turn as it were upon a pivot, to cut them off from Naupactus. Ἔξω, as Sturz., in his Lex. Xen. in v., observes, is used of a column so broad as to stretch beyond the enemy's wing. And he cites from the Anab. παρῆλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος. *Enclosed* and *caught* the Athenians would certainly be; for, as the right wing of the Peloponnesians would cut them off from Naupactus,

As they expected, Phormio, seeing them weigh and advance, and alarmed for the safety of the place, left destitute of help, embarked (though unwillingly) with all speed[4], and coasted along his own shore, the Molossian forces proceeding thither to cooperate with him. Then the Peloponnesians, seeing the Athenians coasting in line, one by one[5], and, as they wished, already within the gulf and near the shore, suddenly, on a signal, turned about their ships[6], and moving from the front[7], made all sail possible upon the Athenians, hoping to have intercepted the *whole*. But eleven of the leading vessels contrived to avoid the movement[8] of the Peloponnesian wing, and effected their escape to the open space.[9] The rest, how-

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so would the left cut off their retreat, and prevent them from getting back out of the gulf. (See the plan.)

[4] *Embarked, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of ἄκων καὶ κατὰ σπουδήν, where I suspect that the καὶ should be cancelled, originating, it should seem, as in many other cases, from the κατὰ following.

[5] *In line, one by one.*] The phrase, ἐπὶ κέρως πλεῖν, is used when the line moves in the direction of one of its wings, either the right or the left leading the way.

It occurs also at 6, 32 and 50. and 8, 104, Plutarch Lys. c. 10. Procop. p. 19 and 22. Xen. Laced. 2, 8. Hist. 1, 17, 10. 6, 2, 18. Hence may be emended Appian, t. 2, 822, 47. ἅπαντα μεθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλει, where Schweigh. cancelled the words ἐκ κέρων, after vainly endeavouring to correct them. It is strange that not even Musgrave should have seen that ἐπὶ κέρως is the true reading. It may be proper to remark, that the phrase was not confined to *nautical* matters, but extended to land service, in the sense "*in a file, in a row.*" So Arrian E. A. 2, 8, 3. ἦγεν. Onosand. p. 69. Hence in Max. Tyr. Diss. 123. ὥσπερ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ κέρως βάδιζον. where ἐπὶ κέρως is adopted by all the recent editors for ἐπὶ καίρως. The same method is (ex emend. Casaub.) to be employed at Euseb. ap. Athen. 568. E. πώλους κύπριδος ἐξησκημένας Γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπικαίρως τεταγμένας. Hence is illustrated Aristid. 3, 375. A. τὸν Περίκλεα προστησάμενοι εἶδε βούλει Θεμιστοκλέα οἵπερ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ κέρως τῶν ῥητόρων.

[6] *Turned about their ships.*] In ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς we have another nautical term, used in Polyæn. 5, 36. ἐπέστρεψε τὴν ναῦν. Polyb. 1, 50, 5. ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος; and 1, 25, 2. ἐπιστρέψαντες αὐτοῖς ἀπήντων.

[7] *Moving from the front.*] Or, *in columns*, as opposed to sailing from either wing. So Lucian 2, 40, 34. ἐπὶ κέρως δὲ λέγειν τὸ ἀπὸ μετώπου ἄγειν. Polyæn. 5, 10. καὶ φανερὸς γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπικλέουσι, μετέστρεψε στρατώπεδον. where for μετέστρεψε I conjecture ἐπέστρεψε. Our author seems to have had in view Herod. 7, 100. τὰς δὲ νέας—ἀναγαγόντες—τὰς πρώρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν.

[8] *Movement.*] Or, turning about, wheeling.

[9] *Effected their escape to the open space.*] Not the open *sea*, as Portus and Hobbes render (for they were still in the gulf); but that which might be so called in comparison with the narrow strait which they had passed, and the place in which their consort ships were cut off and enclosed.

This

ever, they came up with, and running them ashore, disabled them; slaughtering such of the Athenians as had not escaped by swimming to shore.[11] Then they took in tow and hauled off some of the empty vessels (one of which they had taken with the crew on board); *others*, the Messenians[12] going to their succour, after wading into the sea, and climbing[13] on board, and fighting from the decks, recovered[14], when they were already in the act of being towed away.

XCI. Thus far, then, did the Peloponnesians gain the victory, and cut up the Athenian fleet. But those twenty ships of theirs from the right wing, went in chase of the eleven ships of the Athenians, which had escaped the wheel or turn, and got into the open space.[1] They were, however, beforehand with them, and all, except one ship, escaped into Nau-

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This passage is imitated by Plutarch Camill. 18. s. f. τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν (κέρας) ὑπεκλίναν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοὺς λόφους. I conjecture ἐπιστροφήν.

10 *Disabled.*] Not *destroyed;* otherwise they could not have afterwards towed them off. On the above signification see note supra, 1, 49 and 50.

11 *Swimming to shore.*] In ἐξένευσαν there is an allusion to the ships which they left; and it may be rendered, "swimming out to shore." There is a similar use of ἐξιέναι at Acts, 27, 44.

12 *The Messenians.*] These are here introduced in a somewhat obscure manner. Our author naturally supposes his readers to remember what was said at 1, 101, 4., by which we learn that the expelled Messenians were fixed at Naupactus. These, therefore, were *Naupactians.* But nothing was before said as to Phormio's having any of these with him; though, from 2, 25., we find that they did act on board the ships like our *marines.* Such must have been the case here; and they had, it seems, been stationed at Molycrium; but when Phormio embarked his men on board, to succour Naupactus, it appeared to him expedient to detach the Messenians *by land* for the relief of their town, should his endeavours to succour it by sea fail of success. Besides, they could thus pass to Naupactus across, by a much nearer route than by sea. In their way, however, they espied the peril of the Athenians, and advanced to their aid.

13 *Climbing.*] The ἐπεσβαίνοντες is a very forcible term, from the accumulation of the two prepositions in composition. This elegance is imitated by Appian: τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐσβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἀνήρουν. Xen. Hist. 1, 1, 6. παρεβόηθει καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Arrian E. A. 1, 6, 17. ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ποτάμου ἐκτοξεύειν, ἐπεσβάντας καὶ τούτους (read ἐπεσβαίνοντες). Dio Cass, 554, 7. ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν βυθὸν ἐπείσεβαινεν.

14 *Recovered.*] Mitford has here fallen into an error by saying that the Messenians recovered *all* the ships. Thucydides only says τὰς δέ τινας, *some* of them.

1 *Had escaped the, &c.*] The ὑπεξέφυγον must be taken, per dilogiam, in *two* senses, as referring both to ἐπιστροφὴν and ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν.

pactus; and anchoring off the temple of Apollo, with the beaks turned towards the enemy, prepared for resistance, in case they should make sail against them, and attempt to land. But they came up too late, yet began to sing the pæan, as having obtained their victory; though at the same time one Leucadian vessel, much further advanced than the rest, was holding in chase the hindmost[2] of the Athenian vessels. Now it happened that a merchant-vessel[3] lay at anchor before the harbour, which the Athenian ship first came up with, and got round; then, suddenly turning about, made a charge about midship at the Leucadian vessel which was chasing her, and sunk her.[4] At this occurrence, so sudden and unlooked-for, the Peloponnesians were seized with fear; and, moreover, having chased as victors, in some disorder, certain of them backed their oars and stopped in their course[5] (a very pre-

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2 *Hindmost.*] Literally, that which alone was left behind (being a heavy sailer), and had not reached Naupactus.

3 *Merchant-vessel.*] Literally, *a ship of burden;* from ἕλκειν *to carry.* Such were therefore of a roundish form, in opposition to ships of war, which were long and narrow at the bows.

4 *Turning about, &c,*] The mode in which this manœuvre was effected is not very clear; nor is it explained by the commentators. It should seem that after turning round one of the ends of the vessel, the Athenian ship suddenly stopped, and abruptly facing about (leaving, at the same time, a way for the Leucadian vessel), waited till it was in the act of turning round the end of the vessel, and struck her with the beak amidship. A well contrived and well executed manœuvre, which is included by Polyæn. 3, 4, 3. among the stratagems of *Phormio.* That writer also adds other circumstances, not here mentioned, as that the ship was the Paralus, and was pursued by *two* vessels That the ship belonged to Phormio is very *probable;* and that it was the Paralus is *possible;* since, though that and the Salaminian were reserved for particular state services, as conveying messages, yet sometimes they accompanied a fleet for ordinary purposes. Thus, those ships formed part of the squadron sent to Corcyra by the Athenians. See 3, 77. With respect to the circumstance that *two* ships were in chase of the Athenian, that is not at variance with Thucydides. That others were also in pursuit, appears from the words following.

5 *Backed their oars and, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "let down their oars, and hindered the way of the rest of the galleys." And so Smith. Portus seems not to have understood the words. I would observe that ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ is in some measure meant to explain the preceding, and does not signify "stood in the way of the others," but "stopped in their course." Ἐφίστημι, like our *to stop,* is in this sense used either as a neuter and absolutely (as often in Polybius, Appian, Ælian, and Themistius), or with a genitive, as here and in Diod. Sic. t. 6. 225. ἐπιστῆναι τῆς πορείας. It sometimes has the accusative in Xenophon, Arrian, Polybius, and Dionys. Hal.; but then it has an *active* sense. Indeed here ναῦς must be understood. At the genitive an ἀπὸ may be supplied.

The

judicial[6] step, considering that the enemy was so near[7]), with an intent to wait for the main body; others, through ignorance of the coast[8], ran on the shoals, and were stranded.

XCII. The Athenians, on seeing this, recovered their courage, and with one general shout rushed upon them, who, from the blunders which they had committed, and disorder into which they had fallen, made no long resistance, but turned and fled to Panormus[1], whence they had set out.

The mode in which this stoppage was effected is expressed by καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας, namely, by letting down the oars perpendicularly like poles, whereby the effect of the current would be prevented. This our sailors call *backing the oars*. Mitford has wrongly rendered the expression "resting on their oars."

6 *Prejudicial.*] Not *inutilis*, as Portus renders. The later commentators have seen that ἀξύμφορος, like ἀχρεῖος and ἀλυσιτελής, is here used to denote not only what is *useless*, but what is *hurtful*, by a meiosis. This signification occurs not unfrequently in Aristophanes, Polybius, Diod. Sic., Dionys. Hal., Joseph, &c., and sometimes in the earlier authors, as here and in Eurip. Troad. 491. Xen. Cyr. 5, 2. Other particulars I must reserve for my edition, only adding that the *earliest* authority I have met with is Hesiod. Op. μάλ' ἀσύμφορος ἔστι φυτοῖσιν. Nor is the idiom unknown in the Latin. So Hor. Sat. 1, 4, 24. "an hoc inhonestum et inutile sit nec ne dubitas?" See Clarke on Hom. Il. 1, 269.

7 *Considering that the enemy, &c.*] i. e. were at so short a distance from which to attack them. A sense which is expressed in ἀντεξόρμησιν, for which I formerly read ἀντεφ, which is supported by several MSS.; but I am now induced to prefer the common reading, as being more significant, and as being acknowledged by Dio Cass., who, at 562, 577, 626, and 1044., uses ἀντεξορμέω of a naval attack. And so also Plutarch ap Steph. Thes. Πρὸς here signifies *quod attinet ad.*

8 *Ignorance of the coast.*] Strange, indeed, that they should have gone without pilots who knew the soundings; for, from the perpetual communication of Corinth with the eastern parts of Greece, Italy, &c., by this gulf, we can hardly suppose but that there must have been many such. (And this, perhaps, induced Hack to propose cancelling χωρίων.) But though there might be many who had some slight knowledge of the coast, yet there were probably few *good* pilots among the Peloponnesians, insomuch that they were, perhaps, obliged to hire Phœnicians and other foreigners. This, indeed, seems implied in what Pericles says at 1, 143., where, enumerating the advantages which the Athenians enjoyed, he says, καὶ, ὅπερ κράτιστον, κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας.

1 *Fled to Panormus.*] One cannot but be astonished at the seeming supineness and inefficiency of the main body, which ought to have proceeded to the support of the right wing. Mitford here desiderates the usual accuracy of Thucydides, in not accounting for this; and suspects there was some mismanagement of which he was uninformed. But, whatever be the accuracy of the historian when he narrates occurrences, or his judgment in accounting for them, yet, as he wrote for the learned, reflecting, and sagacious, he often leaves his readers to collect the *causes* of events from his narration of them. Thus, in the present instance, he has before

The Athenians made chase, and took six of the ships which were nearest them, and recovered their own, which the enemy had before disabled and were towing off. The men they partly put to death and partly made prisoners. On board the Leucadian ship, which was sunk alongside of the merchant-vessel, sailed Timocrates, the Lacedæmonian[2], who, when the ship was perishing, slew himself[3], and his body was wafted into the harbour of Naupactus. Then the Athenians retiring, erected a trophy on the situation whence they had proceeded to gain this victory.[4] They then took up such of the corpses and the wreck as had been driven on their own shore[5],

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told us that the right wing of the Peloponnesians was composed of the swiftest-sailing vessels. Now, after passing the strait, the Athenian squadron, especially on seeing the manœuvre of the enemy to cut them off, would advance as rapidly as possible to Naupactus, which we are to remember is, according to the best maps, eight or ten miles distant from Antirrhium. Therefore the right wing, which advanced so rapidly almost up to Naupactus, might well be taken (especially as we find they made but a short resistance) before the main body of slower-sailing vessels could come up, even supposing every exertion to have been made on their part; and if *Brasidas* was there, we may be assured that every thing possible would be done. Yet, without knowing the exact position of the main body, and of the right wing, at the commencement of the engagement, and at its close, it is impossible to pronounce with certainty. It is probable, that the squadron which composed the right wing, altogether left the main body in the middle of the gulf; and, seeing several of the ships stranded, and not perceiving that so many escaped, would suppose that there could be no need for its co-operation, and when it did perceive it, could not reach in time. But here again, without knowing the soundings of the gulf, which, we find, had several shoals, we cannot pronounce with certainty.

[2] *Timocrates, the Lacedæmonian.*] Not *a* Lacedæmonian, as Hobbes renders. The article is, indeed, not usual in this phrase, but it here has reference to the *previous* mention of Timocrates, who was one of the counsellors sent by the Lacedæmonians to Cnemus. See c. 85.

[3] *Slew himself.*] Such *Brasidas* would probably have done, under the same circumstances. Of this action, done, as Mitford says, in a fit of passionate despair, Smith certainly judges too harshly, and does the greatest injustice to the motives of this brave, but misguided, man. "He could not," says he, "endure the thought of perishing in a whole skin, and, therefore, snatched the moment, and killed himself for fear he should be drowned." He rather, it should seem, wished to show the last proof of courage and contempt, and to fall by his own hand rather than that of the enemy. Though, as we find, the corpse floated into the harbour of Naupactus, the Athenians had not magnanimity enough to give it any honourable burial.

[4] *Situation whence, &c.*] i. e. some part of the shore near the temple of Apollo.

[5] *Took up such, &c., as had been driven on their own shore.*] This, as it seems, was all that was required. So 1, 54. ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς.

and gave up to the enemy theirs, under truce. The Peloponnesians, too, erected a trophy as conquerors, because of their defeat of those of the enemy's ships which they disabled on the shore; and the ship which they took they dedicated at the Achæan promontory, near their trophy. After this, however, fearing the reinforcement which was expected from Athens, they, on the approach of night, sailed, all except the Leucadians, towards the Crisæan gulf and Corinth. Not long after their retreat, arrived at Naupactus those twenty Athenian ships from Crete which should have joined Phormio before the battle. Thus ended this summer.

XCIII. But before the fleet, which had retired to the Crisæan gulf and Corinth, separated, and just as the winter commenced, Brasidas and the other Peloponnesian commanders were induced [1], at the suggestion of the Megareans, to make an attempt on Piræus, the harbour of Athens. Now it was neither guarded nor shut up; probably on account of their naval superiority. The plan was, that each sailor should take with him his oar, his cushion, and his thong [2], and go by

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[1] *Were induced, &c.*] Into this project they would readily enough enter, as striking a bold stroke, and, if at all successful, calculated to lessen the displeasure which their late defeat would procure them from the Lacedæmonians.

[2] *His cushion and his thong.*] "The thong, or loop, to fasten the oar to the rowlock, is not unknown with us, and I have seen the cushion used by Thames wherrymen; yet, that the cushion should have been so indispensable an implement as the account in the text would make it appear, we do not readily conceive. Though, therefore, the Scholiast gives the explanation, which the Latin translator has followed, ὑπηρέσιον ἐστι τὸ κῶας ᾧ ἐπικάθηνται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ συντρίβεσθαι αὐτῶν τὰς πυγάς, I cannot help having some suspicion that it meant another thing. A marble fragment, which, before the spoliations of the French, was in the Vatican museum at Rome, has been mentioned in a former note (24. s. 4. ch. 8.), as the most satisfactory representation known of an antient ship of war. In that curious monument the oars project from the side of the vessel through apertures, like the rowports of our small ships of war; but, at the aperture, every oar has a bag about it, whose purpose apparently has been to prevent the waves from flowing in. I leave it for those who have leisure for the inquiry to decide whether the ὑπηρέσιον of Thucydides may have been such a case or bag, rather than a cushion to sit upon." (*Mitford.*)

Ingenious as is this interpretation, it cannot, I think, be adopted, since the use of the cushion appears from other accounts (besides the *Scholiast*) to have been so general that the utensil might very well be thought indispensable, at least such as no sailor would be willing to be without. Thus Plutarch Themist. β. 4. ὡς ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν

land from Corinth to the sea over against Athens, and proceeding with all speed to Megara, should put off with forty triremes which happened to lie at Nisæa, their naval station, and sail immediately for Piræeus; for there was no naval force on

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πολιτῶν παρελόμενος, εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην συνέστειλε τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. Isocr. p. 688. Lang. οἱ μὲν — ὑπηρέσιον ἔχοντες ἐμβαίνουσιν. Pollux 10, 40. and 1, 88. τὸ δὲ ὑποκείμενον τοῖς ἐρέταις ὑπηρέσιον. Hermippus ap. Hesych. in v. πανικτὸν. Α. Ὥρα τοίνυν μετ' ἐμοῦ χωρεῖν τὸν κωπητῆρα λαβόντα, καὶ προσκεφάλαιον, ἵν' ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐμπηδήσας ῥοθιάζῃς. Β. Ἀλλ' οὐ δέομαι, πανικτὸν ἔχων τὸν πρωκτόν.*

These cushions, however, I suspect, were often no more than pieces of a skin with the fleece on, i. e. a κῶας. Thus the κῶας is by Theocr. Idyll. 21, 12. reckoned among the utensils of a fisherman. So also Procop. 130, 16. καθεύδουσι δὲ ἐπι τῆς γῆς κώδιον ὑποστρωννύντες. See also Appian 1, 797, 24. Aristoph. Thesm. 1180. Theocr. Id. φ. 10, 17.

As to the *oar-bag* mentioned by Mitford, I can prove its *antient use* from the Schol. on Aristoph. Acharn. 97. μεγάλοι ταῖς τριήρεσι ὀφθαλμοὶ γίνονται, δι' ὧν τὰς κώπας ἐμβαλλόντες ἐκωπηλάτουν. ἐφράττοντο δὲ καὶ δερματίνοις τρόποις, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τρίβεσθαι τὰ σανιδώματα. And Etym. Mag. 155, 17. ἀσκώματα καλοῦνται καὶ τὰ δέρματα τὰ ἐπιῤῥαπτόμενα ταῖς κώπαις ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰσφέρειν τὸ θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ. And so ἄσκωμα occurs in Aristoph. Acharn. 97. Then, however, it seems to have been fastened to the oar, and probably formed a part of it; and, therefore, would not require to be here mentioned. Besides, such were, perhaps, only used for the *lower* tier of oar-holes.

The τροπωτὴρ is not what Hobbes calls the piece of leather in which the oar turned, but the strip or thong with which the oar was fastened to the piece of wood formed to contain and support it. See Hesych. and Etym. Mag. 671. and the passages cited by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 382. Aristophanes Acharn. 545. &c. speaking of the bustle occasioned by the launching of three hundred triremes, says the quay resounded with the noise ἀσκῶν, τροπωτήρων, &c., and the dock with that of κωπέων πλατουμένων, Τύλων, θαλαμῶν τροπουμένων. The κωπητὴρ of the above passage of Hermippus is the *scalmus*, or wooden frame-work to support the oar. See Hesych. Etym. Mag. 715. Our oars, too, have a κωπητὴρ and what are called *tholes* (the τύλων of the above passage of Aristophanes), to guide and keep them in their place, which tholes the rowers generally carry in their pockets.

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* On which passage, Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. 402. annotates thus: — "Quid sit juxta cum ignarissimis scio. Forsan legendum πηνικτόν." It was long my conjecture that the true reading is παναστικτόν. So πολύστικτος, κατάστικτος, and many other words, which may be seen in Steph. Thes.; and especially ὀῤῥοπυγόστικτος, which Hoog. Dict. Analag. says is used by Aristotle. Thus the sense will be *wheal'd*. Such marks are called στίγματα, or φλυκταίναι, by medical authors and others. So Aristoph. Ran. 236. ἐγὼ δὲ φλυκταίνας ἔχω χῷ πρωκτὸς ἰδίει πάλαι. See also Vesp. 1119., to omit many other passages which I had noted. I am now, however, of opinion that not even the conjecture of the learned editor above quoted was necessary; since the common reading will of itself yield the very same sense, if the word be supposed to be put *Doricè*. And so in the same passage, the Doric form ῥοθιάξῃς ought to be restored for ῥοθιάζῃς, which was introduced by Alberti solely on the *conjecture* of Junius.

guard therein, there being no expectation that the enemy would make so sudden an attack, nor any supposition that they would deliberately [3] and openly run so great a risk; or, if they had thought of so doing, that they would not previously be discovered. The Peloponnesians, however, set forwards immediately to the execution of what they had projected; and arriving by night, and launching off the ships from Nisæa, sailed forth, not indeed to Piræeus, as they had planned, but (deterred by the danger, and also hindered, as it said, by an adverse wind) towards that cape [4] of Salamis which faces Megara. Here there was a fort [5], and a guard-force of three ships, to prevent all communication with Megara. The fort they stormed, and carried off the three triremes, which they found without their crews; ravaging, too, the rest of Salamis, unprepared as it was for such an incursion.

XCIV. War beacons [1] were now raised towards Athens, which caused a consternation exceeded by none that was felt during the whole war. For the inhabitants of the *city* supposed that the enemy had already entered the *Piræeus*; while those of the *Piræeus* thought that the city of Salamis was taken, and that the enemy were on the very point of

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[3] *Deliberately.*] Such seems to be the true sense of κατ' ἡσυχίαν, which has been imperfectly understood by the commentators. They cannot conceive how the enemy should of set plan, or openly, undertake the attack. Nor, in fact, did they; for the plan of proceeding to Nisæa was, it is probable, only made known on the very evening of the march; otherwise it would have been communicated to the Athenians by spies. For the same reason the rowers took their necessary utensils with them, not because there were none at Megara, but because the procuring and getting them ready would have given alarm to the Athenians, and put them on their guard.

[4] *That cape.*] Called the Budorus; perhaps from the *form*, it having some resemblance to an ox-hide. Many islands and promontories, indeed, had their name from similar circumstances; as the Morea (from its resemblance to the form of a mulberry leaf), the Œnignathos in Laconia, the Bucephalium in Corinthia, &c.

[5] *Fort.*] So Steph. Byz. in Βούδωρον says that Ephorus speaks of Budorus as a *fort*.

[1] *War beacons.*] On these (passed over by the commentators) it may suffice to refer to the Schol. on Æschyl. Agam. 3. Rittersh. on Oppian Cyneg. 4, 128. Schwebel. on Onosand. p. 36. also to a learned note of Valckn. on Herod. 7, 182, 8. and Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Agam. 32.

advancing upon *them;* which, *had not* their fears interposed[2], and the wind proved adverse, might easily have taken place. The Athenians, however, at break of day, advancing with their whole forces to Piræeus, launched their ships in the utmost haste and confusion, and proceeding with their fleet to Salamis, left their land forces to defend Piræeus. But the Peloponnesians, on hearing of the advance of this succour, having now ravaged most of Salamis, carried off their prisoners and spoil, together with the three ships from Fort Budorus, and set sail with all speed for Nisæa. Indeed they were somewhat alarmed on account of their ships, which had been launched out to sea after long lying in the dock[3], and were exceedingly leaky.[4] Having proceeded to Megara, they thence departed by land to Corinth. The Athenians, on not finding them at Salamis, themselves also sailed away. After this, too, they looked with increased care to the defence of Piræeus, securing the ports by chains[5], and using every other precautional attention.[6]

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[2] *Fears interposed.*] This absolute sense of κατοκνῆσαι is rare, but occurs in Dio Cass. p. 788, 9.

[3] *Launched out to sea after, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense, and not, as Hobbes renders, "had lain long in the water;" for *that* would not make them leaky; it was the lying long in the dry dock. The idiomatical use of διὰ χρόνου deceived him.

[4] *Were exceedingly leaky.*] Literally, would keep out no water, were not water-tight. As this sense of στέγω is rare, and neglected by the commentators, the following examples may be not unacceptable. Theoph. Hist. Plant. 5, 1, 8. on the selection of wood fit for ship-building: ὅταν συμπίῃ καθελκυσθέντα συμμύει καὶ στέγει. Plutarch Philop. c. 14. ναῦν παλαιὰν δι' ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα κατασπάσας ἐπλήρωσεν· ὥστε μὴ στεγούσης, κινδυνεύσαι τοὺς πολίτας. Plutarch 2, 476. καὶ πάρεστιν ἀπονήξεσθαι τοῦ σώματος. ὥσπερ ἐφολκίον μὴ στέγοντος.

The Scholiast here rightly understands ὕδωρ. So Æschyl. Suppl. 142. λινοῤαφὴς τε δόμος ἄλα στέγων. The term is employed metaphorically in Eurip. Incert. frag. 11, 1. Eurip. Elect. 273. Æschyl. Theb. 202 and 796. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 877. It is more frequently used of vessels which will not, as we say, *hold* water. So Plato ap. Steph. Thes. οὐ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀγγεῖον οὐδὲν στέγει. and Galen: ῥήγνυνται τὰ ἀγγεῖα, διὰ τὸ μὴ στέγειν τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ αἷμα.

[5] *Chains.*] Such were then, and especially afterwards, in common use for shutting up the mouths of ports, when narrow enough to admit of them. Thus we find from Book VII. that they were used at Syracuse, and by Appian 1, 4, 37. at Carthage. By the time of Strabo they had grown so common that that writer perpetually employs the expression λίμην κλειστός.

[6] *Other precautionary diligence.*] To this period may, perhaps, be referred what is related by Polyæn. 1, 40, 3. Ἀλκιβιάδης πολιορκούντων τὰς Ἀθήνας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, βουλόμενος τοὺς φύλακας τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ

XCV. About this period, and at the commencement of winter, Sitalces[1] the Odrysian, king of Thrace, undertook an expedition against Perdiccas[2] son of Alexander, king of

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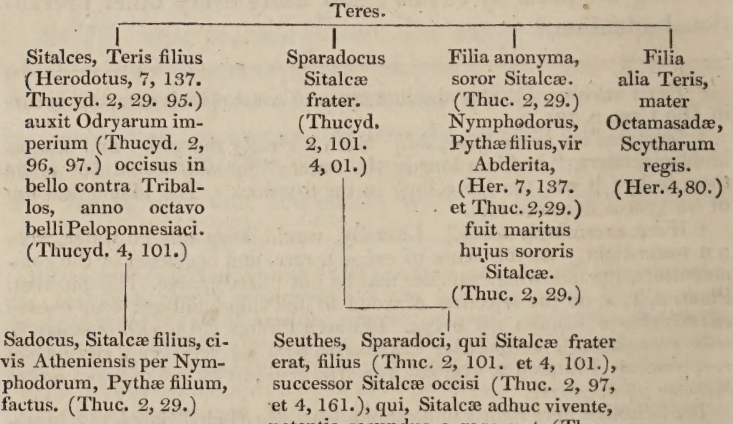
Πειραιῶς, καὶ τῶν σκελῶν τῶν ἄχρι θαλάσσης ἀγρύπνους περὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κατασκευάσαι, προηγόρευσεν, ὡς αὐτὸς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως νύκτωρ τρὶς ἀνασχήσοι τὸν λαμπτῆρα· ὡς δ' ἂν μὴ ἀνάσχοι, ὡς φυλακὴν ἐκλιπὼν κολασθήσεται. οὕτω δὴ πάντες ἀγρυπνοῦντες ἐφύλαττον. ἵν' αἴροντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ πῦρ, ἀντάραι δύναιντο. σημαίνοντες, ὡς ἐγρηγορότες φυλάττοιεν. It is at least probable that the caution was then employed; but not, it should seem, by the orders of Alcibiades, since he was not yet of age to hold the office of στρατηγὸς (see 6, 12.), though it might be by his suggestion.

[1] *Sitalces.*] On the life, character, and actions of this extraordinary person, see an able dissertation in Gail's Philolog. p. 372. His character is briefly, but ably, sketched by Diodorus, as follows: — Σιτάλκης ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλεὺς παρειλήφει μὲν βασιλείαν ὀλίγης χώρας, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνδρίαν καὶ σύνεσιν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν δυναστείαν ηὔξησεν, ἐπιεικῶς μὲν ἄρχων τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων, ἀνδρεῖος δ' ὢν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ στρατηγικὸς, ἔτι δὲ τῶν προσόδων μεγάλην ποιούμενος ἐπιμελίαν. The following genealogy of the royal family of Odrysæ is by Gattererus, and inserted in Poppo's Proleg.: —


Teres.
Sitalces, Teris filius (Herodotus, 7, 137. Thucyd. 2, 29. 95.) auxit Odryarum imperium (Thucyd. 2, 96, 97.) occisus in bello contra Triballos, anno octavo belli Peloponnesiaci. (Thucyd. 4, 101.)
Sparadocus Sitalcæ frater. (Thucyd. 2, 101. 4, 01.)
Filia anonyma, soror Sitalcæ. (Thuc. 2, 29.) Nymphodorus, Pythæ filius, vir Abderita, (Her. 7, 137. et Thuc. 2, 29.) fuit maritus hujus sororis Sitalcæ. (Thuc. 2, 29.)
Filia alia Teris, mater Octamasadæ, Scytharum regis. (Her. 4, 80.)
Sadocus, Sitalcæ filius, civis Atheniensis per Nymphodorum, Pythæ filium, factus. (Thuc. 2, 29.)
Seuthes, Sparadoci, qui Sitalcæ frater erat, filius (Thuc. 2, 101. et 4, 101.), successor Sitalcæ occisi (Thuc. 2, 97, et 4, 161.), qui, Sitalcæ adhuc vivente, potentia secundus a rege erat (Thuc. 2, 101.), et deinde, rex factus, imperii reditus ad summum perduxerat. (Thuc. 2, 97.)

[2] *Perdiccas.*] I cannot but refer the reader to the accurate sketch of the history of the kingdom of Macedonia, from its foundation by Perdiccas I. to Archelaus II., successor of Perdiccas, presented by Poppo Proleg. 2, 419. seqq. Perdiccas II. of whom we here read, was the eighth from the founder, who was an Argive of the family of the Temenidæ, and therefore of the race of the Heraclidæ. Some, indeed, carry the regal succession three reigns farther back, including Thyrmas, Cæmes, and Caranus; which is chiefly founded on the authority of Justin. But, as Poppo observes, it is plain from Herod. 8, 137. that Perdiccas was the first king; though the other three might be powerful chieftains. Up to the time of

Macedonia, and the Chalcideans of Thrace, on account of two promises; one of which he intended to enforce, the other to perform.[3] For Perdiccas, though he had made a promise to him at the beginning of the war, on condition that he would reconcile him with the Athenians (by whom he was then hard pressed) and *not* bring back from exile his brother Philip (with whom he was at enmity) to occupy the throne, had never performed his engagements. Sitalces, too, had himself, when he had entered into alliance with Athens, covenanted to bring to a conclusion the war against the Chalcideans of Thrace. On both these accounts he made

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Amyntas I., when the kingdom submitted to the Persians, it was contracted within very narrow limits; for to the east it did not yet reach to the Lake Prasias, and the Strymon, but Mount Dysorus was its boundary, as we find from Herod. 5, 17. But when the king of Bisaltia and Crestonia had fled, for fear of Xerxes, to Mount Rhodope, and Alexander, the successor of Amyntas, had, by giving his daughter in marriage to Bubaris, a powerful Persian, acquired considerable influence at the court of the king of Persia, he was presented by that monarch with all the region between Mounts Olympus and Hæmus. To this period are therefore to be referred those conquests of the Macedonians mentioned in Thucyd. 2, 99., when they expelled the Bottiæi, Eordi, Edones, &c., and acquired the possession of Mygdonia, Crestonia, Bisaltia, and the greater part of the tract of country between the rivers Axius and Strymon, subjecting, or acquiring a predominating influence over, the Lyncestæ, Elimiotæ, and other nations of Upper Macedonia.

For the rest of the history I must refer to Poppo, from whom the above particulars have been derived.

[3] *One of which he intended, &c.*] Or, "one made *to* him, which he was resolved to enforce; the other made *by* him, which he meant to perform." This signification of *ἀναπράττω* (i. e. *τὰ ἄνωθεν ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως ὀφειλόμενα εἰσπράττειν*) is perhaps the primary one. The mode of expression in the original has, according to our ideas, a very quaint and forced air; and the whole of the subject here is so little intelligible, that to my younger readers the following statement of Mitford may be not unacceptable: —

"Philip, brother of Perdiccas king of Macedonia, dying, his son Amyntas claimed the succession to the principality which he had held in Upper Macedonia. Perdiccas, who had proposed to deprive his brother of that little subordinate sovereignty, seized it on his death. What the Macedonian law on the subject may have been, we have no information, and perhaps it was not very well defined. Amyntas, however, resorted to the neighbouring powerful sovereign of Thrace, Sitalces. This prince, by his recent alliance with Athens, for what advantages in return is not said, had engaged to compel the revolted dependencies of Athens in Chalcidicë to return to their obedience. Ready, therefore, with his army, he took Amyntas under his patronage; and, Perdiccas refusing to reinstate that prince in the principality which had been held by his father, he resolved to dethrone Perdiccas, and make Amyntas king of Macedonia." See also c. 13. sect. 4. of Mitford's History.

the invasion in question, and took with him both Amyntas the son of Philip, to place him on the throne of Macedonia, and also the Athenian ambassadors, then with him for that business, together with Agnon as general. For the Athenians had engaged to cooperate against the Chalcideans, both with a fleet, and as large an army as they could.

XCVI. Setting out[1], therefore, himself from Odrysæ, he summons[2] first to attend him such of the Thracians between Mount Hæmus and Mount Rhodope as were his subjects, unto the sea-coast of the Euxine and the Hellespont; next, the Getæ beyond[3] Hæmus, and such other nations[4] as

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[1] *Setting out.*] He was not deterred from making the expedition by the presence of winter; for, as Mitford remarks from Xen. Hist. 7., winter warfare was more common with the Thracians than with the Greeks.

[2] *Summons.*] Literally, *raises*, or levies. A rare signification of *ἀνίστημι*, of which the only example I have noted is from Arrian E. A. 5, 22. *ξὺν τῇ σφετέρῃ δυνάμει καὶ πολλὰ ἀλλὰ ἔθνη ἀναστήσαντες.* There is a similar use of *excire* in Latin. So Livy 5, 34. Is, quod ejus ex populis abundabat, Bituriges, Arvernos, Senones, Æduos, &c., excivit.

On the kingdom of Odrysæ Goeller refers to Arrian E. A. 1, 2, 3.

[3] *Beyond.*] In *ὑπερβάντι* there is *not* (as the commentators fancy) any pleonasm. It is a participle which, by use, became a sort of preposition, and stands for *ὑπέρ*. This use of the word is very frequent in Pausanias, and occurs occasionally in other writers, as Herod. 4, 25. who employs the *accusative* at 5, 17. So *ἐμβάντι* in Scymnus Ch. p. 49., and *διαβάντι* in Herod. 4, 20.

[4] *Such other nations.*] The words of the original are somewhat obscure, and have been not well understood by the translators. Hobbes renders, "all the nations between the Ister and the Euxine." But the *ἐντὸς* (*between*) has reference, not to the Euxine, but to Hæmus just before. Smith well inserts *along;* for after mentioning the north and south boundaries of the country now spoken of (afterwards the *Mœsia inferior*, at the present time Bulgaria), Thucydides adverts to the east and west limits. Of the west he does not speak; but to the east, he says, it extended down to the Euxine Sea.

As to the *μᾶλλον*, it is omitted by most translators, as if it were a mere pleonasm. But such *μᾶλλον* never is; here, at least, it has, I conceive, a sense, though not to be expressed without much circumlocution. In fact, it seems to refer to a sentence omitted, which may be thus supplied: "and such other parts (of the country) as are inhabited (on the sea-coast chiefly) along from the west down to the sea-coast of the Euxine on the east." The *μᾶλλον* stands for *κατοικοῦντας δὲ πρὸς θάλασσαν.* Or perhaps the passage may be thus pointed: *καὶ ὅσα α. μ. ε. τ. Ι. ποταμοῦ (πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον τῆς τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου) κατῴκηντο.* scil. *μεχρὶ θαλάσσης.* The meaning is, that those other parts of the country were chiefly towards the Euxine; the rest, it seems, being inhabited by the Getæ. That the Getæ did not occupy the country as far as the Ister, is clear from Herod. 4, 93 and 94. where, speaking of Darius's journey from Byzantium to the

inhabited within the Ister, and so along down to the sea-coast of the Euxine. The Getæ and the inhabitants of that part are borderers on the Scythians, are armed and accoutred [5] in the same manner, and all horse-archers. He also called forth many of the mountaineers of Thrace, who are independent [6], and armed with swords [7], are called the Dii, and mostly inhabit Mount Rhodope. Some of them he engaged for pay; others accompanied as volunteers.[8] He raises also the Agræans and Lææans [9], and such other Pæonian tribes as were

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bridge on the Ister, he says: πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον, πρώτους αἱρέει Γέτας. Those *other* people are adverted to just after by the καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ ὅμεροι.

[5] *Are borderers on, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 762, 71. Σκορδίσκοις ὁμόροις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσκεύοις οὖσι. The word ὁμόσκευος is rare; but it elsewhere occurs in Lucian 2, 557. Dionys. Hal. Ant. Rhet. c. 11. It refers not to *arms* only (as the translators seem to have thought) but also to accoutrements; for σκεῦος is a very general term, and may denote the latter as well as the former.

[6] *Independent.*] So Livy 42, 51. tria millia Thracum liberorum. Arrian E. A. 1, 1, 6. ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς Θράκην τὴν τῶν αὐτονόμων καλουμένων Θρακῶν. Xen. Hist. 5, 2, 17. Θρᾷκες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι.

All, however, were not summoned, but only πολλοί, those who are called Dii. Among the rest were the Satræ, mentioned by Herod. 7, 111., and highly commended for their bravery.

[7] *Armed with swords.*] i. e. who used the sword in their warfare, as did the Scottish highlanders. Xenophon Cyr. 6, 2, 10. says: μεμισθωμένους εἶναι πόλλους Θρακῶν μαχαιροφόρους. From which it appears that it was only some of the Thracians who were such; and, indeed, Thucydides 7, 27. uses Θρακῶν τῶν μαχαιροφόρων in the very same manner. See also Posidon. ap. Athen. p. 153. and Ovid Trist. 5, 7, 19. cited by Duker. The mountaineers, however, of Asia (as, indeed, do most mountaineers of every age) used the same weapon. So Æschyl. Pers. 56. τὸ μαχαιρόφορον τὸ ἔθνος ἐκ πάσης Ἀσίας ἔπεται. It is probable that these Thracians were, like the Swiss of Europe, ready to take pay from any who would engage them. Thus some of them were hired for pay, though others came as volunteers, intending to *pay themselves* by plunder.

[8] *Volunteers.*] This use of ἐθελοντὰς occurs often elsewhere in Thucydides. And so in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 620, 20. See also Demosth. ap. Steph Thes. It always denotes those who serve without pay.

[9] *Agræans and Lææans.*] The best account of these tribes is to be found in Gattererus's Memoirs on antient Thrace, inserted in the Commentationes Gotting. vol. 9. p. 33., and detailed by Poppo in his Proleg. These tribes and the Grææans just afterwards mentioned, were (it is plain from this passage) all Pæonian tribes, and inhabited the country about Mount Rhodope and the Strymon. Gatterer thinks the Agræans were situated the most to the north, perhaps as being mentioned first. We may at least, he thinks, collect from Herod. 5, 16. that they were situated more to the north than the Doberes and Pœopli, who inhabited to the north of Mount Pangæus.

Such is, moreover, he thinks, quite *clear* from Strabo l. 8. ὅτι ὁ Στρυμὼν ποταμὸς ἄρχεται ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ῥοδόπην Ἀγριάνων. Thucydides, indeed, further on, derives the Strymon from Mount Scomius; and Pliny 4, 10.

subject to him; and these were situated at the farthest parts of his dominions, extending to the Grææans and the Lææan Pæonians and the river Strymon, which runs from Mount Scomius between the Grææans and Lææans, and which bounded his territory on the side next to those Pæonians who were yet independent. On the side towards the Triballi [10] (these also independent), the Treres and Tilatæans [11] formed the boundary.[12] Those dwell on the north side of Mount

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from Hæmus. All these, however, are so contiguous, that one may readily be put for another. Gatterer also subjoins another proof, and from all that he has adduced it does indeed seem that the Agræans inhabited about Rhodope, and thence to the fountains of the rivers Oscius and Strymon.

As to the Lææans and Grææans, Gatterer thinks it plain, from this passage, that the former were of two sorts; those who lived on the *north* bank of the Strymon, and were subject to the Odrysians; and those on the *south*, who were independent. The Grææans, he says, were all free, and not subject to Odrysæ. Now this supposes that the Strymon intersected the territory of both these people; and the words of Thucydides may *seem* to mean it. But thus, as the Grææans are acknowledged to have been independent, it would follow that the Strymon was *not* the limit of the Odrysian territory; and yet *that* is just after asserted by Thucydides, and, indeed, the words οὐ (sc. ποταμοῦ) ὡρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ, &c., were meant to fix and explain the meaning of the preceding, showing that by διὰ Γραικῶν καὶ Λαιαίων is meant, "runs between the two districts of the Grææans and Lææans." Such appears, too, from c. 97. "to the Lææans and the Strymon." And this is confirmed by the nature of the appellation *Lævi*, which designates those who lived on the *left* bank of the Strymon; Λαιαῖοι coming from λαιὸς, *lævus, left*. So Livy 5, 35. speaks of the *Lævi* Ligures, i. e. those who inhabited the left bank of the Ticinus. Poppo in his Proleg. here perplexes himself to little purpose, and resorts to conjectures which may very well be dispensed with.

On the Pæonian tribes generally see Gatterer and Creuzer Frag. Ant. Hist. p. 63. note, referred to by Goeller in loc.

[10] *Triballi.*] These were a people of considerable power, and inhabiting a country of great extent, on the west of Odrysia, and divided from it by the Oscius. Their territory, Gatterer thinks, extended as far as Illyrium.

[11] *Treres and Tilatæans.*] These, it appears from the words following, occupied the north west parts of Odrysia. Of the former we have also mention in Strabo and Callimachus. Possibly the name may have been derived from τρήρ-ων, with allusion to the sound of their dialect. For we sometimes read of the pronunciation of barbarous nations being somewhat assimilated to the tones of *birds*. With respect to the *Tilatæans*, here some MSS. have *Trilatæans*. And Gatterer suspects some corruption, as not remembering the name in any other writer but Thucydides. His memory, however, failed him; since it occurs in Steph. Byz. Τιλαταῖος. Θράκης ἔθνος Θουκ. δευτερ. As to the reading *Tril.*, it deserves no attention, since the ρ plainly arose from the ρ in Treres.

[12] *Formed the boundary.*] With the whole passage I would compare a very similar one in Æschyl. Suppl. 270—3. Schutz. where he thus marks the extent of Macedonia and Thessaly: Ὁρίζομαι δὲ τῆνδε Περῤῥαίδων χθόνα, Πίνδου τε τἀπέκεινα, Παιόνων πέλας, Ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα· συντέμνει δ' ὅρος Ὑγρᾶς

Scomius[18], and extend in an easterly direction as far as the river Oscius[14], which rises from the same mountain whence the Nestus and the Hebrus have their origin; a mountain large and desert, adjoining to Rhodope.

XCVII. As to the size of the Odrysian kingdom, its extent[1] on the sea-coast is from the city of Abderus up to where the Ister discharges itself into the Euxine. Now this tract is by the nearest way four days' and nights' sail[2] for a merchant-ship, with a continual fair wind. By *land*, the nearest way across from Abdera to the Ister would be eleven days' journey for a light-accoutred footman.[3] Such was its extent of sea-

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θαλάσσης· τῶνδε τἀπὶ τάδε κρατῶ. where Abresch. cites Plat. Menex 405. C. τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡρίσατο μεχρὶ Σκυθῶν. Other more critical matter I must reserve for my edition.

[13] *Scomius.*] Here the reading is doubtful; for the MSS. are divided between Σκάβρου and Σκόμβρου, the latter of which, Wasse remarks, is confirmed by Aristot. and Hesych; and also, I would add, by Steph. Byz. Σκύμβρος. χώριον Μακεδονικὸν, ὡς Θεόπομπος. where the true reading is Σκόμβρος or Σκόπρος, as should seem from the order of the letters. And this is confirmed by Hesych.

[14] *Oscius.*] This is also written *Oscus*, Escius, Escus, and Iscus. See Gatterer.

[1] *Its extent, &c.*] This mode of marking the extent, namely, by measuring the distance on a sea-coast by the number of days' sail, and on land by days' journey for a good walker, is certainly a very rude and inartificial one, but such as we find in Herodotus and other antient writers. And this is, as far as the *latter* is concerned, still retained in the East, where distance is measured by the walk of a camel or horse. And, from the regular pace to which these animals are trained, and the number of hours of travel being fixed by custom, a computation of this kind may be tolerably exact. As to the *former*, that was yet ruder, and only adapted for the still seas and steady winds of the Levant, in *the summer season*, and on a coasting voyage where no tacking is required, and the course is from headland to headland; which is what Thucydides here meant by τὰ ξυντομώτατα.

If it be enquired, what were the estimated measures of a day's sail and a night's sail, the answer may be found in the words of Herod. 4, 86. μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε. νηῒ ἐπίπαν μάλιστά κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυιέας ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ, ἑξακισμυρίας. ἤδη ὧν ἐς μεν Φάσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστι καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ.

[2] *Four days' and nights' sail.*] The distance seems considerable, being about 280 miles; but not improbable, supposing a wind at poop the whole way.

[3] *By land the nearest, &c.*] Smith renders; "a good walker will also be eleven days in going the nearest way, by land, from Abdera to the Ister." But though this may *seem* to be the sense of the words, yet I conceive it is not such. The distance measured by Arrowsmith's map from Abdera to the

coast. In an interior direction, from Byzantium to the Lææans and the Strymon[4] (for there is its greatest extent from the sea inland[5]), the distance was thirteen days' journey for a footman. The annual revenue which resulted[6] from this Barbarian territory and from the Grecian cities amounted, in the reign of Seuthes (who ruled after Sitalces, and made the most of it), to about the value of four hundred talents in money, as far as respected[7] gold and silver. There were presents[8], too, made to him in gold and silver to an equal

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nearest part of the Ister is but 165 miles. Now it surely could not take a good walker eleven days to accomplish *that* distance, which would be but fifteen miles a day. Besides, just after these words it is said, "such is its extent of sea-coast." This, therefore, cannot be the meaning. We must, I conceive, suppose that by ἐς Ἴστρον is meant what just before occurs, ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον τὸν μεχρὶ Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ, *the mouth of the Euxine.* And so, I find, Hobbes translated. Yet that is a liberty hardly allowable, and indeed not very necessary; for if ὁδῷ be taken (as it was, I think, meant) *emphatically*, it will suggest that "to the Ister," is only a brief mode of expression for "to the Ister above mentioned," i. e. the *mouth* of the Ister. To that point the distance will be 330 miles; a full allowance, I imagine, even for a good walker.

[4] *The Lææans and the Strymon.*] i. e., by a hendiadys, the Lææans on the Strymon.

[5] *Its greatest extent from, &c.*] And yet its extent was greater by about 70 miles from Byzantium to the mouth of the Oscius; and Gatterer and Poppo make the Oscius the boundary of Odrysia. But, perhaps, the mistake rests rather with the geographers than the historian, who does not say that Odrysia was bounded by the Oscius throughout its *whole* course. Probably the north part might be occupied by the Triballi or Scordisci.

Of ἀνὴρ εὔζωνος, in the sense here found, I subjoin the following examples. Pausan. 1, 44, 10. Σκιρώνην (scil. viam) — πρῶτος — ἐποίησεν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις ὁδεύειν. and 2, 15. 1. ὁδοὶ δύο, ἡ μεν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις, καί ἐστιν ἐπίτομος, ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλουμένου τρητοῦ. 5, 5, 5. 10, 5, 3. ἡ λεώφορος — ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ χαλεπωτέρα. Procop. 33, 14. τριάκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. and 52, 22. τριῶν ὅδον ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. Herod. 1, 72. μῆκος ὅδου εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε, ἡμέραι ἀναισίμουνται. Εὔζωνος signifies one who has his skirts well tucked around his waist, and thus is light and active. So Horace: "Hoc iter divisimus, *altius ac nos Præcinctis unum.*"

The ἄνω, I must observe, is used for ἄνωθεν; as in Xen. Anab. 7, 3, 16.

[6] *Resulted.*] Literally came in, was paid. A somewhat rare sense of προσήκω; though it occurs not unfrequently in προσιέναι, and even ἔρχεσθαι in Theocr. Id. 17, 96. So further on προσφέρω.

[7] *As far as respected.*] Such seems to be the sense of ἀ, which is for καθ' ἅ.

[8] *Presents.*] The offering of these was quite an oriental custom. So Herod. 3, 97. says of the Persians: οἵδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον. And further on: ταῦτα μὲν ὧν δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλέι ἐκομίζοντο. See 2 Sam. 8. 2. 2 Chron. 26, 8.

Diodorus estimates the revenues of Odrysia at a thousand talents; which sum, Wasse thinks, must be corrected from this passage of Thucydides.

amount, besides such as consisted of stuffs, both embroidered and plain[9], and other furniture and moveables. Nor were these to be made to him only, but to such of the Odrysians as were of influence[10] or rank. For they have established a custom, which is, indeed, also prevalent among the other Thracians, namely, to receive rather than to give; contrary

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Wessel. and Gottleber think that Diodorus follows some other authority, and not Thucydides. It should, however, seem that he followed *both* Thucydides *and* some other authority; at least the two estimates are very reconcilable. By *προσόδους* Diod. means the *whole* of the income of Sitalces, composed of various items, as follows: *tribute*, four hundred talents; *gifts of gold and silver*, four hundred talents. The other two hundred may easily be made up from the *ὕφαντα καὶ λεῖα καὶ ἡ ἀλλὴ κατασκεύη* infra.

There is something very oriental in the revenue being made up of tribute, gifts in money, and goods, &c. Thus from Bernier's description of Hindoostan, we find that the revenue of the Great Mogul was made up in this very way. The gifts in gold, silver, precious stones, and other valuable moveables, amounted to a very considerable sum.

The present passage is imitated by Joseph. p. 770, 30. *ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου μυριάδας χιλίας, χωρὶς δὲ σκεύη τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ τὰ δ' ἀργύρου, καὶ ἐσθῆτα.* and 784, 1. *καὶ χωρὶς μὲν πράσσεσθαι φόρους ἐπιβαλλομένους ἑκάστοις τὸ ἔτος, χωρὶς δὲ εὐπορίας εἶναι παρακαταβολὰς αὐτῷ τε καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις.* and p. 100, 35. *πολὺς μὲν, γὰρ ἀργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς — καὶ σκεύη χαλκᾶ — πολὺ δὲ ἐπίσημον πλῆθος ἑκατέρων ὅσα τε ὑφαντὰ καὶ κόσμοι παρὰ τὰς ὁπλήσει, ἥτε ἄλλη — κατασκευὴ. ἐκείνων, λεία τε παντοῖα κτηνῶν.*

[8] *Stuffs both embroidered, &c.*] Such is the sense of *ὕφαντα καὶ λεῖα*, which was not well understood by Portus and the early commentators. By *ὑφαντα* is meant *ἐνυφαντα, embroidered with the needle;* a sense found in *ἐνυφαίνω*. So the Schol. well explains it *πεποικιλμένα*; as Herod. 9, 108. *ἐξυφήνασι φᾶρος μεγὰ καὶ ποικίλον.* Procop. 349, 17. Æschin. p. 14, 4. How antient was this kind of work, appears from Exod. 28, 6. *ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλτοῦ* and 26, 32. Of this giving of stuffs and vestments an instance is found in Xen. Anab. 7, 3, 27. (of the gifts presented to Seuthes) *ἄλλος ἐδωρήσατο ἱμάτια τῇ γυναίκι καὶ ταπίδα.* These fine and embroidered stuffs were of great value. Thus Homer, Od. 13, 218., joins *χρυσόν τε ὑφαντὰ καὶ εἵματα καλὰ*, and he often unites *χρυσὸν* and *ὑφαντά*. These embroidered stuffs sometimes contained pictured representations of various objects. So Eurip. Ion. 1146. *ἐνῆν δ' ὑφανταὶ γράμμασιν τοιήδ' ὗφαι Οὐρανὸς, κ. τ. λ.* An art elegantly described by Cowper in his Task, 4. p. 91., and which a fair artist of our country (Miss Linwood) has brought to the highest pitch of perfection, and to whose matchless performances we may apply the words of the Sicilian bard (Idyl. 15, 83.) *ἔμψυχ', οὐκ ἐννφαντά*, they live — they move!

[10] *Of influence.*] Literally, who had power with the king. The word *περιδυναστεύω* is rarely to be found elsewhere but in Thucydides. It occurs, however, in Dio Cass. 714, 14. *τῶν παραδυναστευόντων σφίσι.* 1267, 20. 1338, 18. Synes. 18. A. *προεντεύξασθαι τοῖς βασιλεῖ παραδυναστεύουσι.* Zosim. 4, 42, 5. *παραδυναστεύων αὐτῷ.* and 5, 8, 4. and 9, 6. The phrase is of the same nature as that at 1, 138. *γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας*, where see the note.

From all these passages it will be apparent that the common interpretation, " to have authority or power," is incorrect.

to that which subsists at the court of Persia[11]—it being there more discreditable not to give when asked, than to ask and be denied.[12] Nay, in proportion to their power, they the

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[11] *Contrary to that which, &c.*] This is well illustrated by Xen. Cyr. 8, 2, 7. πολὺ γὰρ διενεγκὼν ἀνθρώπων τῷ πλείστους προσόδους λαμβάνειν, πολὺ ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκε τῷ πλειστα ἀνθρώπων δωρεῖσθαι κατῆρξε μὲν οὖν τούτου Κῦρος· διαμένει δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλεῦσιν ἡ πολυδωρία. See also Plutarch t. 2, 272. B. and Ælian V. H. 1, 22. where he treats of the presents which the king of Persia made to ambassadors. Something very similar is recorded of the emperor of China by Ellis in his Travels. And so Theocr. Idyll. 14, 63. says of Ptolemy of Egypt: πολλοῖς πολλὰ διδοὺς, αἰτεόμενος, οὐκ ἀνανεύων, Οἷα χρὴ βασιλεῖ. and Themist. p. 118. C. διδόναι μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνειν βασιλικώτερον. I cannot but remark the similarity of the saying of Confucius, "Give much, receive little," and that of our Lord, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," Acts 20, 35. where see my note.

Hack, indeed, remarks that the Persian nobles knew the above-mentioned custom as well as the Thracians; and, therefore, he would understand the words in question of the freedom of *Persia Proper*, spoken of at Herod. 3, 97. But this is most absurd. Thucydides does not say that the king and courtiers *never* received, but that they practised giving *rather* than receiving. At the same time, it was, doubtless, then much as it is now at the court of Persia (see Malcolm's History and Description of Persia), and as it was at that of the Great Mogul in Bernier's time. Those monarchs, indeed, give much; but, at the same time, as their revenue greatly depends upon the gifts they receive, they must *receive much;* and this they do from all their courtiers and their wealthy subjects. Those again, in order to be able to make such presents, are compelled to receive others from such as seek their influence at court. Thus those Odrysian nobles, who, it is added, would do nothing without a present, were compelled so to act, from having to make very great presents to the king. So that the difference which Thucydides mentions, was more in appearance than in reality. The chief point of dissimilarity consisted in this; that the Persians were (as they still continue to be) a generous, liberal people; and though the king and courtiers might receive much, they readily parted with it to others. Not so the Thracians, who were always accounted a sordid and avaricious people, acting upon the Dutch maxim, "Get what you can, and keep what you get." Aristophanes, indeed, Conc. 778. jocularly imputes this to the *Athenians;* for, speaking of giving, he says: Οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τοῦτ' ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν Ἡμᾶς μόνον δεῖ, νὴ Δία. καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοί· Γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν γε· καὶ τἀγάλματα, Ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεσθα διδόναι τἀγαθὰ, Ἕστηκεν ἐκτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρ' ὑπτίαν, Οὐχ ὥστε δώσοντ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψεται.

[12] *It being there, &c.*] This somewhat obscure sentence (which is rendered such by perspicuity being sacrificed to point) is best explained by Bredow. who paraphrases the whole passage thus: "Cum alii Thraces, tum Odrysæ more utuntur regni Persarum contrario, ut libentius accipiant, quam dent; quamobrem ne audacter quidem rogare apud Odrysas dedecori est. Contra apud Persas summa turpitudo, rogare et cum repulsa abire; ibi enim dare tam vulgaris totius populi et mos et virtus est, ut ne opus quidem sit petere, et qui petit tamen, sed non impetrat, is habit quo totus erubescat. At apud Odrysas, ubi accipere majoris dignationis est, facile ignoscitur petenti, si agit id, quo impetrat: itaque minus turpe, si quando

more acted upon this maxim [13]; for without making presents it was impossible to get any thing done.[14] Thus the kingdom had risen to a considerable height of power [15]; for of all the European nations between the Ionian gulf and the Euxine sea, this was the most powerful, both in revenue and in general prosperity.[16] In military strength, too, and number of forces, it was (though at a considerable distance) second only to [17] the Scythians. For, in *that* respect (namely, number of forces), there is no nation, I will not say in Europe, but even Asia, that can singly be compared with, or is able to withstand the Scythians, if united and in concord [18]; no, nor in *other* points,

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quis petens non impetret. Sed qui rogatus dare recusat, ei vitio vertitur, ut qui sciat, quam libenter omnes accipiant."

13 *Nay, in proportion to, &c.*] Hobbes and Smith strangely pervert the sense by rendering thus: "Nevertheless they held this custom long, by reason of their power." Portus, too, mutilates the sense. These errors arose from misapprehension of the words ὅμως and κατὰ, the former of which here signifies *quin et, atqui, quinetiam.* See Schleus. Lex. Nov. Test. And κατὰ here signifies *in proportion to.* So 1, 53. κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, and often elsewhere.

14 *Without making presents, &c.*] This is much confirmed and illustrated by Xenophon Anab. 7, 3, 16. οἳ παρῆσαν φιλίαν διαπραξόμενοι πρὸς Μήδοκον, τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα, καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί. Such, too, has ever been, and still continues to be, customary in the East. The same sentiment, and in almost the same words, is expressed by Bernier on the court of Delhi, and by Malcolm and Morier on that at Ispahan. On this subject it is remarked by Gibbon, "that the oriental custom of never appearing without gifts before a sovereign, or a superior, is of high antiquity, and seems analogous to the idea of sacrifice, still more antient and universal."

15 *Thus the kingdom, &c.*] Hobbes renders thus: "So that this kingdom arrived thereby to great power;" and the same sense is expressed by Smith. But Thucydides could not mean to say that this custom of the Thracian court, "to receive rather than to give," had raised the kingdom to great power; for it is not to be supposed that many of those gifts came from foreigners. That, indeed, were too absurd. We may, however, refer the ὥστε, not to what immediately precedes, but to what went before that, respecting the extent and revenue of Odrysia; and thus the force of this particle will be *resumptive* and *collective.*

16 *For of all the, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Procop. p. 59, 2. πρώτη — πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει, καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ.

17 *Though at a considerable distance, second, &c.*] Such appears to be the full sense of πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ, &c., which reminds me of what Afer Domitius said in answer to a question of Quintilian, whom he thought came next to Homer? His reply was: "Secundus est Virgilius, primo tamen propior quam tertio."

18 *For in that respect, &c.*] This assertion is very different from that of Herod. 5, 3. Θρηϊκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι, μετά γε Ἰνδοὺς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

as of ingenuity and sagacity in providing for the occasions of life, can they be put on a *level* with other men.[19]

XCVIII. Sitalces, then, ruler over so great a country, prepared his forces, and when all was in readiness set forward and advanced towards Macedonia, first through his own dominions, then over Cercine[1], a bare and desert mountain

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εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐνὸς ἄρχοιτο, ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τώὐτὸ, ἄμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη, καὶ πολλῳ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων. On comparing the two passages, one may perceive in Thucydides not only a difference of opinion, but a sentiment so worded as to *oppose* that of Herodotus (as is the case elsewhere in this writer; on which see Valckn. in loc.). Indeed there is so strong a resemblance in the phraseology that one cannot but suppose the passage of Herodotus was had in view by Thucydides. Another of the many circumstances which prove the falsity of the novel opinion in Germany, that Thucydides had not seen the History of Herodotus, when he wrote his own. It is almost unnecessary to observe that our Historian is in the right.

[19] *No, nor in, &c.*] The words of the original are somewhat perplexing, and have been variously interpreted. Hobbes renders: "and yet in matter of council and wisdom in the present occasions of life, they are not like to other men." Smith thus: "yet, at the same time, in every point of conduct, and management of all the necessary affairs of life, they fall vastly short of other people." But such a sense of οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ I can no where else find. It is always *no, nor;* as 1, 3. 6, 55. Dionys. Hal. 745, 37. Pausan. sæpissime, and very many other passages which I shall adduce in my edition. Besides, οὐκ ὁμοιοῦσθαι does not signify to be inferior to, but to be superior to. So Eurip. Bacch. 1346. ὀργὰς πρέπει Θεοὺς οὐχ ὁμοιοῦσθαι βροτοῖς. And so Thucyd. 5, 103. μηδὲ ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς πολλοῖς. 6, 16. μὴ ἴσον εἶναι. and 1, 132. In these sort of *acutè dicta* Thucydides delights. It is true that Herod. 4, 46. says: ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. And again: τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένεϊ ἔν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπηΐων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι. But the contradiction might be removed. At all events, we have only to suppose that Thucydides again intends to contradict Herodotus. As to the interpretation which I have adopted, it is supported by the Scholiast. Both this and the above passage seem to have been in the mind of Pausan. 1, 9, 7. and Isocr. Paneg. p. 71.

It must, however, be observed that the words εὐξουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον do not imply any strong intellectual faculty, but that *natural sagacity* in providing for the necessaries of life, which is always found in savages, and which makes them excel in predatory war, and the chase, also as ingenious and skilful handicrafts, according to their tools. So Pausan. 1, 21, 7. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλα τε, καὶ Σαυρωματικὸς ἀνάκειται θώραξ· ἐς τοῦτόν τις ἰδὼν οὐδὲν ἧσσον Ἑλλήνων τοὺς Βαρβάρους φήσει σοφοὺς ἐς τὰς τέχνας. And indeed to this all the accounts of travellers bear testimony. Εὐξουλία seems to have reference to the exercise of this faculty in *war;* ξύνεσιν, on other occasions.

[1] *Cercine.*] On this mountain, and its position, both the geographers and commentators are silent; except that Poppo, in his Proleg. 2, 396., endeavours to fix its site; which he does by a consideration of the words of

on the confines of the Sintes and the Pæonians. His route across it was by a way which he had himself previously made by cutting down the wood[2], when he went on an expedition against the Pæonians. Passing, then, across this mountain, in their way from Odrysia, they had on their right hand the country of the Pæonians, on their left that of the Sinti and Mædi[3];

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the context. Thus it is said that Sitalces, in his way to Cercine, passed through his own dominions; by which Poppo understands, through the territory of the Lææans, and other Pæonians subject to him on the Strymon. Then again, where it is said that Cercine borders on the Sintes and Pæonians, he understands the free Lææans and the Grææans, as also the free Pæonians. Thus, the learned critic thinks that the situation of the Sintes and Pæonians may be fixed by a reference to that of Cercine. But it should seem that he takes too much for granted by interpreting *διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς*, "through the territory of the Lææans, &c., on the Strymon." Unless we knew the place from which Sitalces set out, we cannot determine what is meant by the words *διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς*; for those of themselves do not determine the direction. And, as to the situation of Cercine, that can only be decided by the aid of what is added, namely, that it is *μεθόριον Σιντῶν καὶ Παιόνων*, which Poppo seems to have rightly explained. When, too, we consider the route afterwards taken by the army, namely, towards Doberus, Idomene, Gortynia, Atalante, and Europus, it is not difficult to conjecture in what direction they entered Macedonia, and, consequently, whereabouts to fix the site of Cercine. That seems to have been a side mountain jutting out from the chain of the Hæmus, or Balkan, and taking a south direction; from somewhere between the Scomius and the Pangæan mountains.

The name *Cercine* seems to have been given from some fancied resemblance in its form; with allusion to *κερκὶς*, in some of its significations, probably the *shin bone*, or *κέρκος*, *the tail*. Κερκίνη comes from *κέρκινος*, which is preserved in *κέρκνος* found in Hesychius.

[2] *By cutting down the wood.*] Hobbes renders: "with timber." But this is an unjustifiable license of translation; and though we read that ways are often made in Russia by laying logs of wood, yet that is through tracts of boggy or fenny lowland. In the present instance it could not be necessary.

[3] *Sinti and Mædi.*] Of these nations we know little. Poppo, on the subject of them, merely refers to the present passage, and Pliny, 4, 11. The former are, however, also mentioned by Appian t. 2. 721, 56. The latter are also mentioned, Strabo, p. 461, 9., who there calls them Μέδοι. And, indeed, one of our MSS. has Μήδους. But the textual reading is defended by Steph. Byz. These, it is probable, are also meant in Plutarch Alex. 9. Μεδάρους, where we may conjecture Μεδαίους; for Μηδαῖος might be a nomen gentile as well as Μαιδικὸς, which is given by Steph. Byz. That, however (or rather Μηδική) is used by Plutarch in Æm. Paul. c. 12. and Syll. c. 24., from a comparison of which passages something might be collected respecting the situation of these tribes. Poppo thinks it plain, from our author's words, that the *Sinti* were placed more to the east than the Mædi; a position exactly contrary to that adopted in D'Anville and Butler, and, indeed, at variance with what one should collect from our author. Those geographers have, however, done wrong in removing the Mædi to the *east* of the Strymon. They were certainly situated to the *west* of it.

beyond it they came to Doberus[4] in Pæonia. The army suffered no loss or diminution[5] in its progress, unless it were by sickness; nay, it received increase, by the accession of many of the independent Thracians[6], who joined them uncalled, for the sake of booty; insomuch that the total number is said to have been not less than one hundred and fifty thousand[7]; of which the greater part was, indeed, infantry, but about one third were cavalry.[8] Of these the larger portion was furnished by the Odrysians, the next largest by the Getæ. Of the foot, the most warlike were the independent mountaineers, who had descended from Rhodope, and wielded the sword. The rest that followed were a promiscuous multitude[9], most formidable by their numbers.

XCIX. These, then, were all assembled at Doberus, and

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[4] *Doberus.*] See Wasse and Berkley on Steph. Byz. From the passages, however, by them cited, we can only infer that the orthography of our author is correct. We are not thence enabled to fix the situation of the place. As to that assigned by some recent maps, it is very unlikely to be the true one. It appears from c. 99. init. to have been on an *eminence*, being, indeed, a continuation of the highland of Hæmus. And this seems confirmed by its *name;* for *Dober, Dobr, Dovra, Dovr,* (of frequent occurrence in the names of places in the north,) usually denote an elevated situation. The Doberes, mentioned by Herodotus, 5, 16. and 7, 113., as being in the vicinity of Mount Pangæus, appear (though such is denied by most geographers) the very same place and people as Doberus.

This mode, it may be observed, of marking the direction taken, by indicating the countries or mountains (supposed to be known to the reader) which were passed on the route, is very antient, being found in Homer and Herodotus.

[5] *Loss or diminution.*] The Scholiast explains ἀπεγίγνετο by ἀπώλλυτο, *perished;* and so Suidas and Zonares. In this sense, too, the word is used in Herod. 6, 58. Thucyd. 2, 31, and 51. The same interpretation also is adopted by Goeller. And, indeed, were it not for the addition of προσεγίγνετο δὲ, there would be no reason to call it into question. But the addition of those words alters the case; and, from the force of the opposition, we are compelled to render it *decessit* (as does Portus), to correspond with the *accessit.*

[6] *Independent Thracians.*] i. e. the Sinti, Mædi, Pæonians, and, probably, some mountaineers of Pangæus and Orbelus.

[7] *One hundred and fifty thousand.*] Hobbes carelessly renders *fifteen thousand.*

[8] *About one third were cavalry.*] This, which we should call a great disproportion of cavalry, is very characteristic of oriental and Scythian warfare, and continues to the present day. On the circumstances in which it originated it would here be out of place to treat.

[9] *Promiscuous multitude.*] Motley crowd or rabble. So Æschyl. P. V. 425. καὶ Σκύθης ὄμιλος See also 3, 61. 4, 106. 6, 5. And so ὄχλος at 4, 126., and elsewhere.

prepared to rush from the highland down upon [1] Macedonia, which was subject to Perdiccas; for within Macedonia [2] are comprised the Lyncestæ [3] and Elimiotæ [4], and other tribes of the highland country, which are in alliance with and subject to these, yet are governed as distinct kingdoms. But what is now called maritime Macedonia, was first gained by Alexander [5] father of Perdiccas, and his ancestors the Temenidæ, who were originally of Argive extraction. These forcibly expelled the Pierians [6] from Pieria, who afterwards settled at Pha-

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[1] *Rush from the highland down upon.*] This is implied in κατὰ κορυφὴν which is rightly rendered by Valla, "e jugo." And so Hobbes and Goeller.

[2] *For within Macedonia, &c.*] Thucydides now proceeds to offer a sketch (and a very interesting one it is) of the composition and origin of the Macedonian kingdom, in its then state. There were, it must be remembered, three divisions of that country. I. *Upper* Macedonia, consisting of the Lyncestæ, Elimiotæ, and Orestæ, and, probably, part of Pæonia; comprising all the hilly parts to the north, the north-west, and west of the country. This was in some measure independent, only acknowledging a sort of allegiance. II. *Lower* Macedonia, which may be divided, first, into that tract between the Strymon and the Axius; secondly, that between the Axius and the Cambunian mountains; thirdly, part of Pæonia, Eordœa, and Alinopia. This formed the kingdom of Perdiccas, except a district in the north part, a territory which lay next to Pæonia and Lyncestæ, situated on the river Axius, and comprehending the cities of Idomene, Gortynia, Atalanta, Europus, and probably others not mentioned by Thucydides. This had formed an appanage to Philip, and after him to Amyntas. It had, however, been seized by Perdiccas; and it was one of the objects of Sitalces, in this expedition, to procure its restitution to its rightful owner. III. *Maritime* Macedonia, divided into Bottiæa, Pieria, and Chalcidice: though the division between this territory, and that occupied by the Greeks, on parts of the coast, was not well defined.

[3] *Lyncestæ.*] Strabo and Steph. Byz. have *Lyncistæ*. But Duker has here learnedly shown that the textual reading is the true one; and he might have added that it is confirmed by Scymnus Chius. These people occupied the hilly tract and western part of Macedonia.

[4] *Elimiotæ.*] Ptolemy and Arrian write *Elymiotæ*. But it is proved, by Duker and Gottleber, that the textual reading is the true one. On the situation of these people nothing decisive is adduced by the commentators. Yet, from Livy, l. 42., it appears that they had a capital called Elimæa, situated on the Haliacmon. The people were probably so called, from inhabiting a marshy situation; and that it was such, we may suppose from the lake Begorritis, which all the maps place there. The appellation in question may be compared with that of the Ἐλεῖοι at 1, 110., where see note. These probably inhabited the south part of the western strip of highland country. Thus, Thucydides says, "the Lyncestæ, Elimiotæ, καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπ' ἄνωθεν.

[5] *Alexander, &c.*] On this family see an interesting portion of Herod. 8, 137–9., where may be consulted the learned notes of Valckn. Goeller refers to Marx. on Ephorus, p. 85., and Heyne on Hom. Il. t. 4. p. 421.

[6] *Pierians.*] On these see Strabo, p. 595, 21. Pieria was situated on the south-east part of Macedonia, near the sea, on both sides of the Ha-

gres[7], under Mount Pangæus, on the other side of the Strymon, and at other places. Thus the country lying at the foot of Pangæus, and bending towards the sea, is called the Pierian gulf.[8] They also drove out of what is called Bottiæa the Bottiæans[9], who now border on the Chalcideans. They obtained possession, too, of a narrow strip[10] of Pæonia, extending

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liacmon. Its chief cities were Pydna and Dium; though the district of the latter is, in Dr. Butler's map, wrongly ascribed to Thessaly, which, it is certain, extended no farther than the Cambunian mountains; and that Dium was in *Macedonia*, we find from 4, 78.

7 *Phagres.*] Here the MSS. vary; but the textual reading is defended by Herodotus, Strabo, Scylax, Steph. Byz., and other writers referred to by Wasse. The reason for the appellation was, we may suppose, that the brooks produced a certain fish called, from its voracity, φάγρος (see Athen. p. 327.); but of what kind that was, the philologists and naturalists have been unable to determine. May it not have been the *pike?* a fresh-water fish, of all others the most voracious.

The situation of Phagres is very wrongly assigned by D'Anville and others through misapprehension of the sense of κόλπος, which is explained in the next note.

8 *Pierian gulf.*] So all the translators render the words Πιερικὸς κόλπος. Yet there is something odd in speaking of a gulf at the foot of a high mountain nearly one hundred and thirty miles from the sea. Some other signification, therefore, of κόλπος must be thought of, more suitable to the appellation, and which is neglected by the lexicographers. Let us, then, consider the nature of the word, and what signification may be inherent in it. The Etym. Mag. has rightly derived it from κοῖλος (whence our *hull* and *hollow*), βαθὺς: and in all its significations this leading idea prevails. Now as κοῖλον and κοίλη denote a hollow, deep valley, or dell embosomed among hills; so κόλπος denotes a hollow formed at the side of a mountain, and placed as it were in its *lap*. This ratio significationis the following examples will establish: — Xenoph. Hist. l. 6, 5, 17. ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσάμενος εἰς τὸν ὄπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς, μάλα σύνεγγυς, καὶ κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα. Aristoph. Ran. χώρει — εἰς τοὺς εὐανθεῖς κόλπους Τῶν λειμώνων. and Av. 1094. ἀνθηρῶν λειμώνων — ἐν κόλποις ναίω. Oppian de Venat. 1, 3. Κλεψίτοκος Ῥείη κόλποις ἐνικάτθετο Κρήτης. And so κόλπος ἀρούρης in Nonnus ap. Steph. Thes. to denote *sinus* or *gremium terræ*. There is a similar ratio significationis in πλεύρων, on which see note on 3, 102.

From misapprehension of the above sense of κόλπος, D'Anville and others remove Pangæus to the sea-coast; whereas it is clear, from Herodotus and Thucydides, that it was between mounts Scomius and Orbelus. The κόλπος in question seems to have been formed by Mount Cercine running out from Pangæus, in a curved form.

9 *Bottiæans.*] See Herod. 7, 123, 127, and 185. 8, 127. The name is derived by the Etym. Mag. p. 206. from βότον, from the abundance of herbage there.

10 *A narrow strip.*] An uncommon sense this of στενή. But, indeed, γῆν may be supplied from the γῇ a little before. By *along* the Axius is meant, on the *right* bank; as appears from what follows, and because Pella is on that side.

down along the river Axius [11] as far as Pella [12] and the sea. They seized also the district beyond the Axius, as far as the Strymon and what is called Mygdonia [13], expelling the Edonians.[14] They, moreover, removed the Eordians [15] from what is now called Eordia (most of whom were destroyed, a few only settling about Physca [16]), as also the Almopians from Almopia.[17] Those Macedonians subdued besides many other places, which they still hold; as Anthemus, Crestonia, and Bisaltia [18], and much of Macedonia Proper. The whole,

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[11] *Axius.*] To the authorities here adduced by Wasse, I would add, that the old reading Ἄξιον is defended by Strabo, Scymnus Chius, and Æschyl. Pers. 499. ἀφίκομεθ' ἐπ' Ἀξίου πόρον. It is now called the *Vardar*, or Bardar; which, name, indeed, it bore in the time of Cedremis and Anna Commena.

[12] *Pella.*] On the site of this place, the capital of Macedonia, Poppo Proleg. 2, 428. refers to Melet. p. 397. He also observes, that the site has lately been diligently investigated by Boccage junior, who places it not far from Lydia and Axius (see Strabo, p. 330.), where is now the village of Allah Kilissa, or Palatitza, consisting of sixty cottages. See Pouquev. Græc. 2. c. 39., and Livy, l. 44, 46.

[13] *Mygdonia.*] This was situated in the central part of the country, between the Axius and the Strymon.

[14] *Edonians.*] On the orthography of this name there is no material variation in the classical writers. With respect to the people themselves, after their expulsion from Mygdonia, they sought an abode on the other side of the Strymon, and seem to have founded many cities, which, in the time of Herodotus, were called after them. So Herod. 7, 114. Ἐννέα Ὁδοῖσι τῇσι Ἠδωνῶν — Μύρκινος ἡ Ἠδωνῶν, Δράβησκος ἡ Ἠδωνική, and others mentioned by Gatterer.

[15] *Eordians.*] On these the commentators furnish no information, except that Wasse compares the word *Hordes*, as used of the Scythians; and remarks that this name is sometimes, by Hesychius, spelt with the δ; but the τ is confirmed by Herod. 7, 185. And, also, I would add, by Steph. Byz., Livy, and Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 622. Ἔορδαῖοι Μακεδόνες. The coincidence in this name and our *Hordes* seems to show that they are cognate.

With respect to the exact situation of Eordia, it was probably in the central parts, and formed a portion of Emathia.

[16] *Physca.*] The situation of this place is, perhaps, rightly assigned by Cellar. to Mygdonia; since Ptolemy mentions a Physca, though he gives the name a plural form. D'Anville places it in *Pæonia;* which is, perhaps, supported by no authority. It is called Physcus by Steph. Byz. Probably it derived the name from its situation; φύσκος signifying the *paunch*, and also a sort of rude bellows of skin. The place was probably situated on a hill, possibly an extinct crater of a volcano. Thus Steph. Byz. mentions a Physca in Lycia, situated on a *high hill.*

[17] *Almopia.*] On this place see the note of Wasse. Neither the commentators nor geographers, however, have fixed its site. Poppo merely says it is *not* where Cellarius places it, at the junction of mounts Hæmus and Scardus.

[18] *Anthemus, Crestonia, and Bisaltia.*] All these were in that part of

however, is called Macedonia, and was under the dominion of one monarch, Perdiccas son of Alexander, at the invasion of Sitalces.

C. Now the Macedonians, being unable to withstand the shock of so immense an invading force [1], betook themselves to the strong holds and fortified places in their country, which, however, were not many; for those at present existing were afterwards erected by Archelaus the son of Perdiccas, who also formed straight roads [2], and made many other regulations [3], both in civil and in military affairs, by providing horses, arms [4], and other apparatus, far more than had been

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Macedonia between the Axius and the Strymon. Anthemus was a town, and, probably, *district*; and, as being here conjoined with Crestonia and Bisaltia, was adjacent to those countries. It appears to have been so called from the nature of its herbage. Crestonia, Gatterer observes, on the authority of Herod. 7, 124, and 127., was situated on the river Echidorus, and at the upper part of that river. See more in Gatterer, § 42. As to Bisaltia, it was situated south of Crestonia, and extended even to the Acte or peninsula of Mount Athos. See more in Gatterer, § 41.

[1] *So immense an invading force.*] So Aristoph. Ach. 148. ὁ δ' (scil. Sitalces) ὥμοσε σπένδων βοηθήσειν, ἔχων Στρατίαν τοσαύτην —"Ωσον τὸ χρῆμα παρνόπων προσέρχεται. See also 155.

[2] *Formed straight roads.*] Literally, *cut out.* The ἔτεμε and εὐθείας, however, refer to the *mode* in use among the antients of forming roads, which was by cutting deep trenches (in an exactly straight direction, in order to save labour) of the width of the road required, and filling them up with various layers of materials; the inequalities of the ground being at the same time previously levelled, by filling up the hollows, and cutting through the hillocks. Gottleber refers to Herod, 4, 136. ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε, where Wesseling cites from Philo τέμνειν and ἀνατέμνειν ὁδὸν of the general formation of roads. But to show the antiquity of this custom, I would refer to the appellation σχιστὴ ὁδὸς mentioned in Soph. Tyr. 733., and which appears to be as antient as the time of Œdipus; a proof, too, that σχίζειν was formerly used to denote this. The words of Isaiah 46, 4. plainly allude to this very mode; and there we have, perhaps, the most minutely descriptive passage on this subject in being; though the following of Plutarch is very illustrative: — Vit. C. Graech. εὐθεῖαι γὰρ ἦγοντο (scil. αἱ ὁδοὶ) διὰ τῶν χωρίων ἀτρεμεῖς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐστόρνυτο πέτρᾳ ξεστῇ, τὸ δὲ ἄμμον χώμασι συνακτοῖς ἐπυκνοῦτο. πιμπλαμένων δὲ τῶν κοίλων, καὶ ζευγνυμένων γεφύραις, ὅσα χειμάρροι διέκοπτον, ἢ φάραγγες. See also the description of road-making as conducted by Semiramis, in Diod. Sic. 1, 127, 78. Wessel. Other passages on this subject may be seen in my note on Matt. 3, 3.

[3] *Made many other regulations.*] Literally, *set in order, arranged, settled.* There is a kindred expression in 2, 13. τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν. It is plain that in the present passage by τἄλλα is meant "other such like," in *political* matters (as opposed to the τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον), or military affairs.

[4] *Providing horses, arms, &c.*] Gail paraphrases it, "monta la cavalerie, arma l'infantrie." But it should rather seem that the ἵπποις refers to his

done by all the eight kings, his predecessors. The Thracian army, then, advancing from Doberus, made an irruption first into that territory which had before belonged to Philip, and took Idomene [5] by storm, and Gortynia [6], Atalanta [7], and some other places by composition, which were induced to capitulate out of attachment to Amyntas, whose son Philip was present. They laid siege also to Europus [8], but could not take it. They then proceeded to the rest of Macedonia, on the left of Pella and Cyrrhus.[9] They went not within these, into Bottiæa [10] and Pieria, but ravaged Mygdonia,

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forming corps of cavalry; and ὅπλοις, to the *heavy-armed;* though that may also refer to the arms worn by the *cavalry* (so further on they are described as ἄνδρας τεθωρακισμένους). Before, the chief force had merely consisted of Peltastæ (or targeteers) and light-armed, as archers, slingers, and darters.

5 *Idomene.*] A town scarcely elsewhere mentioned in the classical writers. There was another of the same name between Ambracia, and Acarnania, mentioned at 3, 112 and 113., and which will, I conceive, show us the ratio significationis in the present (see the note there), and prove that Wasse was wrong in supposing there was reference to a daughter of Pheres; a conceit more worthy of an Apollodorus than a critic and philologist of the eighteenth century.

6 *Gortynia.*] The Gordynia of Ptolemy, Pliny, and Steph. Byz. Poppo thinks it is rightly placed by Reichard on the Axius, between Europus and Idomene.

7 *Atalanta.*] Of this town there is no mention either in the geographers or the classical writers. An *island* of this name off the coast of Locri Opuntii was mentioned supra c. 35. Both, perhaps, derived their name from the celebrated female of mythological story, on whom see Apollod., Pausan., Ælian, and Ovid.

8 *Europus.*] Of this town very little is known. It is mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and others; and, Steph. Byz. says, obtained its appellation from Europus, son of Macedon. Its situation cannot be exactly determined, except that from Pliny 4, 10. we know it was on the river Axius.

9 *Cyrrhus.*] Of this town we know little or nothing, except that it was somewhere in the central part of Macedonia. It was probably a very small place; which, indeed, seems to be alluded to in its name; for κύρρος or κύρσος in the Doric signified *little.* Another example of such an appellation is found in the Zoar of Genesis, the "*little* city," to which Lot retired. With respect to the *situation* of the town, it is said by Cellarius to have been in the interior of Emathia; on what authority I know not. From this passage of Thucyd. we may infer that it was situated south of Pella, probably on the same river.

10 *They went not within, &c.*] These words are somewhat obscure. We have before been led to suppose that Bottiæa was adjoining to Chalcidice; and yet by these words it should seem to have been situated between Emathia and Pieria. For the unravelling of this perplexity (which the commentators have left untouched) we are to revert to what was said at c. 99. on the removal of the old Bottiæans from their then situation to a new one among the Chalcideans. By Bottiæa, then, is here meant, what

Crestonia, and Anthemus. The Macedonians did not even think of any resistance with their infantry, but with their cavalry (having previously sent for some horses from their highland allies) they watched their opportunity to charge[11] upon the Thracian army, few as they were against many; and wherever they made their attack, none were able to withstand their shock, being valiant horsemen and well armed with breast-plates.[12] But hemmed in by the overwhelming multitudes of the enemy, they fought at great odds, and encountered much peril; so that at length they kept still, not thinking themselves able to contend against so great a superiority of numbers.

CI. Sitalces, however, held a correspondence with Perdiccas respecting his reasons for the invasion; and after that the Athenians (doubtful whether or not he would come) had only sent ambassadors and presents, but were not arrived with the promised naval aid, he sent a detachment of his forces against the Chalcideans and Bottiæans, and compelling them to take refuge in their fortresses, ravaged their territory. While he was staying in these parts, the inhabitants to the southward, namely the Thessalians and the Magnesians, together with the other states subject to the Thessalians, and the Greeks as far as Thermopylæ, were under apprehensions lest the army should proceed against *them*, and were preparing for resistance accordingly. In these fears, too, participated the Thracians beyond the Strymon to the north, those, namely,

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was *formerly such*, i. e. the old country of the Bottiæi. This situation, it appears from the present passage, was between Emathia and Pieria, and indeed comprehended much of the former.

[11] *Watched their opportunity to charge.*] Literally, charged as opportunity might offer itself; for at ὅπῃ δοκοῖ must be supplied καιρός.

They sent for the horses, not because they had *none* of their own, but because they had not a sufficient number.

[12] *Breast-plates.*] And doubtless also other horse armour, such as worn by the Grecian heavy horse; the horses, too, having some mail. In a charge these iron horsemen were irresistible. It was doubtless from having read of the effects of the Grecian heavy-armed cavalry, that made Buonaparte establish his corps of *cuirassiers*, which at first carried all before them, as did these Macedonian horse. Procopius p. 191, 2. speaks of these heavy-armed thus: καὶ αὐτῶν τεθωρακισμένοι ξὺν τοῖς ἵπποις οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν.

that inhabited the champaign country beyond the Strymon, the Panæi, the Odomanti [the Droi], and the Dersæi[1], all of them independent: nay, he occasioned it to become a question[2] among those Greeks who were enemies to the Athenians, whether the army were not called in by the Athenians under treaty of alliance, and would not proceed also against *them!* However, during his stay he ravaged both Chalcidice and Bottiæa, as well as Macedonia. But after no one of the objects for which he undertook the irruption was attained, and his army was in want of provisions, and began to suffer from inclemency of weather, he was induced, by the representations of Seuthes son of Sparadocus, his cousin and next in authority to him, to depart with all speed. Now Seuthes had been secretly brought over by Perdiccas, who promised to give him his sister, and a portion with her. Induced by his persuasions, Sitalces speedily retired home with his army[3], after remaining thirty days, and eight of

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[1] *Panæi, the Odomanti, &c.*] I have bracketed off the *Droi*, which Gattererus has shown to have no place here, and is rejected by the recent editors. As to the other three tribes, the only tolerable account of them is that given by Gatterer, from whom the following remarks are derived.

The *Panæi* are not mentioned by Herodotus; and what Thucydides here says of them only comes to two points, that they dwelt beyond the Strymon to the north, in a champaign country, and were independent, namely, of the Odrysæ. It may, indeed, seem difficult to fix their situation; but that difficulty is removed by what Steph. Byz. says of them: Παναῖοι. ἔθνος Ἠδωνίον, οὗ πόῤῥω Ἀμφιπόλεως. By *to the north* is meant, to the north of the sea, i. e. somewhat remotely from the sea. The *Odomanti*, it appears from Herod. 7, 112. (where he says that these worked mines of gold and silver, which were in Mount Pangæus), were situated near Pangæus. In order to reconcile this with what Thucydides here says, we may suppose that their territory extended unto that of the city Siris; nay, in after times (as we find from Livy, 45, 4.) they occupied Siris itself. [On these see the Schol. on Aristoph. Acharn, 153–8.] The *Dersæi* were situated beyond the Sapæi. They are mentioned by Herod, 7, 100., who thus enumerates the tribes through which Xerxes made his route from west to east, from the river Melas to the Nestus, &c. "Pæti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edoni, Satræ."

[2] *Occasioned it to, &c.*] The translators render it *rumour*. But *question* (i. e. matter for debate) is an equally well-founded signification, and is more suitable to the μὴ following. Παρέχειν λόγον ἐπὶ signifies *to give occasion for debate upon* or *unto*.

[3] *Retired home with his army.*] Mitford remarks, that "there is a striking resemblance between this expedition of the king of Thrace, as compendiously related by Thucydides, and that of the Khan of Crim Tartary, described at length by Baron Tott, who accompanied the Tartar prince in his winter campaign, in the war between Russia and Turkey." He thinks

those in Chalcidice. And Perdiccas soon after performed his promise, giving his sister Stratonice in marriage to Seuthes. Such were the events that occurred in the expedition of Sitalces.

CII. This same winter the Athenians under Phormio, in Naupactus, as soon as the Peloponnesian navy was dispersed, sailed from thence to Astacus, and disembarking, proceeded [1] into the inland parts of Acarnania with four hundred Athenian heavy-armed from the fleet, and four hundred Messenians. With these they drove into exile, from Stratus, Coronta [2], and other places, such whose fidelity seemed doubtful; also restored Cynes son of Theolytus to Coronta [3], and then returned back to their ships. For, as to any expedition [4] against the Œniadæ (who alone of all the Acarnanians had always been enemies to them [5]), that did not seem feasible in winter; since the river Achelous (which runs from Mount Pindus downward [6], through Dolopia and the Agræans and

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that the restoration of Amyntas to his father's principality was, of course, allowed in the treaty. But that would seem somewhat uncertain.

[1] *Disembarking, proceeded, &c.*] Ἀποβάντες is a vox prægnans including both the above senses, the latter of which was suggested by the ἐς following.

[2] *Coronta.*] Of this town (whose name has an unusual form) there is no mention elsewhere; and therefore its situation cannot from this passage be fixed, otherwise than that it seems to have been in the interior of the country. Poppo here cites Pouqueville, Græc. 3. p. 126., who thinks that some ruins, shown him in the way from Vustri to Catund, are those of Coronta. But Coronta was already in ruins, in the time of Pausanias.

[3] *Restored Cynes, &c.*] This Cynes would seem not to have been a private person (for thus the affair would have been hardly deserving of notice), but one who had been προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, and a ruler, and who had been expelled by the contrary party; for a party adverse to the Athenian alliance, and no doubt of aristocratical principles, was found in Acarnania, as well as in most other places.

[4] *For as to any expedition, &c.*] It should seem by this that such a measure had been in contemplation.

[5] *Always been enemies to them.*] Thus an expedition against them had been conducted by Pericles, See 1. 111.

[6] *Downward.*] Here, it should seem, ought to be introduced the ἄνωθεν, which the commentators, by bringing in at the place where it stands in the original, have made unintelligible; for what sense can be affixed to *above by*, it is not easy to see. Indeed the two words seem incompatible with each other. As to the *transposition*, nothing is more frequent than in Thucydides. The passage indeed should be thus pointed: διὰ τοῦ Α. πεδίου ἄνωθεν μὲν παρά. It is imitated by Arrian Ind. § 42, 3. Thucydides, too, seems to have had in view a very similar passage of Herodotus 2, 10.

Amphilochians, and the plain of Acharnania past Stratus) discharges itself into the sea at Œniadæ, and occasioning lakes and pools around [7] it, renders it impracticable to encamp there during the winter. Opposite to Œniadæ, and close off the mouth of the Achelous, lie most of the isles called Echinades; and such heaps of soil and rubbish are perpetually thrown up [8] by this great river, that some of the islands are already become part of the continent, and it is expected that, at no distant period, such may be the case with all of them [9]; for the stream is deep, strong, and turbid [10], and the islands thickly set, and

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where, speaking of the Achelous, he says: ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιεὶς ἐς θάλασσαν, τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.

[7] *Occasioning lakes and pools around.*] Περιλιμνάζω occurs, perhaps, no where else, except in Arrian. E. A. 6, 14, 11. ἵνα περιλιμ. But ἐπιλιμ. occurs in Plutarch Cæs. 25. (cited by Schæfer ap. Steph. Thes.) πεδία ἐπιλελιμνασμένα. Very apposite to the present passage is Aristot. Probl. 252. also cited by Schæfer: ὅσοι πόταμοι λιμνάζουσιν εἰς ἕλη. where the words εἰς ἕλη are added to determine the sense.

This description of Œniadæ may bring to mind the admirably graphic one of *Venice*, in Livy l. 10, 2. tenue prætentum littus esse; quod transgressus stagna ab tergo sint irrigua æstibus maritimis — inde esse ostium fluminis prælti. Indeed all the larger rivers are found to make lakes and marshes about their mouths, as the Danube and most of the rivers which run into the Black Sea, and in fact all whose fall is not great enough to completely carry off the water. Thus even the Ouse *had* much marshy ground near its mouth; and from that circumstance, probably, the town of Lynn (i. e. λίμνη or λίμνα) derived its name, which may be compared, in the ratio appellationis, with Helos in Laconia and Egypt.

[8] *Such heaps of, &c.*] This signification of προσχόω is rare, and unnoticed by Stephens in his Thes. On this word and πρόσχωσις, as also the rare word ἤπειρον, I shall fully treat in my edition. The Schol. well explains it ὕλην συμφορᾶς: for, not only soil, but wood and rubbish of every kind are thrown up by the river.

[9] *It is expected that, &c.*] Our author seems to have had in mind Herod. l. 2, 10. Ἀχελῶος τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε. This expectation and that also expressed by Strabo l. 10, 20. have been alike disappointed. The islands remained in much the same state in the time of Philostratus (see Vit. Apoll. p. 725.) and Pausanias, the latter of whom at l. 8, 24, 5. assigns the cause for their not being so converted. His words are these: τὰς δὲ Ἐχινάδας νήσους ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχελώου μὴ σφᾶς ἤπειρον ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἀπειργάσθαι, γέγονεν αἰτία τὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος, — ταῖς Ἐχινάσιν οὖν, ἅτε ἀσπόρου μενούσης τῆς Αἰτωλίας. οὐχ ὁμοίως ὁ Ἀχελῶος ἐπάγει τὴν ἰλύν. Yet the work of nature would seem to be carried on, though slowly. So Wood says that the river still continues to connect those islands with the continent, by the rubbish deposited at its mouth.

[10] *Deep, strong, and turbid.*] So Plutarch Lucul. 24. of the Euphrates: κατιόντα πολὺν καὶ θολερόν. Arrian E. A. 5, 9, 6. οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ πολλοῦ τε ὕδατος καὶ θολεροῦ ἐῤῥέον. Philostr. Imag. 12, 782. θολερὸν λιμνάζει. The word θολερ. is used metaphorically by Lucian Nigr. of pleasure: ὑφ' ἧς δὲ ῥεούσης ἀεννάῳ τε καὶ θολερῷ ῥεύματι πᾶσαι ἀνευρύνονται

not lying in line [11], but crossways [12], the sand and soil having no straight passages to discharge itself into the sea, is continually connecting them together. They are desert [13], and of inconsiderable size. They are said to have been first inhabited by Alcmæon [14] son of Amphiareus, in obedience to a direction of the oracle of Apollo, given to him when he was [15] wandering in exile [16], after he had slain his mother; whereby

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ὁδοί. This word is truly deduced by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. P. v. 910. from ϑόλος, sepiæ atramentum.

[11] *Not lying in line.*] Or in order, κατὰ στοῖχον, thus ::::: Hence some islands which *are* so placed derive their name from that circumstance. Thus certain islands over against the Rhine were called Στοιχάδες. See Strabo p. 255, 19. and Casaubon there. Hence may be emended Ælian Tact. ap. Joseph. 703, 28. Κίονες ἐφέστασαι κατ' ἀντίσχεχον ἀλλήλοις. Read κατ' ἀντισχοῖχον.

[12] *Crossways.*] Thus ·∴·∴. Such is the primary signification of the word, which, though rare, occurs in Philostr. V. Ap. 3, 1.

[13] *They are desert, and, &c.*] The whole of this passage respecting the Echinades and Alcmæon is had in view by Philostr. V. Ap. 7, 25.

[14] *Alcmæon.*] On this story Plutarch thus remarks, de Exilio, § 9. ὁ δ' Ἀλκμαίων ἰλὺν νεοπαγῆ τοῦ Ἀχελώου προσχωννύντος ἐπῴκησεν ὑποφεύγων τὰς Εὐμενίδας, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ κἀκεῖνον εἰκάζω, φεύγοντα πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ στάσεις καὶ συκοφαντίας ἐριννυώδες, ἐλέσθαι βραχὺ χώριον ἀπραγμόνως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατοικεῖν. That it was a mere fable, we may infer from Antiphanes ap. Athen. Ephorus ap. Athen. 232. undertakes to give the words of the oracle: ὁ Θεὸς ἔχρησεν, Ἀλκμαίων, πυνθανομένῳ πῶς ἂν τῆς μανίας ἀπαλλαγείη. Τιμῆεν μ' αἰτεῖς δῶρον, μανίαν ἀποπαῦσαι, καὶ σὺ φέρειν Τιμῆεν ἐμοὶ γέρας· ᾧ πότε μήτηρ Ἀμφιάρκων ἐκρυψ' ὑπὸ γῆς αὐτοῖσι σὺν ἵπποις.

[15] *When he was, &c.*] Ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν. Literally, "when that he was wandering." The infinitive may, as Goeller observes, be used after ὅτε in oratione obliqua (see his note). There is, however, an ellipsis of φασί. Thus we have ὅτε δὴ φασὶ in Diod. Sic. 1, 55, 77. 69, 30. 387, 48. Julian Misop. 64. Xen. Hist. 5, 1, 27. Philostr. Heroic. c. 19, 11. who has the present passage in view. Or we may understand συνέβη, which is *supplied* in Diod. Sic. 2, 350. Ὅτε δὴ is a not unfrequent formula, and occurs in Hom. Il. δ. 446. and 493. γ. 15, 209. Dio Cass. 1, 69, 28. and 136, 16. Polyb. 30, 4, 7. Ælian V. H. 8, 9. Ctes. ap. Athen. 528. E. Soph. Aj. 167. Aristoph. Lys. 524. Ran. 799. 109. and 1189. Eccl. 195. Other matter, which respects the emendation of passages corrupted, or the illustration of passages misconceived, by inattention to this idiom of the infinitive for the finite verb, and also of the formula ὅτε δή, I must reserve for my edition.

[16] *Wandering in exile.*] Or ἀλᾶσθαι might be taken in a metaphorical sense, "wandered in his mind." And so the word is used by Soph. Aj. 23. ἀλλ' ἀλῶμεθα. Eurip. Troad. 635. ψυχὴν ἀλᾶται. And in this manner the expression was understood by Philostr. V. A. 6, 5. ἀλᾶσθαι χρὴ — καὶ οὔπω λύσις, and by Diod. Sic. t. 3, 189. But the common interpretation is confirmed by Eurip. Elect. 1250. δειναὶ δὲ κῆρες, αἱ κυνωπίδες θεαί, Τροχηλάτουσ' ἐμμανῆ πλανώμενον. He was suffering both by being driven from all human society, and by being agitated by the horrors of a guilty conscience.

it was suggested to him that he would never be released [17] from his horrors until he had found such a tract of land to inhabit as had never been seen by the sun, nor had been land when he slew his mother; since every other was to him defiled.[18] Long was he perplexed: at length, however, these mounds at the mouth of the Achelous attracted his notice, and there seemed enough heaped up, during the long interval that he had wandered in exile since killing his mother, to minister to his support. Colonising, therefore, the parts about Œniadæ, he held dominion over them, and left a name behind to the country [19] by his son Acarnes. Such are the circumstances respecting Alcmæon which are handed down to us by report.[20]

CIII. But to return; Phormio and the Athenians, taking their departure from Acarnania, and proceeding to Naupactus,

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[17] *Released.*] Λύσις is a vox solennis de hac re. So Liban. Orat. 154. C. εὑρεῖν λύσιν τῶν δεινων ἀμήχανον. Eurip. Elect. 635. λυτηρίους Εὐχὰς ἀνάσχω δειμάτων. Pausan. 2, 29, 6. ἐς Δέλφους ἀπέστειλαν, αἰτήσοντας λύσιν τοῦ κακοῦ. and 8, 41, 2. ἐπὶ τῇ λύσει τοῦ λοιμοῦ, Æschyl. Eum. 293. Herod. 6, 139, 4. λύσιν αἰτησόμενοι τῶν κακῶν. Perhaps, however, the word may here mean *expiation from*, as in some passages of Aristot., Plato, and Athen., adduced by Steph. Thes.

[18] *Until he found such, &c.*] On this see Pausan. l. 8, 24, 4. and compare a very similar expression in Genes. 4, 11. of Cain. So also Lycoph. 1038. χέρσον πατρῴας οὐ γὰρ ἂν φονῇ ποσὶ ψαῦσαι.

[19] *Left a name behind to the country.*] It is not improbable that χωρᾷ is the true reading, which is found in some MSS. Ἐγκαταλείπω has both an accusative and dative dependent on the ἐν. As to the passage at l. 1, 9, 1. τῆς χώρας ἐπωνυμίαν — σχεῖν, it proves nothing, being of a different nature to the present (see the note); though, indeed, there some read τῇ χώρᾳ.

[20] *Such are the, &c.*] It should seem by the word λεγόμενα, which is *emphatical*, that Thucyd. placed very little reliance on the report; though, like other antient historians, he felt himself bound to relate what *was said*. Perhaps he had in mind the remarkable words of Herod. 7, 152. ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι δὲ οὐ πασὶ ὀφείλω. See also 6, 53 and 137. and 2, 122. Passages which have been imitated, and the rule therein contained acted on by the best historians; ex. gr. Pausan. l. 6, 3, 4. Dio Cass. 744. 35. ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω αὐτὰ τὰ λεγόμενα συγγράψαι, μήτε πολυπραγμονεῖν, μήτε εἰ ψευδῶς, μήτε εἰ ἀληθῶς εἴρηται. καὶ τοῦτό μοι κατὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γραφησομένων εἰρήσθω. and 1142, 46. 159, 19. 1283, 91. Livy l. 7, 6. '*Famâ rerum* standum est, ubi certam rebus derogat antiquitas fidem." Tacit. Hist. l. 2, 50. "Vulgatis *traditisque* demere fidem non ausim." And elsewhere: "Nobis quoquemodo *traditum* non occultare in animo fuit." Quint. Curt. l. 7, 8. "Fidis nostra sperni non debet quæ *utcunque tradita* sunt, incorrupta perferemus."

sailed back to Athens on the return of spring, bringing with them such of the prisoners as were freemen (and these were set at liberty by exchange with the enemy, man for man [1]), as also the ships which they had taken.

Thus ended the winter, and with it also the third year of the war whose history Thucydides has composed.

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[1] *Exchange with, &c.*] The first instance, perhaps, on record of the custom of a mutual exchange of prisoners between belligerent powers.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

Aug. 24. 1852.

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